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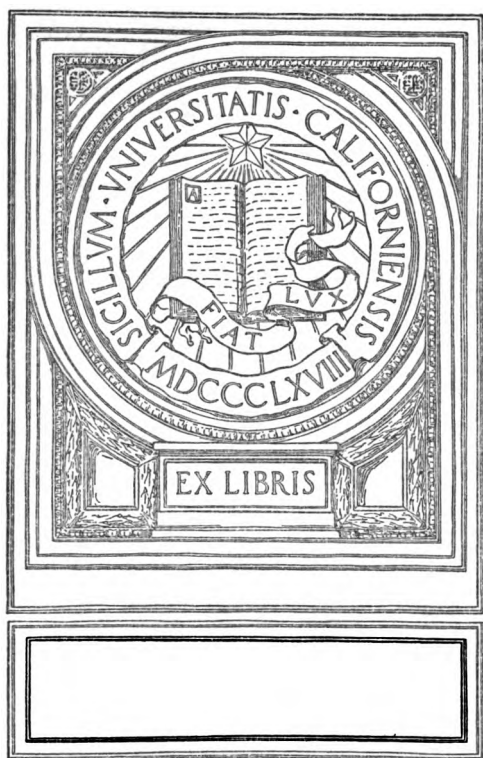
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# **The Critical review of theological and philosophical ..**





Rindaby.







THE  
CRITICAL REVIEW

OF  
THEOLOGICAL & PHILOSOPHICAL  
LITERATURE

UNIVERSITY OF  
CALIFORNIA

EDITED BY  
PROFESSOR S. D. F. SALMOND, D.D.

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## EDITORIAL NOTE.

THIS Magazine is designed to furnish quarterly a critical survey of current literature in Theology. It will also notice Philosophical writings, and others of more general interest, so far as they are related to Theological questions. All who have occasion to study the Theology or Philosophy of the Continent of Europe know the value of such organs as Harnack and Schürer's *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Lipsius's *Theologischer Jahresbericht*, and others of kindred order. In our own country we have nothing exactly corresponding to these. It will be the object of this Magazine to supply this want as far as possible. It will give a chronicle of the more important publications which are issued from quarter to quarter. It will notice the articles of particular interest which appear in other Journals, home and foreign. It will devote special attention to providing reliable reviews of the more notable books of recent date. These will be signed reviews, prepared by scholars representing different lines of study and different branches of the Evangelical Church. No effort will be spared to make them interesting and informing.

The Magazine will not be the organ of any particular section of the Evangelical Church, but will be conducted in the interest of all its branches. It will study the wants of clergymen and students of Theology, but it will also address itself to all, whether lay or clerical, who give intelligent attention to the religious questions of the day. An expression of opinion which has come from many quarters shows that there is a place for a Magazine of this kind, and it is hoped that the *Critical Review* will be found helpful to a large circle

of readers. Its plan will be adapted to the requirements of the case as experience makes these apparent.

In issuing our first number we acknowledge the courtesy of the firms which have sent us copies of their publications. So many books have been received that it has been impossible to overtake them all at once. Some have come too late; others are reserved that they may be noticed at a length more befitting their importance than is practicable at present. Among these are the second series of *Studia Biblica*, Hume Brown's *George Buchanan*, Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, the second edition of Cave's *Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice*, Vaughan's *Epistle to the Hebrews*, Lefroy's *Christian Ministry*, Achelis's *Praktische Theologie*, Baur's *Zwingli's Theologie*, the second edition of Reuss's *Geschichte der heiligen Schriften Alten Testaments*, the concluding volumes of Gretillat's *Dogmatique* and Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*. Our next number will also contain digests of some of the leading Theological Magazines.

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## **The Seat of Authority in Religion.**

*By James Martineau. 8vo. Longmans & Co., London. 1890.*

THIS is a large book, and it is not easy within our limits to give an adequate account of it. In particular, we must not attempt to trace the relations of the writer's thinking to other schools of thought. His leading positions are, substantially, not new ; but there are many of those peculiarities of treatment and statement which mark an independent thinker ; and the whole manner of exposition is fresh.

Dr Martineau has acquired for himself a warm regard in the minds of many persons who are not Unitarians. His assertion of a noble ethical doctrine against the Materialism and Utilitarianism of the age—his vindication of faith in God and immortality—the richness and depth of many passages in his directly religious writings, are gratefully acknowledged. Readers of all classes have felt not only the remarkable eloquence but the glow of conviction with which he has handled these great themes. To Christians of the orthodox churches, in particular, it has been interesting to note the place conceded by Dr Martineau to the life and teaching of Christ. One seemed to recognise a regard for Him that suffered little restraint from the negations of Unitarian theory.

These impressions will receive some check from the perusal of this book. They must do so ; for the object of it is to let us know wherein the author differs from us, rather than where he agrees with us. Long ago Dr Martineau expressed a purpose or desire to write something in exposition of the theory of his religious position. That purpose, we take it, he has here fulfilled. Though the task has been delayed to a late period of life, the execution of it reveals no failure in power of thought ; and it is remarkable for fertility and elasticity of eloquent expression.

The substance of Dr Martineau's positions may be stated in this way. The only actual, the only possible seat of authority in religion is, for each man, his own conscience. Man has the capacity of listening to the Divine voice, and recognising its claims; and under that guidance he can judge of truth and duty. There is no other, and certainly there is no higher authority, than that which thus speaks within the soul; and all other authorities, so styled, are illusory. This does not mean, however, that each man is shut up in himself so as to gain nothing from the religious attainments of others. There are men, and there are races, exceptionally eminent in this department, and they become the bearers and exponents of religious truth, life, and progress for the world. All such attainment comes most truly, most emphatically from God. It is something which men do not create, but which they receive. However, the divine light or impulse, as it comes to men, always mingles with elements less divine, and is tinged with colour not its own. It enters into human environments, and is interpreted by human experience and human imagination. It receives a vesture which more or less obscures it: it takes a shape in which it requires sifting. Still it is to be owned as a divine gift; it bears the stamp of its own divine worth, alike in the obscure and scanty forms in which it is found with those whose endowments are poorest, and in the more splendid attainments of exceptional souls.

Visitations from God, in the line of religious thought and feeling going beyond the average of human attainment, have been many. The most eminent are those of which the Greek and the Hebrew races have been the recipients; and of these the fruits are remarkably combined in the spirit and prevailing convictions of Teutonic civilisation. Here, then, Christianity takes its place as one of the great providential religious movements; and Jesus Christ stands forth as an exceptionally endowed religious man, and as the prince of religious teachers. But, for all that, Christianity has to be sifted, and indeed severely sifted. And in Jesus Christ Himself, were He now within our reach, or in the accounts of Him which, in fact, we possess, that only is authoritative for any of us which obtains the

verdict of the oracle within. This does not hinder communication, reciprocity, growth. New religious admonition, coming to us from others, may approve itself to the tribunal within, just because it awakens the sense of a purer or higher ideal than we had discerned before; so that henceforth that ideal is clear to us, standing revealed in its own evidence. This is indeed the process by which the religious training of the race has mainly been carried on. Still for each individual the authority which sifts, decides, approves, the alone legitimate authority is that which reveals itself in the conscience or through the religious intuition of his own soul. To receive anything merely on the report of another who is supposed to know, is irrelevant to religion. In religion the only authority is that which "strikes home and awakens the echoes in ourselves," so as to be "transferred from external attestation to self-evidence."

A man, therefore, has no right to subject himself to any external authority; for instance, to that of the Church, or of the Bible, or of Christ. These can only rank as sources of information and impression, from which materials of faith and life may be drawn. Such materials are only to be appropriated in so far as they obtain, in the case of each of us, the verdict of the supreme and proper authority—the voice that speaks within the soul.

If Dr Martineau's argument on these points is held to be successful, the questions on which he challenges the reader are closed. No rule of faith external to the man can then by any man be reasonably accepted. Revelation, as usually understood, is out of the question. Supposing it to have taken place, it could not validly operate in the minds of men as an authoritative divine communication. It could only be regarded after being sifted by the oracle within, and approved in so far as it awakened echoes there. For, indeed, Dr Martineau argues, however absolute the purity with which the divine communication might come to the inspired man, who can tell with what mixtures it may come *from* him? Hence our author proposes to reverse the distinction usually drawn between Natural and Revealed religion. Revealed religion, according to him, is to denote the divine light given to every



man who comes into the world—working in various degrees of fulness and clearness, and with great relative force and splendour in some. That is, really, Revelation from God. Natural religion, on the contrary, should be taken to denote the systems or developments of religion that have been worked out in human history—such as Paganism, Mohammedanism, or historical Christianity. All these exemplify the tendency of human nature to incorporate the religious truth or feeling, really given or awakened by God, in systems of mixed material, and to impute to the whole a divine authority that really belongs only to one element in the miscellaneous mass. This process has proved to be natural ; and all popular religions, inasmuch as they embody this process, may be called Natural Religions.

But Dr Martineau is not disposed to rest his conclusion purely on the lines of position and argument that have been indicated. He felt, no doubt, that Christians have found in practice so much to awaken in their hearts the sense of an authority to which to bow—a Revealer of God in whom to trust—that they were not likely to be persuaded to the contrary by mere general reasoning. Hence a large part of the book is devoted to a detailed criticism of Church and Bible. These are fixed upon as the two main pretenders, in Christian circles, to the character of authorities in religion.

In reference to them, Dr Martineau first undertakes to show that both alike are too uncertain in their evidence, too mixed in their materials, too conspicuously mistaken in demonstrable instances, to be admitted as rules of faith. Both convey much that is genuinely divine ; but in both the divine element is infused into a human environment of prejudices, myths, and misreports. Secondly, he supports his position by undertaking to point out leading elements of truth and goodness, which, in Christianity, have accreted around themselves an environment of dogma and of legend. External authority may be pleaded to maintain the credit of those accretions, but they must vanish away when the nature and the seat of the only legitimate religious authority has been recognised. Whatever of true and good may be in the Christianity of the Church or of the Bible, there is much also which is not true nor good.

The criterion by which the valid elements are to be distinguished is furnished by the enlightened conscience of the race, participated in and reproduced for his own guidance in each individual. No other criterion exists.

It may be as well to say that Dr Martineau's argument applies to the authority of Christ, as well as to that of Church or Bible. Perhaps an unwillingness to criticise too closely the regard due to one whom he venerates, led Dr Martineau to avoid separate discussion of the authority of Christ as a distinct alternative. It is enough for his purpose to maintain that for the teaching of Christ we must rely on the Bible, and that the report of it there given is mixed and untrustworthy, requiring to be sifted by religious criticism before we receive it. Still Dr Martineau by no means conceals the bearing of his principles in this regard. Supposing we had the teaching of Christ accurately reproduced for us, it could not be accepted as an external authority. With Him, as with all teachers, the divine element was wrapped in elements borrowed from the man and from the time. That teaching also needed sifting. Precious as it was, it appealed, and it appeals, so far as it has survived, to the oracle within.

It will be seen that the keynote of the whole book is clear enough. It virtually says, "Revelation, certainly—in the form of the intuitional assurance of which all men are capable, and which in some becomes more clear and commanding; some revelation to every man—much, comparatively, to some men and races, for their own good and that of others. Hence, as men participate in one another's thoughts, there is abundant suggestion, impulse, influence. But authority—none, save that within the soul, judging whatever comes from without."

The reader will also have anticipated that on these grounds the revelation of a remedial scheme—an Incarnation and an Atonement—is, for Dr Martineau, excluded. The religious intuition has regard exclusively to what is or ought to be, never to what has happened or is to happen. Christianity, therefore, as received by Dr Martineau, is purged of all that is not conformable to this canon. Christianity is the exhibition by Christ of the normal relations of the human soul, and

of the standing verities which those relations imply. The consciousness of these flowered out in Christ in a manner that was exceptional—so remarkably that, while we cannot defend all He thought and said, if we take our impressions of Him from the gospels, yet we may perhaps assume that what is objectionable arises mainly from the misunderstanding or misreporting of His biographers. But what the Christian has to do is not to adopt the opinions alleged to have been entertained by Christ, nor to believe doctrines about Him, but to reproduce in its main features Christ's personal religion, His consciousness and exercise of relation to God, to man, and to immortality.

This is a conception of Christianity which bleaches it, and which would have bereaved it of the greater part of its historical power and fruit. On this aspect of the case we do not mean to dwell. It might be a question whether Dr Martineau's theory of Authority in its own nature absolutely excludes all the elements of Christianity which he rejects. But it would be hardly worth one's while to controvert his own opinion on that point.

It has been noted that much of the book is devoted to a discussion of the claims of Scripture. The object is to show that the Bible, *e.g.*, the New Testament, considered in detail, will not stand sifting, and therefore cannot rank as a divine authority. This part of the book will make an impression. It falls in with tendencies that operate at present powerfully; and it is written with great keenness and vivacity—with all Dr Martineau's well-known power of stating a case and giving edge to an argument. Yet it is of little real weight, and it deserves no great consideration. It is a gathering together of results of rapid reading among recent writers, German and other, who have discussed the history and the meaning of the Biblical books. It is no reproach to Dr Martineau that he is not a first hand labourer in this field. But we do not find there any signs of a close and impartial survey of the evidence furnished by others. Every theory is good enough if it makes in support of his conclusion. The sketch has this value, however, that it shows the conception of early Christianity and its literature, which, *at present*, seems to a man of great ability

and a fine literary artist, to be the most tenable and plausible in connection with the denial of supernatural \* Revelation.

In carrying on this argument, Dr Martineau sometimes reasons as if complete accuracy, and absolute authority in all details, must characterise a book which is to rank as inspired and authoritative. On this head there are differences of opinion among those who hold the Bible as inspired and authoritative. But they are all agreed that the Bible is so constructed as to call upon us to distinguish what it mainly designs to teach from matters that are accessory and incidental. And they all hold, further, that our conclusions are not meant to be so confident in matters of the latter kind as they may and ought to be in matters of the former. There is nothing unreasonable in this view: there is nothing in it inconsistent with the hypothesis of divine authority. And whether it is explained by holding that God did not preserve Scripture writers from mistakes in minor matters, or that He did not lead them so to write as to guard *us* from mistakes if we draw peremptory conclusions, makes no difference to the general argument now before us. It is substantially the same thing put in another way, if we say that the question of the nature and effects of Inspiration, however important for some purposes, is not fundamental in the Christian argument. What is fundamental is that in Scripture, revealing God in Christ, we have a message from God that is supernatural and authoritative; and that Holy Scripture is the instrument of the Holy Ghost for communicating that message and regulating all our thoughts about it. How far the character which attaches to the Revelation, as a whole, is to be ascribed also to every sentence of Scripture is a subsequent question, the answer to which depends on what Scripture claims for itself, or what it reveals as to the Divine method in these communications, and partly also on the experience of the heart in the progressive use of the Bible. In arguing the question of an authoritative revelation, the Christian is not bound to defend a specific view of the effect of Inspiration. It is enough to maintain that the main purport of the Bible is

\* *i.e.*, Using the word in its accepted sense. In his own sense Dr Martineau holds the supernatural.

clear, that it is a supernatural communication from God, and that as such it comes with authority.

We do not, then, regard these chapters, in which Dr Martineau puts forward in a version of his own the grounds usually relied on by opponents of revealed religion, as very interesting; and while they will, as we have said, make an impression, we cannot regard them as of any permanent importance. We feel far more interest in the use made by Dr Martineau of the fundamental position on which his book rests. He has raised once again the question of the Reason of Faith, and his treatment of it has a fresh element; because, while maintaining in substance the position of Deism, he maintains in a sense a divine ground of Faith—that is to say, a ground of the highest and surest kind. At the same time he restricts this faith, in the case of each man, to the revelation made within that man—whatever outward occasions may have led to his illumination: and so he denies the competency of every external authority to produce religious conviction, or to ground faith. In all this Dr Martineau seems to take his place beside those who have held the highest views as to the nature and grounds of Christian Faith. From this position he raises the question whether an external historical revelation is possible. He tells us that there may be valid assurance as to the religious truth which evidences itself to our hearts by an immediate divine witness. But there can be no valid assurance in any other line. God has not dealt with us, and He could not deal with us, by an order of words and works leading up to an Incarnation. He could not provide a historical and recorded revelation, fitted to be the common guide of men, the common element and nourishment of their religious life. If He could interpose beyond the lines of ordinary providence, to heal and to save, He could not assure us of it. Men are not so constituted as to be recipient of valid communications in lines like these.

Waiving questions as to the precise way of conceiving the intuitional evidence, we concede to Dr Martineau that he has done well to emphasise the direct witness of God to the human spirit. This is the conclusive, the essentially proper evidence in the things of God. Our readers must be too

familiar with the testimony of the older Protestant theology in this line to need a rehearsal of it. If it was in some degree overlooked under the influence of the school of Grotius and Paley, yet it has never been wholly forgotten. The conclusive evidence is the voice of God, audible and recognised in His word. This principle has its application, not only at the gateway of religious truth, but all along our use of it, and conversancy with it. Dr Martineau now asks, can this evidence apply to any but main fundamental things in the relation of the soul to God? Is it not an obvious fallacy to try to make it cover such a complex as the teaching of the Church or the teaching of the Bible? Does it not come to this, that you can have religious certification of what is religiously authentic in the Bible or anywhere else; but that certification is given from within, does not come from without? Church, Bible, everything of that kind, comes to us not to authorise, but to receive authority, so far as the inward oracle finds that to be due. The interest of all this lies here, that Dr Martineau consciously and deliberately formulates what many people have been tending to without any clear consciousness where they were going.

But thus to isolate the principle of the direct witness of God to the individual soul, is to overlook the true condition of man and to mistake the method of God.

In the first place, man is a unity, and is dealt with as a unity. However various and distinguishable his capacities may be, they are in the fellowship of man's single individual life, and each may furnish an avenue to the same central sanctuary. The religious life and experience may have its own peculiar quality and its own appropriate ground of faith. But it gives and takes. It lends and borrows. It tinges the other elements of life, and is tinged by them, and as it acquires intellectual and sensuous aspects, so the other elements acquire religious interest and significance. In particular, it is not true that the religious evidence which establishes in us the persuasion of divine verities is of the nature of a single thread. It weaves, and we need that it should weave, a complex rope of various fibres, with each of which an element of persuasion is felt peculiar to itself. The persuasion in the

mind of man that God is, may have one central appropriate reason, if one could clearly discriminate it and adequately state it. But in practice that conviction must thrill into our being along many a line of evidence and many a chain of impressions.

In the next place, the evidence or ground of assurance concerning which Dr Martineau speaks so well, is not always clear and conclusive in practice—particularly, it often fails to be so when it is contemplated apart from all other considerations. It is so venerable, authentic, and precious, that one is apt to think of it as always luminous and conclusive. But in practice it is not so. That is to say, the man concerned, who may be conscious that such evidence is desirable and perhaps attainable, may yet find it hard to be sure of the accents of the Divine voice. He may be dubious as to the range of truth which it commends or conveys to him : he may find it difficult to separate what the authentic testimony applies to from that which is mixed up with it in his own way of thinking ; he may find his own confusions intensified by the confusions in other minds. For men's minds *are* confused : they have become obtuse and dull with respect to the higher interests ; they are bewildered by the voices that make themselves heard in the inner chamber of the soul. And therefore the testimony is often heard faintly and doubtfully ; what it certifies is apprehended vaguely, or not at all. That this is so cannot be questioned ; neither Dr Martineau nor any one else would deny it. The existence and personal character of God, Providence, Prayer, Immortality, are all, in practice, debatable and debated. Also, many who have no wish to debate these articles are yet unfixed and changeable in their thoughts about them. It is important to note this. For, let it be repeated, when a divine testimony in the soul is spoken of, one is apt to take for granted that it must be cogent and conclusive in an incomparable degree and in every case. It may be so, in the case of certain souls, in ascertaining to these some great verities. Also, as to many men or all, it is exerting some influence,—yet often, to their apprehension, but vaguely, so as to produce rather a wistful than an established state of mind.

This leads to the consideration of the fitting method for God to take in dealing with men. And much may be said for the fitness of combining different lines of evidence, so as to exhibit a convergence or concurrence of separate indications—of the outward with the inward, of the historical with the ideal, and so on. This, in fact, is the method of the Christian evidence.

Observe how we are dealt with. We all begin with external authorities. We do so in every branch of knowledge, even in those in which we speedily become aware of the necessary character of the matter in hand. Certainly we begin so in religion. Parents and teachers instruct us, and the Church surrounds us with elements of knowledge and impression. We may become aware, by-and-by, of more inward and abiding authority, and, indeed, we very early begin to have convictions in religion and morals that hold us in a more inward manner than mere instruction could achieve. Still, we begin with authorities which command our respect, and which shape our education. Men may be more or less happily situated in this respect. The authorities under which their course began may long retain their reverence, or may early begin to be suspected. But authority has its place in the formation of opinion and character. Also, when the teaching of venerated authorities concurs with the growing impression of our own minds as to the true and good, convictions so formed have a depth and vigour rarely acquired on other terms.

Still, the authorities so far referred to are not infallible, and their sentence is not final. It is legitimate for us to revise their teaching, and to reject, at all events, what proves to be inconsistent with evident truth and goodness. That should hold us which, in God's sight, and under the consciousness of our relation to Him, we perceive to claim our assent or to command our love and veneration. Yet we need not forget how much those early authorities may have to do with training us to discern that Highest voice, and to deal faithfully with its authority.

Inasmuch as the authorities now referred to are granted not to be final, Dr Martineau would maintain that they are not pro-



perly authorities at all. They are merely channels by which the experience or the beliefs of the race reach us. Of course Dr Martineau grants that men, being social, must take part in the experience of one another, and must profit by doing so. But in his view, we take it, all this falls under the head of suggestion and impression. Materials of thought and feeling reach us in this way which await the sentence proceeding from the sole seat of authority within. We, on the other hand, hold that the influences described operate, and for certain stages cannot but operate *as authorities*, though they are only provisional authorities, and their sentence is subject to review.

The view now given of our position and training as human beings suggests in turn a further question. Might there not be an authority in the same line, operating in substantially the same manner, less fallible, less provisional, less transient in its function than those authorities are? Might it not be so constituted, might it not so operate, as not to bar the converse of the soul with that inner voice, but rather to stimulate such converse and give precision and clearness to it? Might not the progressive concurrence of these two witnesses give us a better grounded confidence in the teachings of each?

According to the Christian faith this is so. The mere fact that the Bible so powerfully and variously evokes the witness which speaks for God within us, may mean no more, Dr Martineau argues, than that somehow the Bible has a great deal of true religion in it. But this witness combines itself with a complex situation not to be so summarily disposed of. The Bible discloses a revealing process of which it is itself the effect. That process, entering into the history of the world, has made proof of its nature and source. It claimed to be nothing less than God making Himself objective in the religious history of men—approaching us not merely through the hidden avenues of our individual consciousness, but outwardly in the plane of facts and events. It is claimed that He broke the silence and spoke, put aside the veil and wrought, in an order of words and works, specifically His own, leading up to and crowned by the Incarnation. This history is for us embodied in a literature—no otherwise could it live for us and

for the world.. In this literature, the revealing process finds its voice and continues to be vocal; and as it utters the mind of God in Christ, it becomes for men the Word, the voice of which is gone out into all the world.

The evidence of the reality of all this is exceedingly various. It would be a long story to set forth by how many avenues the persuasion reaches us of the historicity of this process, of its moral continuity and progress, of its religious depth and vitality, of its mighty works and wonders, of its great personalities in fellowship with God, its prophecies, its psalms, above all its crowning and sealing Person, full of grace and truth. The inward witness only assures us that we are not mistaking the character of this great phenomenon, of which the various aspects touch us at a thousand points. But when we have come so far, then we know that God has spoken—we know that He has been holding fellowship with men as one who stands over against them, not less than as one who is within them. And it becomes our right to deal with the Revelation with a sense of expectancy, and with a recognition of authority.

Such a revealing process by no means supersedes the inner fellowship with God and the longing for His presence. Indeed no other influence in this world has so stimulated and sustained that faith and longing. It remains true, that every disclosure which comes to us through the Scripture only reveals its full divine significance, only opens its final and conclusive evidence when God meets us in it. John Bunyan tells us how in his early religious life his pastor used to admonish him that God must set him down and root him in the truths which he seemed to find in the Word, otherwise he should not have stability and abiding profit. All is not done as soon as we have read our Bibles. Yet we may be persuaded that here we are in the region where God is emphatically teaching, both in things which have been made sure to us by an inward witness, and also in things which we are only in progress to understand, to discern in their true meaning, and to feel in their divine influence.

It has been said that this revealing process is a history, a part of the history of the world, and that the literature which embodies it for us has also its history. One of the delusions

that beset the discussion of these topics may be noted in this connection. It seems to be thought that so far as the Bible is the record of a history, and has a history of its various writings, there can be no legitimate persuasion about it, until an elaborate process of learned historical demonstration has satisfied us of our right to be persuaded ; also, that when ingenious doubts about questions of date, authorship, &c., are suggested, we must logically remain in suspense about the historical revelation until by clear historical proof the doubts have been rejected and removed. Then it is asked, as Dr Martineau asks, whether we can suppose that unlearned and busy men have been required to accept a revelation which needs all those processes to be gone through before it can be believed. We cherish, it need hardly be said, a lively sense of the value of the learned labour bestowed in this department. But we can assure all whom it concerns that the difficulty supposed to arise for believers is unreal and unfelt. That the Bible history is, *in the main*, real history, can be the valid persuasion of everyone who seriously reads it. Only imagine a reader who should seriously think that from beginning to end it was an invention ! Hence a man who cannot investigate all details may have a most legitimate persuasion of the serious interest attaching to the pages of his Bible. And when once he is persuaded of the truth of a Revealing God, who has sent His word into the world that man may hear and live, he may very well tell the critics that until they can present him with a *more* authentic account of that revealed word, he will abide by what he has, as in the main reliable—as the only record that even pretends to preserve and disclose the main articles of God's message—and as one that daily reveals its worth to his heart.

Our parents put into our hands in our early days the New Testament, as the source of and authority for their own teachings. We receive it, we imbibe its teaching. By-and-bye we become aware of all those discussions of the critics which Dr Martineau sets forth so largely, the doubts about dates, authors, influences supposed to have biassed the writers, and all the rest of it. But, after all, for him who believes that God has spoken by His Son, the fact remains that the New Testament

is the genuine historical product of the appearance of Jesus Christ in the world. No man can give us anything nearer, anything fuller, anything that reflects more accurately the forces set in motion in the world of mind by that event. No one can deprive us, unless we choose, of the impression of the unique character and priceless worth of those brief books, as disclosing Jesus Christ, and the effects of His coming. And in these circumstances shall I resign my faith that God meant me to learn here His mind in Christ, because it is not yet clear how the critics are to come to an understanding with the literary history of the century that followed Christ's death?

There are two things in the divine method as commonly understood by Christians which deserve a word before we close.

In the first place, it is the only method fitted to confirm faith and give assurance. The concurrence of the outward and the inward have this effect, and nothing can make up for the want of it. It has been pointed out already that the intuitional assurance, on which Dr Martineau solely relies, is not in practice so clear and conclusive as he seems to persuade himself. Now Dr Martineau recognises the influence in this department of powerful personalities, and of great crises in the religious history of the world. Impulse goes from mind to mind; and while the conclusive evidence is that which is pressed in upon our own inward consciousness, the knowledge that others have experienced and are experiencing the same feelings goes some way to certify us that we are not deceived. But a man may be in sympathy with a school, or with a section of the race, and yet be deceived. And for very many minds the question must return with immense force, How do I know that I am not misled by feelings or wishes, that I and others are not mistaking the testimony to which we seem to listen? A credible Revelation embodied in the history of the world, countersigned by the witness of the Spirit in the heart, up to the measure of the believer's progress, makes a great change in all this. It gives us a peculiar and vivid assurance of the truth, which Dr Martineau also values, that we are not merely dealing with *something*, but with *Some One*.

In the second place, thus only can there reach us any assurance of divine care proportioned to our need, of redemption, of promises, of the love that saves. Dr Martineau's intuitional assurance can be no more than an illumination of the permanent conditions of spiritual existence. Under that category he would make a more generous estimate than some do of the truths that can be reached, and of the measure in which they can be suffused with hope and aspiration. But that is all. According to his theory there can be no interruption of the silence of God—no movement but the even thrill of his great existence for ever upon the spiritual natures in contact with it—no incarnation, no atonement, no great and precious promises, no covenant ordered and sure. How much those who think with Dr Martineau may retain, when they have dismissed all this, is not a question for us to put. But on such terms how could the great saying ever have received the fulness of its meaning, We have believed the love that God hath to us—God is Love?

We may close with a passage in which Dr Martineau measures the extent of his divergence from the historical Christian Churches, p. 650:—

“As I look back on the foregoing discussions a conclusion is forced upon me, on which I cannot dwell without pain and dismay: viz., that Christianity as defined or understood in all the Churches which formulate it has been mainly evoked from what is transient or perishable in its sources; from what is unhistorical in its traditions, very mythological in its pre-conceptions, and misapprehended in the oracles of its prophets. From the fall of Eden to the imagination of the last trumpet the whole story of the Divine order of the world is dislocated and deformed. The blight of birth-sin with its involuntary perdition; the scheme of expiating redemption with its vicarious salvation; the incarnation with its low postulates of the relation of God and man, and its unworkable doctrine of two natures in one person; the official transmission of grace through material elements in the keeping of a consecrated corporation; the second coming of Christ to summon the dead and part the sheep from the goats at the general judgment; all are the growth of a mythical literature, or Messianic

dreams, or Pharisaic theology, or sacramental superstition, or popular apotheosis." But it must be added that not merely the churches have failed in Dr Martineau's view to represent aright the genesis of Christianity. The New Testament writers too have failed to understand and reproduce it. Peter, Paul, John, the writer to the Hebrews, are all involved in the like censure. They all believed in a real revelation, and they were all wrong. What a mystery it has all been, and what a mistake!

ROBERT RAINY.

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**Briefe und Erklärungen von I. von Döllinger über die  
Vaticanischen Decrete, 1869-1887.**

*München, Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1890. Edinburgh,  
Williams & Norgate.*

It is natural at the present time, when the deaths of two such men as Döllinger and Newman are so recent, to compare the two together; and the making of such a comparison is almost inevitable in the case of those who have had the happiness of knowing both of them. Within a few months of one another both have gone to a well-earned rest, the one in his ninety-first, the other in his ninetieth year. Their ends were in some respects strikingly similar. Each until within a few days of his death was in his usual state of health, which, in Döllinger's case, was one of extraordinary vigour. Each was unconscious for some time before the end came, and was able to receive extreme unction only without the *viaticum*. Both of them carried with them to the grave an amount of veneration and affection such as is earned by few, and won by still fewer; and this veneration and affection, in the case of Döllinger certainly, and in the case of Newman probably, is most widely felt and cherished among those who are not members of the communion to which the objects of it belonged. It is equally obvious to remark that their ends were in one respect strikingly different. The one died as a prince of that Church which in his earlier days he had ferociously attacked as anti-Christian; the other died excommunicated by the same

Church, of which he had for half a century been the most distinguished ornament.

A comparison of the lives and work of the two theologians would carry this article far beyond its proper limits: but a perusal of the little volume before us will convince anyone who is acquainted with the later writings of Cardinal Newman, how impossible it was that the two should agree about the recent developments of doctrine and practice which have taken place in the Church of Rome. The present writer on more than one occasion has acted as a means of communication between the two, each writing or saying to him what it was tacitly understood was to be conveyed to the other, although neither cared to write to the other direct; and he long ago came to the conclusion that the difference between the point of view of each was too fundamental for either to come over to the other, or for any half-way house to be found. The one took his stand upon historical facts, which for every competent student of history are indisputable, and which admit of only one reasonable interpretation. The other staked everything upon the inerrancy of a divinely guided authority; and for him the fact that this authority had given a decision, at once made well attested historical facts disputable, or made what would otherwise have been strained and improbable interpretations of them reasonable. The present intensely interesting collection of declarations and letters gives us in a short compass the main historical facts which Dr Döllinger considered to be absolutely fatal to the truth of the dogma respecting the infallibility of the pope, and the reasons which for nineteen years prevented him from "submitting" even to the pope with the whole of the Roman episcopate at his back, when this authority required him to believe as necessary to salvation a *new* article of faith, and an article which reason and lifelong study convinced him *could* not be true.

Of the twenty-eight documents in this collection, the editing of which we owe to Professor Reusch, four (1, 2, 3, 10) are already well known; and one or more of them may be found in Quirinus, or Pomponio Leto, or *The New Reformation*, as well as elsewhere. Several others have appeared

in newspapers and periodicals. But the editor has done well to give all these once more to the world to explain and complete that which now appears for the first time. The four well-known documents are—the pamphlet of “Considerations for the Bishops of the Council respecting the question of Papal Infallibility,” which appeared anonymously (October, 1869); two articles in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* on the address which certain members of the Vatican Council made to the pope requesting him to declare his own infallibility, and on the new order of business in the Council and its theological significance (January 21st and March 11th, 1870); and lastly, the famous reply to Archbishop Scherr of Munich, when the latter, himself a former opponent of the dogma, called upon Döllinger, on pain of excommunication, to submit to it (March 28th, 1871). These four we must do no more than mention, in the hope that those who cannot read them in the original in the present volume will take note of them as authorities to be sought for in one or other of the volumes mentioned above. They are indispensable to every one who would have an intelligent grasp of the infallibility question. The extracts for which space can be found here shall be taken from the letters in this collection which have never been published before.

Of the various persons who write to Dr Döllinger with a view to his “conversion,” or “submission,” or “reconciliation with the Church,” the only one who uses anything that is worthy of being called argument is Archbishop Scherr. His successor Archbishop Steichele, Bishop Hefe, the Papal Nuncio Ruffo Scilla, and a lady of rank, whose name is not given, content themselves with urging him to save his soul from inevitable damnation, or to make angels and men rejoice by abandoning his errors. Even Bishop Hefe, whose submission was an amazement to all who knew how much he knew of Church history, does not give a word of explanation as to how a student of history could accept the dogma, but has only weak entreaties to send. The revelation of this fact must be a blow to the infallibilists. It was known that Hefe had written to Döllinger, June, 1886, and that Döllinger had sent him no answer; and it was confidently



asserted, in more than one ultramontane paper, that Döllinger's friends would not dare to publish this unanswered, and (it was supposed) unanswerable letter. The appeal which it contains is almost grotesque in its feebleness.

The red thread which runs through Döllinger's replies to the four other correspondents is the following :—

“Since the beginning of the Vatican Synod I have publicly and repeatedly maintained the opposite doctrine, and have supported it with many arguments. I should, therefore, have both to refute myself and publicly prove that the doctrine which I have taught both in former days, and with special emphasis in recent times, is a false and perverted doctrine. Were I not to do this, assuredly no human being, no one at any rate who knows anything of my writings and public declarations, would believe in the sincerity of my submission. The whole world, both near and far (a few nuns perhaps excepted), would stigmatize me as a gross, conscienceless hypocrite, who, out of fear for himself and his position, was willing to deny his convictions.”

To the lady of rank he writes in 1880, that it might suffice to refer a correspondent of the other sex to the facts and arguments which he had published in 1871, when he was requested to submit to the Vatican decrees ; “facts and arguments of which, according to a conviction that is more strongly confirmed in me than ever, every one remains unrefuted and irrefutable.” But she has probably never seen the document, or has never thought it worthy of inspection : which is natural enough, for of course she has been told that all he has maintained is untrue. Yet he ventures to direct her attention to one or two circumstances, which may possibly moderate her judgment respecting him.

“I am now in my eighty-first year, and for forty-seven years I have been a public teacher of theology ; and in all this long time not a single censure or even a demand for explanation has ever reached me from any ecclesiastical authority at home or abroad. The new articles of faith, which have been set up by Pius IX. with his council, I *never* taught. In my youth, when I was a student at Bamberg and Würzburg, they were regarded as theological opinions, and many added that they

were badly founded opinions. For me, who for nearly half a century had had to work day by day at these subjects and the questions connected with them, the conviction grew stronger and stronger, that these doctrines and claims are not only biblically, traditionally, and historically baseless and erroneous, but also long before they were raised to the rank and binding force of articles of faith, had had the most pernicious effects upon Church, State, and society. Then came the fatal year 1870. If I obeyed the demand that I should swear to the new dogma, I thereby declared myself a teacher of error, and not only myself, but my teachers now dead, and a number of friends and colleagues, who found themselves in the like situation. In vain I begged that I might be left with the faith and confession to which I had hitherto without blame or contradiction remained loyal. Yesterday still orthodox, I was to-day a heretic worthy of excommunication, not because I had changed my doctrine, but because others had thought proper to institute a change and to turn opinions into articles of faith." She will tell him that he must make a "sacrifice of his intellect." But what then becomes of his belief in Christianity? That too is based upon historical facts. If he cannot trust his intellect respecting the facts which convince him of the falsehood of the new dogma, how can he trust it respecting the facts which convince him of the truth of Christianity? "If my bishop would declare to me, 'I will release you from excommunication on condition that you will believe and confess what Bossuet and Fénelon and hundreds of the most saintly and learned bishops with them have taught respecting the pope,' who would be more ready than I?"

To Archbishop Steichele, an old pupil of his, whose letters, although devoid of strength, are at least affectionate and reverential, he writes that he had been at work on a detailed reply, but that the material had grown to such an extent (it is to be hoped that it is in existence), that he could not venture to inflict it on him. He must content himself with mentioning a few facts.

"The curse of excommunication, which the Chapter of this cathedral in the name of your predecessor caused to be published against me from every pulpit, I am still unable to

recognize as anything but an act of violence and injustice. I had expressly offered myself for instruction and public refutation. That I at the same time begged to be allowed to speak and to have my misgivings heard was more than reasonable, and would have been in accordance with ecclesiastical precedent. The counsellors of the archbishop were of course certain of victory: in their eyes the falseness of all that I maintain was, and is, clear as day; they were therefore convinced that the discussion could only lead to my public discomfiture and confusion, and that for me there would then naturally remain no alternative, but to accept the bestowed instruction with gratitude and humility, and to profess my submission. *Pertinacia*, therefore, on my side manifestly did not exist; and your Grace knows that, where this is wanting, a sentence of excommunication for dogmatic dissent is null and void. The way in which I was treated is in truth a proceeding *without a parallel* in ecclesiastical history. It has never before come to pass, that an old man, who in forty-five years of public teaching has never incurred even a single episcopal reproof or censure, whose orthodoxy previously had never been subjected to a single authenticated suspicion, has been forthwith, without so much as being heard in his defence, handed over—according to the formula in vogue—to Satan.” He assures the archbishop that there was a time when he sincerely *wished* to be able to accept and prove the papal system. He worked hard for many years, and collected an amount of material far more complete than is to be found in any printed work. “I do not believe that a single witness of any importance has escaped me.” The result amounted to demonstration, so far as demonstration is possible in history; and he saw that he must abandon the idea of writing a history of the papacy. For his work would at once be placed on the Index; and then he must either make a hypocritical submission or abandon his work as university professor, “to which I clung with my whole soul. . . . I say it to myself daily, that I am a frail mortal, perpetually going wrong in many ways. My whole intellectual life has been in the main a continual correcting and laying aside of opinions and views previously formed and embraced.

I am not conscious that I have ever obstinately closed my mind against a better insight,—at least I cannot recall any such case. Even my most cherished opinions, although at first with a heavy heart, I have surrendered, so soon as it became clear to me that they were untenable.”

Every Roman priest at his ordination takes an oath that he will interpret Scripture according to the tradition of the Church and the unanimous consensus of the Fathers. It is notorious that the Vatican decrees are based on interpretations of Scripture which are utterly at variance with patristic exegesis, and which not a single Father of the first four or five centuries admits. Döllinger says that he has asked a number of his brother clergy how they reconcile acceptance of the decrees with their oath. The answer was always either evasive or an awkward shrug of the shoulders. They said that this was a matter of detail, with which individual priests had no need to meddle ; or that it was of the very essence of faith to surrender oneself blindly and without examination to the hierarchy *now living*, and to leave it to them to reconcile contradictions. “I need not tell you what impression such pitiable evasions made upon me.”

In his reply to the Nuncio Ruffo Scilla (October 12th, 1887), Döllinger says :—

“I know from a number of irreproachable witnesses, from statements which they have let fall, that the council of the Vatican was not free, that the means there used were menaces, intimidations, and seductions. I know it from bishops, whose letters I hold, or who have told it to me by word of mouth. The very Archbishop of Munich who excommunicated me, came to me the day after his return from Rome, and told me certain details which left in me no doubt. It is true that all these prelates have made their submission : they all agreed to say, by way of excuse, ‘We do not wish to make a schism.’ *I also do not wish to be a member of a schismatical society : I am isolated.*”

This last sentence seems to settle the question whether Dr Döllinger was a member of the Old Catholic communion. A little further on he writes :—

“And here, Monseigneur, I venture to bring before you a

characteristic fact. When the archbishop, obeying (as he stated) the orders of the pope, communicated to me the sentence pronounced against me, he conveyed to me the information that I was subject to all the penalties which are imposed by canon law upon excommunicated persons. The first and the most important of these penalties is contained in the celebrated bull of Pope Urban II., which decides that any one in the world may kill an excommunicated person, when his motive for doing so is zeal for the Church. At the same time he caused sermons to be preached against me in all the pulpits in Munich; and the effect of these declamations was such, that the head of the police informed me that attacks on my person were being planned, and that I should do well to avoid going out without company. May I venture to raise the question, Monseigneur, whether, in the event of my submission, I should be obliged to declare to the world that I find this decision of the infallible pope to be in perfect conformity with the morality of the Gospel?"

These extracts will probably suffice to prove the value and the interest of this small collection of documents. It tends to show that the Church of Rome does *not* always know what to do with men of genius and exceptional force of character. That she should have made no use of Newman, and should have cast away Döllinger, are dark blots in her history, in a century which for her is full of grievous stains.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

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### **Alttestamentliche Theologie.**

*Von Ed. Riehm, bearbeitet u. herausgegeben von K. Pahncke.  
Halle, 1889. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.*

PROFESSOR RIEHM of Halle was born in 1830, and died at the age of fifty-eight. His life was an active one, and enthusiastically devoted to Biblical study. His largest work published during life was his *Lehrbegriff des Hebräerbriefs*, certainly the fullest discussion of the teaching of that epistle which exists. Another work which has laid students of Scrip-

ture under the greatest obligations is his Dictionary to the Old Testament, the information in which, though condensed, is sufficiently exhaustive, and may always be relied upon. Riehm took an active part in the discussions on critical questions which prevailed in his day, and numerous papers from his hand appeared in the magazines, particularly the *Studien*. These articles were always characterized by candour and by complete command of the facts. Some of the more important of them have been published separately, such as the Essay on the "Idea of Atonement" in the Old Testament, and that on Messianic prophecy, a little work in which the author's scientific thoroughness and fairness as well as his religious reverence are conspicuous. His college lectures on Old Testament theology were greatly admired by those who listened to them, and many requests for their publication were addressed to him by former students, which were not complied with owing to want of time, and the fact that a professor in active duty cannot afford to part with lectures which contain the best work of his life. Only a few sections were written out so as to be fit for the press, and it has fallen to others to edit from the college papers left behind him both his Old Testament theology and his Introduction. How thoroughly he was accustomed to go into critical questions may be inferred from the fact that the latter work extends to over a thousand pages.

The editor names the discussions here given, "Old Testament Theology;" and the name is usual. A theology of the Old Testament, however, is really an impossibility, because the Old Testament is not a homogeneous whole. We see the religious truths or beliefs presented there coming into existence in connection with historical events extending over a thousand years. Instead of an Old Testament theology the utmost that can be given is, A historical view of the religion of Israel; or, of the religion of Revelation during the Old Testament period. The truths or beliefs can neither be exhibited nor understood apart from the history. Feeling that Old Testament theology is a historical science (to use that grandiloquent term), Riehm has sought to do as much justice as was possible to the historical element in it by divid-

ing the Old Testament age into three great periods, which he names Mosaism, Prophetism, and Judaism. Then he discusses the main religious beliefs, such as those regarding God, man, sin, atonement, immortality, prevalent within these periods respectively, connecting the periods together by brief historical narratives which signalize the events that were significant in a religious sense, and gave rise to new conceptions or institutions, and thus led over from one period to another. This method is undoubtedly the fairest, though it involves some repetition. It involves also a critical decision as to what literature has to be assigned to the respective periods, a difficulty, however, which has to be faced by the writer on Old Testament theology, whatever method he pursue. In spite of the interesting nature of these historical links connecting the periods together, and notwithstanding the skill with which the author in many cases seizes the significant *momenta* of the history, the reader will rise from his work without any very clear conception of the progress of religious ideas in Israel. The author's mind was undoubtedly theological rather than historical, and hence the value of his work lies less in the general view which he gives and the general impression regarding the Old Testament which he leaves, than in the individual discussions of particular doctrines and beliefs. Here his work makes a contribution of great value. Such essays, for they amount to this, as those on "holiness" (p. 64 *seq.*), on "righteousness" (p. 270 *seq.*), on the idea of "atonement" (p. 129 *seq.*), on Messianic prophecy, on the place of prayer in the Old Testament religion, on the idea of Jerusalem or Zion as the religious centre and its continued prevalence, and many others, are without analogy in works on the Old Testament. Even in these discussions the want of a historical interest or a historical instinct is curiously apparent. He remarks, for example, that in the Law the "righteousness," whether of God or man is never spoken of, but invariably their "holiness;" and corresponding to this sin is "uncleanness." This "holiness," which is not an attribute but exhausts the nature of God and the relations of man to him, is certainly a very extraordinary conception, but it does not occur to the author to ask how it could have arisen, nor to seek for any historical

explanation of it. Again he remarks truly that the sacrifices in the Law have reference only to those offences called sins of ignorance, and not to wilful transgressions, but the need of any explanation of this very remarkable distinction is not felt. The discussion on the idea of atonement, though one of the most interesting in the book, particularly in those parts of it where the positions of Ritschl are criticised, leaves the matter very much where it found it. Nothing, he assures us, has atoning efficacy from its own nature; whatever atones derives its efficacy from God's appointment. Ordinarily no offering but the blood or life of a living creature atones. Blood atones for no reason but because God so appointed; and if a reason be asked, why he appointed blood or life, there was no reason beyond this that there is a certain congruity, lying in the similarity of the life of a creature to that of man—for atonement consists in covering the individual person, and so protecting him from the fatally destructive reaction of the divine nature against him in his uncleanness. Apart from any subsequent revelation the reader of the Old Testament will be loath to accept the idea that the divine appointment was so completely arbitrary; and he will be hard to persuade that those who practised the ritual did not attach to the blood deeper and more mystical meaning than Riehm allows. And as for his definition of atonement, like Job's friends, he has plentifully declared the thing as it is; but to restate the symbolism falls short of interpreting it. To "cover" the person was an ideal thing, for the blood was not applied to the person, it was only brought before the eye of God; and the "reaction of the divine nature" was also ideal, for mere physical reaction is too crass a notion to be entertained. Probably also the threatened penalty of "cutting off" was equally ideal. We are here in the region of "holiness," and the first thing needful is a clear setting asunder of the relations of holiness to "righteousness." The Old Testament doctrine of atonement is given in terms of the divine holiness, and holiness has in it elements of the local, the æsthetic, the instinctively "natural," and the personal or egoistic; and the definition to be understood by us must be translated, so much of it as is translatable, into a definition in terms of "righteousness."



Riehm's inclination was to conservatism in theology and criticism, though not in any blind or obstinate manner. It would be unjust to say that he made many concessions to the liberal school; he did not concede; he stated conscientiously what his own investigations led him to regard as truth. One of his earliest writings was his little work on the "Legislation of Moses in the land of Moab," in which he strongly argued for the late date of Deuteronomy, a position which he continued to maintain. A few sentences culled here and there from his theology will illustrate his position better than any attempt to describe it. Of the theocracy or constitution of Israel he says: "The Mosaic theocracy was in no way a hierarchical, priestly state; the government in the name of God in no way lay in the hands of the holy priesthood" (p. 95). Notwithstanding this the Levitical law in its minutest particulars as given in the Priestly Code is discussed under Mosaism. Speaking of the origin of evil and sin (p. 181 *seq.*) he remarks that two accounts of this are given in Genesis, one in the Priestly Code and the other in the Jehovistic writing (Gen. ii. *seq.*); the former is more primitive and simple, the latter is the result of religious reflection. (Where does the Priestly Code give any account of the *origin* of evil? It represents men as very wicked before the flood, but if it ever stated how they became so the passage has not been preserved.)

"Biblical theology ought not, as often happens, to make the doctrine of sin, the original state, and the fall its starting point; this is to give these things a greater importance than they have in the Old Testament. The answer to the question of the origin of evil is not the foundation but the copestone, not the root, but a fruit of the Old Testament knowledge of sin and what is connected with it. The representations in Genesis on the origin of evil are no reminiscence proceeding from the first men and passing down through following generations; rather they are the answer given by the religious consciousness of Israel when the question of the origin of evil was reflected on; they go back to revelation just because the religious consciousness of Israel owed its contents to divine revelation."

A similar idea is expressed regarding the truths enunciated by the prophets: "It follows that only such perceptions could

be communicated to the prophet as—without detriment, to their own novelty—stood in organic connection with the already existing contents of his consciousness. Absolutely new knowledge could have been put into him only in a magical, *i.e.*, externally mechanical way. But no knowledge arises in this fashion" (p. 214). So of Messianic prophecy: "Messianic prophecy arises out of the soil of the Old Testament religion, and is therefore, in conformity with its psychologically mediated origin, *never wholly without specific Old Testament colouring*, seeing the prophets conceive and represent the perfection of the kingdom of God as the consummation and glorification of the existing theocracy" (p. 220). In reference to the sacrificial system Riehm remarks: "Undoubtedly both in the prophets and the Psalms the sacrificial institution is always spoken of as a thing merely of religious custom, not an arrangement due to God's command nor to a book containing his commands" (p. 244). This is supported by reference to Jer. vii. 22. With this, however, ought to be compared the language used elsewhere, *e.g.*, p. 114, where speaking of the national cultus at the central sanctuary at the hands of the priesthood as guaranteeing to men's minds the continued existence of the reciprocal relations of God and His people, the author adds: "According to its general character Mosaism requires that these reciprocal relations should be expressed not in words merely but in acts of religious service. This purpose is served by the institution of sacrifice, which was not introduced by Mosaism but found as ancient traditional religious practice, and carried out by it in conformity with its fundamental conceptions."

Further citations are unnecessary. The work is an invaluable repertory of materials on almost every Old Testament sentiment or belief. If the author is occasionally mastered by his own collections, losing himself in details and failing to hit the nail on the head, that may be forgiven him in view of the rich materials which he furnishes to enable others to form a judgment of their own. The book is stimulating almost as much for what it wants as for what it contributes. Its chief fault is perhaps that it is too theological, in the sense of the exact and technical theology of this age. Glaring examples

of this are furnished by many of the headings to sections. But there are brilliant examples of a contrary sort, as when the author signalises the fact that in the Old Testament the "righteousness" of God forms no antithesis to His mercy or grace. God may be righteous in being merciful; He is righteous in forgiving the sin of the penitent when he acknowledges it. The Old Testament certainly no less than the New is explicit in teaching that all that men have and all that they are they owe to the grace of God, but its general way of speaking is not dominated by this conception. God's dealing with men is judged according to the actual relations in which He and men are found standing to one another, without perpetual recurrence to the preliminary idea to what these relations are due. And probably the way of speaking even in the New Testament is not different (1 John i. 9; Heb. vi. 10). Language like that in Is. xlv. 21, "A righteous God and (therefore) a Saviour," rather goes athwart our traditional phraseology. No doubt the meaning of "righteousness" in the second half of Isaiah is one of the obscure things in Old Testament theology. Riehm's contribution to the question, if not final, is useful, certainly far superior to that made in Kautzsch's essay on the subject. His statement of the idea of the "Servant of the Lord" is the best perhaps that has yet been made, and it is earnestly to be hoped that in the minds of scholars at least it will dislodge the eminently artificial and unthinkable idea to which the great influence of Delitzsch has given vogue in this country.

The author, whose book enables us quite to realise the kind of man he was, one no less devout than learned, simple, amiable, and dispassionate in his view alike of men and things, was wont to open his course of lectures with this among other remarks: "If this course should serve in this way to bring the results of Old Testament investigation into connection with the other theological disciplines, yet I lay particular stress on bringing to full acknowledgment the practical religious meaning of the Old Testament. Theological science has its object not in itself. It will on its part also help the increase of the Church of Christ in the life of God" (Pref., vi.). The best way to understand the Old Testament is to regard

it as given in its various parts to Israel for those purposes (and no other) for which ordinary religious minds read it to-day. It was given to enable men to live unto God, in the circumstances in which they were and with the notions on all other subjects which they had.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

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**Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages.**

*From the Papers of the late William Wright, LL.D., Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. Cambridge. 1890.*

ALAS, that these lectures should be posthumous! The last occasion on which the writer of this notice met their author was when he visited Oxford, at the Commemoration of 1887, for the purpose of receiving the honorary degree of D.C.L., the last, probably, of the many well-merited marks of distinction which learned bodies had conferred upon him. Within a year disquieting rumours began to be heard respecting the gradual decay of his health; and to the great sorrow of all interested in Oriental studies, his death came in the spring of 1889. Among English Semitic philologists, Dr Wright was *facile princeps*. He ranked with the great Continental scholars, who often by notices in their writings testified to the appreciation with which they regarded him. He laid the foundations of his Oriental learning early in life: in his younger days he was a pupil of the celebrated Oriental philologist, Emilius Rödiger. His life was dedicated to the promotion of the studies which he had at heart; he worked steadily, unostentatiously, methodically; and he accomplished much. One of the earliest of his works—"The Book of Jonah in four Oriental Languages" (1857)—still retains its value; the glossaries appended to it are the best introduction to the subject treated more comprehensively in the present volume, which can be placed in the hands of a beginner. His Arabic grammar, his editions of Arabic and Syriac texts, his catalogues of the Syriac and Ethiopic MSS. in the British Museum, and his elaborate article on Syriac literature in the ninth

edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," testify at once to his industry, and to his mastery of the studies to which he was devoted. At Cambridge he founded a school of Semitic philology, of which that University may justly be proud. Nor were his labours confined to his published writings. Bishop Lightfoot in his "Clemens" and his "Ignatius," and foreign scholars repeatedly, bear witness to the generosity with which his services were always at the disposal of those who invoked their aid. He was moreover an assiduous member of the Company appointed for the Revision of the Authorised Version of the Old Testament, and gave his time and pains most liberally to the work: it is—or ought to be—no secret, that for many of its most decided and important improvements the Revised Version is largely indebted to his powerful support. His methods were strictly scientific: his judgment as a scholar was sober, sound, and well balanced; pretentiousness and unreality were hateful to him: he was no defender of ancient, but baseless, prejudices, but neither would he countenance rash innovations, or lend the weight of his authority to theories destitute of an adequate foundation.

The lectures reflect the man. He saw clearly; he spoke forcibly and directly; when he did not know a thing, he said so frankly (*e.g.*, pp. 182, 183). The following is an outline of the contents of the volume. After an introductory chapter on the probable cradle of the Semitic race, a survey of the languages constituting the Semitic family, and a sketch of the history of the Semitic alphabet, Prof. Wright proceeds to the immediate subject of his lectures, viz., the detailed and systematic comparison of the principal members of the Semitic group. Arabic, Ethiopic, Hebrew, and the leading Aramaic dialects (including Mandaic, and the so-called Modern Syriac), are regularly compared; Assyrian, Moabitish, Phœnician, modern Arabic, &c., are referred to when occasion arises. Chapter iv. is devoted to the letters of the Semitic alphabet, and the changes which they undergo in the various languages as compared with one another; chapter v. deals similarly with the vowels and their permutations. The subject of chapter vi. is the pronoun (both suffixes and separate forms); that of chapter vii. is the noun (case-endings, feminine and plural ter-

minations, &c.). The eighth is a long chapter dealing with the verb; first, the formation of the several tenses is explained, then that of the derived conjugations, arranged successively by groups. Chapter ix. is devoted to a consideration of the special forms arising in connection with the irregular verbs. The only important department of the subject which the lectures do not embrace is the forms of nouns; but these do not appear to have been included by the author in his course. The lectures are published precisely as they stand in Dr Wright's MS., with only such occasional slight modification of form as was necessary to adapt them for publication, and the addition of a few corrections or explanatory remarks, enclosed in brackets. These latter are sometimes valuable, especially those which call attention to *loan-words* in Arabic, and refer to Fränkel's important treatise on this subject. The entire volume has had the advantage of having been read in proof by Prof. Nöldeke, of Strassburg; so that it may be said to come before scholars with the combined authority of the author himself, of his successor in the same chair at Cambridge, and of the most eminent and soundest of living Semitic philologists.

The lectures from beginning to end are simply admirable. To the student of the Semitic languages they will form an indispensable hand-book. Not only is there no work covering the same ground in English; there is none in any foreign language. Valuable contributions to the subject are, indeed, to be found in the writings of Nöldeke (especially his "*Mandäische Grammatik*"), and other foreign philologists; but there is no work in which the materials are collected upon the same comprehensive and systematic plan, or handled with the same rare faculty of lucid exposition. The last named quality is, indeed, peculiarly characteristic of the author. Whatever be the subject under treatment, in Dr Wright's hands it becomes perfectly luminous and intelligible. The phonetic changes which a letter gradually underwent, the successive stages in the derivation of a form, the mutual relations subsisting between corresponding forms in the different dialects,—all are traced with admirable distinctness, and exemplified with just that amount of illustration which is

welcome to a reader. It is shown, for example, how, perhaps, the original form is preserved in Arabic or Ethiopic, how the Aramaic dialects exhibit it in another phase of its growth, how the Hebrew stage may be illustrated from the modern spoken Arabic. In spite of the number of languages compared, the reader is never bewildered or confused; every item is ranged in the position which logically belongs to it.

As might be expected, Dr Wright sets a firm face against the illusions which still prevail in some quarters respecting the Semitic languages. Thus (p. 16), after commenting on the "absurd designation of *Chaldee*," applied often to the Western Aramaic, he states, tersely and forcibly, the facts of the case: "Now, do not for a moment suppose that the Jews lost the use of Hebrew in the Babylonian captivity, and brought back with them into Palestine this so-called Chaldee. The Aramean dialect, which gradually got the upper hand since the fourth or fifth century B.C., did not come that long journey across the Syrian desert; it was *there*, on the spot; and it ended by taking possession of the field, side by side with the kindred dialect of the Samaritans, as exemplified in their Targum of the Pentateuch, their festal services and hymns." And (p. 32), with reference to attempts that have been made to establish a connection between the Semitic and Aryan families of speech, he writes, in a spirit at once scientific and open-minded: "When Semitic philology has advanced so far as to have discovered the laws by which the original biliterals (assuming their separate existence) were converted into triliterals; when we are able to account for the position, and to explain the function of each variable constituent of the triliteral roots, then, and not till then, may we venture to think of comparing the primitive Indo-European and Semitic vocabularies. . . . What has been written on this subject by Fürst, and the elder Delitzsch in his '*Jesurun*' (1838), is absolutely worthless, as are also the lucubrations of Von Raumer and Raabe. The best that has been said about it you will find in the younger Delitzsch's '*Studien über Indogermanisch - Semitische Wurzelverwandtschaft*' (1873), and in McCurdy's '*Aryo-Semitic Speech*' (1881)."

But enough will have been said in illustration of the charac-

ter of these Lectures ; and it only remains to commend them cordially to all who may be interested in the subject with which they deal.

S. R. DRIVER.

### **Memorials of Edwin Hatch, D.D.**

*London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1890.*

THIS is a volume of sermons by the late lamented Dr Hatch of Oxford, with a few of the biographical notices which appeared after his death prefixed. It is a matter of satisfaction to know that a Life on a larger scale is in course of preparation by Mrs Hatch.

All who have read the learned writings of Dr Hatch will desire to know what he was as a preacher. From this volume they will learn that he was not merely a scholar, but a devout, good man ; a poet, a friend of the people, an earnest well-wisher to every good cause, a broad-minded catholic Christian in the true sense of the word. A man possessing these characteristics could not fail to be impressive, whether his audience were Oxford scholars or country parishioners. The greater number of these sermons were preached on academic occasions at St Mary's, Oxford, or before the University of Oxford. But even in these the preacher is more than the scholar : simple in style, earnest in purpose, and proclaiming truths of universal concern, though specially bearing on the needs and duties of the particular audience. They are sermons that might be listened to with respect and profit by men of all schools and parties, for they are the utterances of a man who could not be described by any party label, because he lived for the whole, and because he was able to recognise the legitimacy and value of tendencies he did not share, and of sections with which he had little in common. In the very variety of religious type and ecclesiastical organisation he saw evidence of the divinity of Christianity. " If Christianity had been an artificially-devised religion, there would have been, in all probability, a single Life of the Founder, and a single exposition of His teaching : instead of that, there are four different lives, written apparently for dif-



ferent classes of minds, and from different points of view. If the Church had been an artificially-devised institution, there would probably have been a single definite code of rules, and a single prescribed form of government; instead of that, there are no authoritative rules, and there is an almost absolute elasticity of form. In the one case the diversity of record, in the other the variability of form, and in both cases the contradiction of human analogies, are indications of a deeper than human unity" (p. 172).

The main currents of Dr Hatch's studies are clearly revealed in the University sermons. He loses no opportunity of pressing on his hearers the importance of the study of church history in a scientific spirit, with a view to a true knowledge of the nature of Christianity, and of the study of the Greek in which the New Testament was written, as a necessary condition to the ascertainment of its meaning. Not less clearly is the intensely earnest religious spirit of the man revealed. He tells his academic audience that "they cannot be half-hearted in religion. A half-hearted religion is but a ragged surplice huddled round the skeleton of unbelief." Dr Hatch never forgot that Christianity is the religion of the people. He calls it in one sermon the "Gospel of the poor." He declared that to make it a merely intellectual religion was to doom it to failure. In the sermon which he preached in 1886 before the University of Edinburgh he compared Christianity robbed of its heart to the *aurora borealis*, beautiful to see, but leaving you as you gaze at it "on the lone moorland" to shiver and die with cold.

In all these sermons Dr Hatch gives greatest prominence to the simple fundamental truths of the faith. That God is the *God of Hope* was the truth he proclaimed in the tender, pathetic sermon preached at Birchanger after the death of his brother, the rector of the parish; a remarkable man, whose loss Dr Hatch laments in an exquisite poem, to be found in the recently published collection of his poems, entitled "Towards Fields of Light." That God is Love, he, in another sermon preached at St Margaret's, Westminster, pronounced "the truth of Truths." Charity and truth he calls, in a University sermon on humility, "the twin angels of the

Church of God." He believed that "wherever good works God works," thus extending the sphere of the Holy Spirit's influence far beyond the bounds of nominal Christendom.

These sermons are cordially commended for perusal to all who desire the growth of the Christian spirit, the revival of the ancient faith adapted to modern conditions, the advancement of the Divine Kingdom, and the well-being of mankind. In them the author appears as he appeared to all who had the privilege of his acquaintance: magnanimous, modest, manly, simple, sincere, as great morally as he was intellectually; a living witness for the heroic in religious life in an age when, as he himself declared, "there is no feature more marked on the face of contemporary religion than its pettiness."

A. B. BRUCE.

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### **Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament.**

*Bearbeitet von D. H. J. Holtzmann, R. A. Lipsius, P. W. Schmiedel, und H. v. Soden. Vierter Band, Erste Abtheilung. Johanneisches Evangelium bearbeitet von Holtzmann. Freiburg i. B., J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1890.*

THE *Hand-Commentar* proceeds apace, and will form an important addition to our Exegetical apparatus. The learning, the compressed results of extended research, the absence of apparent animus against those who do not occupy the standpoint of the writers, are worthy of thanks and praise. It was to be expected that Holtzmann himself, the able editor of the *Histor. Einleitung in das N. T.*, 1885, should have undertaken the task of grappling with the Johannine Gospel. Professor Holtzmann argues, as many others do, that this priceless document is a theological treatise of the middle of the second century thrown into the form of a biographical fiction, and that it possesses a certain historical value, inasmuch as it reveals the high water mark of Christian ideas and dogmas, concerning the essence of God and destiny of man, at the period of its composition. Suppose we were to concede thus much, a fresh crop of enquiries would immediately arise. How shall we account for the rapid reception

of the "Spiritual Gospel," not only in Ephesus, where tradition appears to have placed its origin, but in Alexandria, Antioch, and Lyons? Extraordinary preparation for it must have been made during a generation, seeing that the eastern and western Churches appear simultaneously to have accepted it as the last Apostolic legacy of "one that knew." Of course such a conclusion as this of Holtzmann, Hilgenfeld, or Thoma would deprive the gospel of any authority transcending that of the early creeds, and would rob Christendom of one of its most invaluable treasures, but the Church would still possess the teaching of the four great Epistles of St Paul and the liturgies of the Apocalypse; nor would it be bereaved of undoubting faith in the Divinity of the Lord, and in the reality of a Supernatural Revelation of the nature and will of God. But on the other hand, if the Gospel of John be really what it professes to be, the record of words actually heard, the impression positively made upon a susceptible soul by One who claimed to be the Son of God, and to have lain in the bosom of the Father before all worlds, *then* we have in our very hands a supernatural phenomenon of transcendent importance. This supreme issue continues to make the Fourth Gospel a battlefield where the believers and disbelievers in God's awful and blessed nearness to us meet face to face.

We wish that Professor Holtzmann in his masterly *resumé* of *some* of the evidence *pro* and *contra*, had not left so much unsaid, and not so often referred his readers to reperuse the gist of his proofs in his *Einleitung* or other works. He has left no room to discuss the *external* evidence of the existence of the Gospel before the middle of the second century. He quietly puts aside the whole of it and even disdains to argue in this volume whether, *e.g.*, *Justin* quoted it or not, or whether *Basileides* made use of the prologue or not. He does not occupy his reader with any speculation as to the identification of the author with the author of the Apocalypse, or the comparison of the character of the Synoptical John, the John of the Epistle to the Galatians, or the John of the second and third Epistles, with the traits of personal character by which the writer depicts himself in the Fourth Gospel. Questions

of style and diction are passed over also without remark, and he commences his research into the "Johannean problem" by sketching the relation which the Fourth Gospel sustains to the Synoptics. Professor Holtzmann takes no notice of efforts to minimize or explain the divergences as to the time and place of our Lord's active ministry, so successfully presented by a host of critics, German, English, and French. He simply enumerates the well-known apparent discrepancies, withholding the fact that the passages bristle with evidence that the writer was aware of the extent of the Synoptic tradition, and was deliberately supplementing it.

Great emphasis is laid upon the doctrinal and theological *form* of the Gospel. The fundamental teachings of the Lord are enumerated with a view to accentuate this peculiarity. We are not disposed to deny the theological import of the Gospel as a whole. It must have had this character, if the writer's intuition of the mystery of the Saviour's Person had forced upon his mind the conviction that Jesus was "the Word made flesh." But it would be easy to enumerate from St Matthew or St Luke an equally long, luminous, and progressive series of theological data based on the synoptic discourses of Jesus. Holtzmann suggests that the writer puts into the supposed words of Jesus a series of warnings, suggestions, or pseudo-prophecies of events which happened in the Hebrew and Gentile Churches at the close of the first century, and arranged them theologically. The section on the Logos Doctrine is mainly occupied with an argument for the Universalism of the writer, which he regards as incompatible with Apostolic sentiment. In his section 6 he takes for proved that the Synoptic Gospels likewise are not Apostolic, and therefore, if the fourth Gospel were the work of an eye-witness, or of one of the twelve Apostles, that circumstance triumphantly disposes of it, by saying it would be the only gospel that had this peculiarity. In a rapid manner he sketches the course of controversial writing on the problem from Bretschneider to Schenkel, Oscar Holtzmann, and C. Weizsäcker.

In endeavouring to discover on internal grounds the time when the Gospel, as he conceives of it, must have been written, he appears to think that there must and would have

been traces of the doctrinal teaching of "John," in the Apostolic Fathers, the *Didache*, and the like, if theological ideas, so strongly marked as those in the fourth Gospel, had been in existence before the date of these documents. But the reply is obvious from other parts of Holtzmann's own discussions, that discoveries of the immeasurable grandeur of the person of Christ, of His pre-existence, of the light of the knowledge of God's glory in His face, had been certainly made and were widely diffused by the indubitable Epistles of Paul, that the sub-apostolic writers are not destitute of these traces, and also that the Synoptists themselves contain unquestionable specimens of our Lord's teaching and phraseology, which to careless eyes seem to be the peculiarity of the fourth Gospel only. He quietly ignores the controversy as to the dependence of Justin's doctrine of the Logos upon the teaching of the Prologue, and suggests that the latter takes its place somewhere in the long line of speculation that began with Philo, and reached its climax in Origen.

He supposes that the site and atmosphere of the fourth Gospel were to be found in Ephesus or its neighbourhood, in the home of mysticism and Montanism, in the rank soil of Gnosticism, and also, as he mischievously adds, where the *Alogi* made their appearance to protest against the canonisation of this latest fiction of a great Unknown. The Palestinian traces, the autoptic touches which have prejudiced so many generations in its favour, are due to foreign travel, and possibly to intercourse with some who were the heirs of a veritable and precious tradition. Holtzmann further opines that the author reveals acquaintance with the condition of the Church after the date and the suppression of the revolt under Barcochba! This is supposed to be indicated in the "prophecy" of Caiaphas, ch. xi. 48 ff. Surely the tragedy of A.D. 70 is more than enough to justify this hypothetical prevision of the High Priest if it had been recorded in year 80.

Our author ingeniously adduces evidence that the fourth Gospel is impregnated with the *natur-philosophie* of the Greek schools, with Platonic metaphysic, with Hellenic identification of the "veritable" and "the heavenly," and with the Alexandrian antitheses of true and false, light and darkness.

He also contrasts the Pauline and Johannine references to "the Jews."

Holtzmann does not deny that the author of the Gospel assumes that the beloved disciple was the son of Zebedee, but suggests that we owe to the Ephesian elders the identification of the beloved disciple with the author of the foregoing treatise. Their lack of criticism or good faith—not to call it by a more outspoken name—is justified or explained by the gratuitous supposition that the author was the head of the community to which his admirers belonged.

The numerous and to us insurmountable difficulties excited by this way of estimating "the appendix" are not discussed.

The author of this introduction takes no side with the earlier or later forms of the Tübingen criticism, but lays down dogmatically conditions of time entirely incompatible with the Apostolical origin of the Gospel. He makes the suggestion that it corresponds with the expansion and continuation of *Old Testament History* in the Jewish Haggada! He supposes that it was as a theological romance wrought out along the lines of synoptic tradition, and may possibly contain here and there a precious jewel of fact. He grants that the very conception of "salvation" was shaped in the heart of the Christian Church by this document, and that the *Logos-Christus* provided a higher, nobler view, both of the world and of man, and a starting place for Christian doctrine. He admits that it is of high importance that the author of these ideas of redemption and of the love of God should have set them forth in a form adapted to Greek mind and Gentile Christendom.

In a brief review it would be unjust to attempt an appreciation of the merits of the exegesis which follows. The personal claims of Jesus to be the life and light of the world, to be one with the Father, to have had a glory with God before the world was, are not explained away, but shown to be part and parcel of the imaginary and ideal treatment of the imaginary self-revelation of the incarnate Word. The points where the harmonists find perplexities give him no anxiety. The splendour of the miracles is part of the purely ideal attitude which the evangelist observes when he handles the mysteries of life and death. He is utterly unlike Renan,

Strauss, Schleiermacher, or Thoma, in his estimate of the record. One peculiarity is noticeable, he is always on the look out for some second century *nuance*, to sustain the pre-supposition of authorship which he has adopted at the outset. The *Hand-Commentar* cannot be consulted without advantage by those who wish to know what upon this hypothesis the stupendous allegorist meant to convey as his conception of what an imaginary Jesus might have said or done. Criticism is chiefly confined to the *art* with which this great feat was definitely achieved. This transformation and this principle of exegesis may approve themselves to some minds, but such an effort presents the eyeless sockets of death where for all these centuries the soul of eternity has flashed with unquenchable brightness.

H. R. REYNOLDS.

### **Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament.**

*Bearb. v. Prof. Dr H. J. Holtzmann, Geh. Kirchenr, Prof. Dr R. A. Lipsius, Lic. P. W. Schmiedel, Pred. Lic. H. v. Soden. 3 Bd., 2. Abth.: Hebräerbrief, Briefe d. Petrus, Jakobus, Judas. Bearb. von. H. v. Soden. Freiburg i. B., J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1890.*

THE second part of the third volume of the *Hand-Commentar*, published by Mohr of Freiburg, i. B., contains the Epistle to the Hebrews, 1 and 2 Peter, James and Jude. This part of the work has been executed by Von Soden of Berlin. In form it is in keeping with the previously issued parts of this important enterprise; that is to say, in the quality of the paper, the size of the page, the accuracy and beauty of the typography, the business-like aspect of the whole, it is all that can be desired. Our own publishers may be presumed to know their own business, but it is to be hoped they will not be above borrowing hints from Continental publications.

The plan of the work requires that the commentary be the briefest possible. This part, dealing with five epistles, is comprised in less than two hundred pages. It may be questioned whether this plan is wise. The commentary

is intended for scholars. The work that has been put upon it is of the highest order. The contributors are men second to none in critical attainments, of first-rate scholarship, and of original power. But their plan restricts them in general to a mere expression of opinion, and precludes the possibility of any full discussion. Even on these terms the commentary is valuable and important. The opinion of such scholars as Holtzmann and Lipsius is always worth knowing, even when it is but briefly substantiated. But in reading the commentary one is continually accompanied by the wish that it were somewhat fuller. At the same time the amount of knowledge and thought compressed into this *Hand-Commentar* is worthy of the most ample and cordial acknowledgment. To save space V. Soden gives all his lexical explanations in brackets in the translation, so that his remarks upon the subject-matter are not interrupted.

Into his brief introductions to the Epistles, V. Soden has contrived neatly to pack an immense amount of conscientious and intelligent reading and research. He is indeed entirely ignorant of English literature. Perhaps he may have considered that his time would have been wasted in consulting Rendall or Edwards or Bruce or Davidson or Westcott, but had he consulted these writers he would have been saved from one or two somewhat surprising mistakes. The paragraphs in which an attempt is made to determine the place of the several epistles in New Testament literature are full of useful, and sometimes new material. In his treatment of the Epistle to the Hebrews there is considerable freshness. He has indeed no new name to suggest as its author. Luke, Silas, Barnabas, Clement of Rome, he summarily dismisses. Luke, perhaps, deserved more serious consideration than he receives. Against Apollos he has nothing to urge, but he does not think the advocates of that name have anything decisive to urge in its favour. His one positive conclusion is that the writer himself belonged to the Church addressed. This Church he cannot find in Jerusalem, nor even in Palestine, but in Italy. Possibly the epistle was a circular letter to the Italian Churches. In any case, the Church addressed was not composed of Jews, nor even of a mixture of Jews and Gentiles,



but exclusively of Gentiles. This he believes to be put beyond a doubt by the terms in which the exhortation of the epistle is couched. That its exhortations are addressed to persons in danger of falling away from the Christian faith goes without saying. This apostasy must have meant a return either to heathenism or to Judaism—Jewish Christianity being out of the question. Soden urges that a relapse into Judaism could scarcely have been termed an “apostasy from the living God,” the living God being the God of the Old Testament. Neither could it aptly have been designated “disobedience,” “unbelief,” “to sin willingly,” “to be hardened by the deceitfulness of sin.” To compare a relapse into Judaism with the conduct of Esau, or with the lapse into idolatry in the wilderness, were pointless, while it were equally pointless to speak to persons inclining towards Judaism of laying again the foundations of repentance and faith, foundations as necessary to Judaism as to Christianity. That these passages adduced by V. Soden require explanation no one will deny,\* but that they carry his conclusion will scarcely be admitted by those who fairly weigh the drift of the epistle and its individual arguments. What, *e.g.*, would be the relevancy of comparing Christ with the angels and with Moses in addressing a Gentile Church?

V. Soden relegates 2 Peter to the second quarter of the second century, as was to be expected. But it is a pity that he should have felt himself called upon to be original in dealing with 1 Peter. In this epistle he finds an author of independent character, of a thoroughly practical disposition, possessed of a good Greek style and some literary culture. In short, he can find in the epistle nothing of Peter but the name. He thinks it not impossible that Silvanus, some twenty-five years after Peter's death, should have used the apostle's name, himself being an apostle (1 Thess. ii. 6) and a prophet (Acts xv. 22). The words of the Epistle itself, he thinks, suggest this. For “by Silvanus” (v. 12) must mean more than that Silvanus was his amanuensis. This authorship would explain the Pauline influence apparent in the epistle, and especially the reminiscences of the Epistle to the Romans. But why Silvanus, if he thought it necessary to

use the name of some better known man than himself, did not use the name of Paul with whom he had been more intimately connected, V. Soden does not explain. Is it credible that churches urgently in need of apostolic counsel should accept a letter claiming to be from Peter twenty-five years after Peter was dead? If V. Soden credited the Bithynians and the rest with but one hundredth part of his own ingenuity, he could not ascribe to them such credulity.

His strongest reason for denying the Petrine authorship is that allusions to persecution are found in the epistle. For these persecutions he can find no place until the reign of Domitian. On the other hand these allusions when closely examined are recognised as merely referring to private and incidental persecution, not to persecutions authorised by the State and on a large scale. Even were it not so, the claim of the epistle itself to be from Peter cannot so easily be disposed of as V. Soden seems to think.

In regard to the commentary itself, it must suffice to say that the manner of it could scarcely be improved. Not a word is wasted; and often even in one word the maximum of significance is stored. Sometimes the interpretation is open to question; but, on the whole, the work is admirably done, and for getting swiftly to the meaning of these epistles and to their comprehension as wholes there is probably no such good guide in existence.

MARCUS DODS.

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### **The Life and Letters of the Rev. Adam Sedgwick.**

*By J. W. Clark and Professor Hughes. 2 vols. Cambridge University Press. 1890.*

ONE inevitable result of the increasing severity of the competitive struggle for life at the present day is, that fame is fleeting, and that many of those who occupied a high place in popular esteem in the past generation are now well-nigh forgotten. The subject of this memoir is a case in point; for, although it is not more than seventeen years since his death, yet he was a man who had outlived his generation; and many of the public events with which he was connected had even

then either become simple matters of history, or had been buried in the oblivion of the past.

This interesting Biography has, on this account, lost some of its attractiveness for the present-day public; for Sedgwick was one of those who owed his great popularity rather to the extraordinary force of his personal character, than to the extent, or the nature of the work which he accomplished. We cannot but think also, that it would have been an improvement had a more trenchant pruning knife been exercised, in preparing his correspondence for publication. But for these faults the author is not, we believe, responsible; and, taken as it is, we are deeply indebted to Mr Clark for having given to us an admirable work, whose literary merit is of a high order, and which, like the other works by the same author, bears the marks of laborious and accurate research. The typography and illustrations are excellent, and the execution of the work is, in the highest degree, creditable to the University Press.

The position occupied by Sedgwick was in some respects unique. He was a pioneer in science, yet a devout and conscientious clergyman, at a time when teachers of Science and of Theology were too often in conflict: a simple-minded man, who enjoyed nothing more than a romp with children, while at the same time he was a successful courtier and an honoured friend of the Queen and Prince Albert.

In his character were combined many contradictory traits. He was patient in his geological investigations, yet fierce and unreasonable in controversy; broad in his sympathies but narrow in his religious opinions; liberal and large-hearted in his sentiments, yet so conservative in his beliefs in matters of scientific reasoning, that he is usually to be found strongly opposing any novel results of deductive inquiry—witness his attitude towards the views of Agassiz and his followers as to glacial action. He was a man of athletic frame, yet a valetudinarian; a University Professor who never failed to do far more than the specified duties of his office; and a Canon of Norwich who was equally conscientious in the discharge of his Cathedral functions.

Into the details of his life this is not the place to enter.

Mr Clark has, with a faithful and affectionate hand, traced the different phases of his career so graphically, that those who knew little of the man or of his environments can follow them with interest, and can easily picture the scenes in which he moved. We see him in his simple Yorkshire home, in his college rooms during his student career, in his early work as a college tutor; then suddenly appointed to an office for which he had not been specially fitted by previous study, but into whose duties he threw himself with such vigour, that, within a year, he had brought himself abreast of the science of his day, speedily becoming a pioneer in new fields of research.

His devotional spirit of attachment to the Scriptures moulded his opinions on those questions regarding creation which are raised by the study of geology. In his reply to Dean Cockburn's onslaught on the geologists at the British Association Meeting of 1844, Sedgwick expressed his belief that the creative days were extended periods. He regarded the first two verses of the first chapter of Genesis "as an exordium declaring God the Creator of all material things out of nothing, at a period so immeasurably removed from man as to be utterly out of the reach of his conception. After the first verse there is a pause of vast and unknown length, and here I would place the period of the old geological formations, not revealed because out of the scope of revelation. The work of actual present creation then begins. The Spirit of God broods over the dead matter of the world, and in six figurative days brings it into perfect fashion, and fills it with living beings." "I once thought," he writes to a friend, "that we had good physical proof of a general deluge that must have happened a few thousand years since. I afterwards doubted the evidence, though I still believe that a vast physical change has taken place in the surface of the northern hemisphere within a few thousand years. Another opinion I formerly held was this—viz., that the modern period was more distinctly separable from the anterior period than it proves to be on further investigation." "It is something to prove against some sturdy infidels (who would scoff at the Bible if it were spoken of) that the world is not eternal.

Therefore it was created by a power external to itself, acting with prescient wisdom, and ordaining all laws by which the order of nature is maintained. The same creative power has not been quiescent, but has been employed again and again in replenishing and renovating the earth. Land and sea have changed place; the tops of our highest hills have been under water, therefore the fact of a historic deluge is not impossible or improbable. Though the world is very old, man is but a creature of yesterday."

With these views on cosmogony it was only natural that Sedgwick's spirit should have been stirred within him by the publication of the "*Vestiges of Creation*." "I do, from my soul, abhor the sentiments; and I believe I could have crushed the book by proving it base, vulgar in spirit, false, shallow, worthless, and with the garb of philosophy starting from principles which are at variance with all sober, inductive truth. The sober facts of geology shuffled so as to play a rogue's game; phrenology (that sink-hole of human folly and prating coxcombry); spontaneous generation; transmutation of species; and I know not what; all to be swallowed, without tasting or trying, like so much horse physic!! Gross credulity and rank infidelity joined in unlawful marriage, and breeding a deformed progeny of unnatural conclusions. When I read some pages of the foul book it brought Swift's satire to my mind and filled me with such inexpressible disgust that I threw it down and cried out to myself 'Give me an ounce of civet, good apothecary, to sweeten my imagination.'"

With equal virulence he wrote an article on the "*Vestiges*" for the *Edinburgh Review*; but it was expressed in language too passionate and unreasonable to be judicial, and his criticisms rather overshot their mark. Although his informal letters are sparkling and racy, his literary style was usually cumbrous and dull; and in this review his feelings seem to have hampered his judgment and expression: it is one of the least pleasing of all his writings, contrasting very unfavourably with the calmer, yet more vigorous and critical work on the same subject by Hugh Miller, "*The Footprints of the Creator*." In Sedgwick's mind there was no quarter to be given to such speculations; they were at all times and

in all forms intolerable ; while, to the mind of the Scottish geologist it was the inadequacy and empiricism of the theory that was to be condemned, not the theorizing itself, which in this field he considered perfectly legitimate. "The same faculty which finds employment in tracing to their causes the rise of nations, and which it is the merit of the philosophic historian judiciously to exercise, will to a certainty seek employment in this department of history also." "The 'Vestiges' bears the same sort of relation, in this special field, to sober enquiry founded upon the true condition of things that the legend of the old chroniclers bore to authentic history." "There are limits to the field of palæontological discovery in its relation to what may be termed the chronology of organized existence, and then, I doubt not, geological history, in legitimate conformity to the laws of mind, will assume a very extraordinary form."

When this remarkable prediction of Hugh Miller's was fulfilled ten years later, in a way unexpected, by the publication of the "Origin of Species" in 1859, the same feelings with which Sedgwick had attacked the "Vestiges" were reawakened in his mind. He wrote to Darwin, "I have read your book with more pain than pleasure. Parts of it I admired greatly, parts I laughed at till my sides were almost sore, other parts I read with absolute sorrow, because I think them utterly false and grievously mischievous. 'Tis the crown and glory of organic science that it does, through final cause, link material to moral. You have ignored this link ; and, if I do not mistake your meaning, you have done your best to break it. Were it possible (which, thank God, it is not) to break it, humanity would suffer a damage that might brutalize it, and sink the human race into a lower grade of degradation than any into which it has fallen."

The record of Sedgwick's geological work, which is given in an interesting chapter by Professor Hughes, is in many respects a strong contrast to these polemical writings. It illustrates strikingly his capability of patient research and his power of reasoning on physical data when unbiassed by preconceived opinions. On those points wherein Sedgwick differed from his brother geologists, such as the relations of

the Cambrian and Silurian systems, the most recent researches have confirmed the views which he adopted, and indicated the accuracy of his observations.

The graphic delineations which Mr. Clark gives us of the social life of an English University town, in the early days of the century, are interesting, as they refer to conditions which are now practically extinct. The abolition of permanent idle fellowships, of religious tests, and of the obligation to celibacy, has been a potent factor in destroying the shreds of the original monasticism which had survived in the universities, and has given a greater and wider human interest to all connected with them, a greater purity, a deeper and more real religious life, a greater stimulus to learning, and has brought the university more directly into touch with national life in a way that was not dreamt of by the college dons of past ages. The old exclusiveness of the former state of things, in accordance with which the heads of houses and professors associated only with their fellow-heads and professors, and which decreed that the few ladies in university society were to be taken in to dinner in strict order of the university rank of their husbands, all this has practically disappeared, and has given place to a much freer association of all classes in the university, both graduate and undergraduate, which is mutually beneficial.

In the compilation of Sedgwick's life Mr Clark has shown himself as well qualified to be the historian of Cambridge social life, as he has, by his monumental work, proved his fitness to deal with the inanimate externals of the university.

ALEXANDER MACALISTER.

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### **Evangelical Theology.**

*A Course of Popular Lectures. By A. A. Hodge, D.D., Professor of Theology, Princeton. T. Nelson & Sons. 1890.*

THIS is simply a reprint of the American edition of the late Dr Hodge's Lectures, with a preface by Rev. C. A. Salmond, who, in his "Princetoniana," has so well drawn the portrait of the two Hodges, and having in his own studies

derived so much benefit from them, is eminently entitled to commend the present volume to the public. It is not easy to condense into a few lines a critical notice of this book. Many questions might present themselves for criticism in connection with the plan of the work, the selection of topics, the style of treatment, and the views presented on particular points. On such questions we give weight to the individuality of Dr Hodge, who, having been endowed, like the Apostle Paul, with a mind at once theological, practical, and spiritual, was far better qualified than any casual critic to determine the plan and method of a course of popular lectures on Evangelical Theology. The scope of the lectures is very comprehensive, embracing, besides the more ordinary topics of divinity, such questions as prayer, evolution, perfectionism, high churchism, relation of the State to religion, &c., &c. One or two subjects, however, we are surprised to find either omitted or but briefly sketched. It would have been highly desirable in our judgment to have a chapter on Agnosticism—undoubtedly one of the most prevalent and pernicious refuges of the unbelieving mind at the present day. Then, we do wonder that the whole subject of sin, the fall of man, and the atonement, is not more fully and prominently discussed. There is no more fertile source of false theology at the present day than slight views of sin and guilt, and Dr Hodge was well fitted to do justice to that great subject. On the question of atonement, too, while he has laid down with characteristic firmness and precision the Scripture doctrine, it was surely desirable that he should expressly distinguish this from those vaguer views of atonement which have often been presented in lieu of the doctrine of substitution and satisfaction.

One great characteristic of Dr Hodge as a theologian is, uncompromising fidelity to the divine revelation, combined with a greater manifestation of kindness and "sweet reasonableness" than has usually been found in very firm Calvinistic theologians. And Dr Hodge has had the good fortune, while giving emphasis to the kindly aspect of God's dealings with the whole human race, to escape the reproach of treachery,—of surrendering with the left hand what he had grasped with the



right. He holds Christ, while specially the priest of his own people, "to have been in an important sense also the priest of the whole historic human race. . . . He arrested in behalf of the whole human race as a body, the immediate execution of the legal penalty. . . . He, by His expiation, removed utterly out of the way of all men alike the objective hindrances in the justice of God and in the judgment of the law which rendered their salvation absolutely impossible. In this general sense, Christ, as the Man whom God has appointed Priest, is the common bond of the whole human race, and His meritorious service the common basis of human history." It is an important service Dr Hodge renders to theology when he presents this Catholic view of redemption side by side with predestination and kindred doctrines; and yet one despairs of justice ever being done by opponents to Calvinism in this particular, when we find so superior a writer as Dean Chadwick, in his excellent volume on Exodus in the "Expositor's Bible," speaking of the "palsying grasp of the tyrannous deity of Calvin."

Dr Hodge has much to say that is seasonable and important both on the prophetic and the kingly office of Christ. The full benefit, he says, to be derived from the prophetic office depends on our "implicitly submitting our whole intellects to Him as our Teacher; that we follow him without question in our thinking as much as in our acting; that His doctrine in every department of truth be central and regulative to all other truth. On this condition only will He grant us that unction from the Holy One by which we shall know all things." On the kingly office we simply call attention to his remarks on perfectionism, and on the duty of the State to have a religion,—a duty which is quite separate from what is often held to be identical, to endow some section of the church with worldly gifts.

It may seem to some unscientific, but for our part we do admire Dr Hodge's method of occasionally breaking away from the region of intellectual inquiry into that of practical life and holy experience. It is an eminently Pauline method to remember that men have souls as well as intellects; it gave to Paul's theology a marvellous force and human interest;

and if it were more common in theological classes, theological lectures, and theological treatises, it would redeem theology most effectually from the reproach of dryness and barrenness from which it suffers so much, and suffers not altogether undeservedly.

When a theologian has once established a principle, he is entitled to use it, in the way of *a priori* reasoning, and to make it settle other questions to which it is applicable. But he does this *cum periculo*, because the operations of the Divine Being constitute a region in which human logic is very prone to err. We are inclined to think that Dr Hodge uses the *a priori* method, as distinguished from the expository, rather freely. The question of inspiration is wholly treated in this manner, the extreme position being assumed that every word possesses infallible accuracy. Mr Salmond bestows unqualified praise on this section, but we venture to think it is decidedly defective. The question is not to be settled by any *a priori* conception, but by a diligent examination and comparison of the statements of Scripture and the actual phenomena which it presents. The question is far from simple, and while much respect is due to those who think with Dr Hodge that every word is strictly and infallibly accurate, no less regard ought to be paid to the view of others who cannot reconcile this conception with actual discrepancies in Scripture, and who are shocked at the torturing processes employed to effect such reconciliation. We admit the difficulty of Dr Hodge trying to condense into a page a subject for which a lecture would have been all too little ; and we own the value and originality of the illustrations which seem to have captivated Mr Salmond, having for their object to show how the Holy Spirit might influence the mind of the human writer without force or restraint, and in perfect harmony with his own spontaneity.

W. G. BLAIKIE.

**Lehrbuch der Praktischen Theologie.**

*Von Dr Alfred Krauss, ord. Professor der Theologie zu Strassburg. Erster Band. Freiburg i. Br., J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1890.*

IN the valuable collection of theological text-books at present being issued from Freiburg, the subject of Practical Theology is treated by Professor Krauss of Strassburg, who has already given proof of his ability and acquaintance with the theme by previous works in the same field ; and we have before us the first volume of his new work, comprising the general introduction and the sections devoted to Liturgic and Homiletic. In the introduction, after a brief sketch of the history of Practical Theology, he proceeds to the subject of the Church, since it is from the fact of the existence of the Church that the need of Practical Theology arises. Here he maintains the view, which he had formerly expounded in an Essay on the Protestant doctrine of the Invisible Church, that the Church is essentially a visible body, and that the true distinction is not between the Church visible and invisible, but between the Church and the kingdom of God. Since this is here merely assumed as a postulate from Dogmatic, it would be out of place to discuss its correctness, for a discussion of which I may refer to my Cunningham Lectures on the Kingdom of God. But it is interesting to observe the consequences to which this leads Professor Krauss in his development of Practical Theology. He avoids the tendency to Catholicism, which the denial of the invisible Church often has, by denying that the Church was founded by Christ at all. He simply preached the kingdom of God ; and the outward society of his disciples is just the inevitable result of that, according to the universal laws of nature, which are the ordinance and will of God. According to this view, no Christian institutions have any divine warrant, except in the general sense in which all human society may be said to have it. This is substantially the theory of the late Dean Stanley, but it seems impossible to reconcile it with the obvious meaning of many New Testament passages. It leads Professor Krauss to dismiss somewhat contemptuously all ideas of any Scriptural warrant or direction for the constitu-

tion and work of the Church (pp. 29, 35), and to some other consequences in his further exposition. At this stage, however, he brings out extremely well the distinction between the Church as a fellowship of salvation (*Heilsgemeinschaft*), and as an institute of salvation (*Heilsanstalt*); and shows, that while it is really both, it can be the latter, on Protestant principles, only by virtue of being the former. Hence he infers, that the function of the Church is to be the means of salvation to mankind, and that this can only be fulfilled in a truly Christian way in proportion as the Church is really a fellowship of believers, and so coincides with the kingdom of God.

Practical Theology, as the theory of this function of the Church, he regards, after Schleiermacher, as falling under the two heads of Church government and Church service; but since he holds that on Protestant principles the government of the Church must ever be associated with and modified by the State, he leaves that entirely aside, and developes his whole practical theology out of the theory of Church service. Thus it really becomes simply pastoral theology, *i.e.*, the study of the duties of the ministry, a view which he says is the peculiar Roman Catholic conception of the science. If we are to adopt the theory of Zwingli, Erastus, and Stanley, that the government of the Church is in the hands of the Christian magistrate or people, then Practical Theology should include a department giving directions for this, co-ordinate with that of Church service. The effect of Krauss's principles is further seen in his subdivision of Church service, which he derives, in a purely empiric way, from the observation that the pastor's office is comprehended in liturgy, preaching, instruction of youth, and care of souls, though he endeavours to find a foundation for these divisions in the notion of the Church, making the two former the Church's functions as the fellowship, and the two latter as the institute, of salvation. This, however, fails to carry out thoroughly the Protestant principle laid down before, that the Church is an institute of salvation only so far as it is a fellowship of salvation. Also it seems wrong to say that preaching has to do only with Christians, but the instruction of youth and care of souls with those who are imperfectly or defectively such. Further, the exclusion of the theory of

missions is very inadequately grounded ; for that should surely be a part of practical theology, co-ordinate with the theory of the pastoral office, while the theory of preaching is independent and preparatory to both. Then if the pastoral office were recognised as a divine institution, the various parts of Pastoral Theology might be grounded on the duties assigned in the New Testament to Christian ministers.

In the special treatment of Liturgic, Professor Krauss starts from the notion of divine service or worship, and finds that for the realisation of it there is necessary a time of rest, or festival (*Feier*), though he thinks, in opposition to the Puritan view of Sabbath sanctification, that this should allow play as well as worship, only excluding work or such play as unfits for worship. But Puritans would cordially welcome his condemnation of will worship, as coming in whenever there is set up a different relation between work and rest from that which the divine Word teaches, and which is determined in the fourth commandment, requiring, as he expounds it, no less distinctly six days of work than one of rest (p. 49). This, which even to us seems an ultra-sabbatarian position, is hardly consistent with what he says further on of the necessity of special Christian festivals besides the Sunday. He would limit these to eight or nine in the year, and thinks only a less number indispensable ; but even this violates the proportion of one day in seven (pp. 132-4).

As regulating principles of public worship he lays down four—truth, freedom, commonness (if I may coin such a word for *Gemeinsamkeit*), and solemnity ; and he enforces these very well, although under the second he only recognises the freedom of the Church to alter her services to suit varying times and circumstances, not any similar freedom in the minister. He then proceeds to consider in detail the various elements of worship—prayer, praise, reading of Scripture, confession of faith, solemn sentence, preaching, symbol, and then the externals of worship—place, time, furniture, dress, giving on all these useful and suggestive remarks. The necessity of a fixed liturgy for the principal Church service is reached by a very slight argument ; but it is also truly maintained that no man is fit for the ministry who has not the

gift of free prayer, which should be exercised in pastoral visitation and in the less formal meetings for worship. If so, would not the principle of freedom, before insisted on, be better maintained by allowing the use of free prayer, in some part at least of every divine service?

It is impossible to go into further details; but while, as will be observed, in some respects Professor Krauss advocates a more ritual service than Presbyterians and Congregationalists generally approve, it is gratifying to find that he strenuously opposes Romanising tendencies, and maintains the Protestant principle that the Word of God read and preached is the chief thing in worship, and that the symbolical and ritual parts, even the sacraments, ought to be subordinate to that. On the various particulars that come into consideration his remarks are thoughtful and judicious; and he gives useful and interesting information about the laws and practices of various churches in regard to public worship. Besides the Lutheran and Reformed communions on the Continent, those of the Church of England are given, but no notice is taken of Presbyterian or Congregational forms of worship; though these also have a history and a literature not unworthy of consideration in a comprehensive treatment of the subject. A reference to them would have qualified the sweeping statement in the section on ordination (p. 186), "the Reformed Church ordains not to office but to order"; since the Presbyterians have always strenuously maintained, that ordination must ever be to a particular charge, which it is satisfactory to find to be also the Lutheran principle.

Homiletic occupies the second half of this volume, and the first thing that will strike many readers is, that its range is limited to the art of addressing Christians as a part of divine service. This flows from the general conception of Practical Theology as before indicated; but surely the art of speaking on Christian themes to all sorts of audiences is of great importance for the servant of Christ, and is not so different from that of preaching in a regular congregation as to require a separate branch of study. This limitation shows itself in the treatment of the matter of preaching, which largely consists of an exposition of the festivals of the

Christian year, and the subjects appropriate for each of them. While defending this arrangement, Professor Krauss protests strongly and justly against the further restriction of the preacher's liberty by the system of *pericopes*, or fixed passages prescribed as subjects of discourse for each Sunday of the year. He also gives useful hints on the subjects of sermons in general, and the importance of pastoral acquaintance with the people for their right selection. There follows an exposition of the remaining parts of rhetoric, as applicable to pulpit discourse—disposition, expression, and delivery. Under the second of these it is maintained that the rhetorical style is a distinct kind of composition, intermediate between prose and poetry. This notion seems very apt to lead to an evil which our author himself deprecates, an affected and empty solemnity; and the view of the ancients and of many moderns, that there are only two distinct forms of composition, prose and verse, each indeed admitting of many modifications, seems decidedly preferable. The discussion of common faults of style is fitted to be generally useful, though of course specially adapted to Germans; and so also is the account of tropes and figures of speech, which are perhaps somewhat needlessly sub-divided by a refinement of logical classification. Finally, as regards delivery, Professor Krauss assumes that it should be without manuscript, recommends as a general rule, in the first instance at least, complete writing and memorising; and gives some excellent advice in regard to this, and also to elocution and action.

In giving an account of the contents of this work, I have been led to dwell specially on points that arrest attention, because open to criticism; but these form really but a small part of the whole, and the treatment is everywhere marked by comprehensive and accurate knowledge, logical power, and clearness of expression, so that it is full of information, interest, and suggestiveness. There are copious references to the literature of the subject in general, and of its various parts; but, as is usual with Germans, while the Continental literature is fully reported, that in English is hardly so much as noticed, and as before observed, the Presbyterian and Congre-

gational Churches are entirely ignored. Altogether, however, the book is a really good one, and we shall look with hopeful expectation for its completion.

JAS. S. CANDLISH.

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**Canon Liddon. A Memoir, with his last Five Sermons.**

*London: The "Family Churchman" Office.*

By the death of Canon Liddon, which took place at Weston-Super-Mare, on the morning of Tuesday, September 9th, the Church of England lost its great preacher. Profounder thinkers and more learned scholars remain to it, but no one among its surviving ministers possesses a like gift of persuasion. Save one, indeed, and his sphere is not in the pulpit, Liddon was the most persuasive of English-speaking men. And his persuasiveness as a speaker was derived to a large extent from the beauty and transparent sincerity of his personal character. The scene in St Paul's on the day of his funeral, which none who were present can ever forget, made it evident that he had a place in the hearts of his hearers which oratory alone could not have given him.

Henry Parry Liddon was born in the year 1829 at North Stoneham in Hampshire. His father, Captain Matthew Liddon, R.N., was an Arctic explorer, and accompanied Sir Edward Parry on his search for the North-West Passage. From Sir Edward Parry, who was his godfather, Canon Liddon derived his second name. His early days were spent in Devonshire and in Somerset; he was afterwards sent to King's College school, London. At school, according to the testimony of Mr Frederic Harrison, who was his school-fellow, he was a boy-priest, grave and gentle, with a look on his face that seemed to plead with his companions to be less rough and boisterous. In spite of his recluse ways—he never joined in the games—he was cordially liked; even schoolboys can respect elevation of character when it is without pretentiousness. In 1847 he went to Christ Church, Oxford. At the University his career was creditable, although not specially distinguished; he graduated in 1850 in the second class. While still an undergraduate he was an ardent High Church-



man, and was keenly interested in theological questions. In 1851 he was ordained by Bishop Wilberforce, who in 1854 appointed him Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon College; the interval having been spent in a curacy at Wantage. While he was there, a cultivated lady who heard him preach, made the remark: "That young man is a greater preacher than Dr Manning." At Cuddesdon he did memorable work, taking special pains to form the characters of men under his care; and we are told that not a few men, who had entered very unpromising subjects, left Cuddesdon to be useful clergymen. Jealousy of High Church teaching was at the time active and watchful within the Church of England; Cuddesdon and its teachers were vehemently assailed in the *Quarterly Review* and elsewhere for their Tractarian leanings. Bishop Wilberforce was himself a High Churchman, but of the external type; he was annoyed by the attacks on his College, and he found himself unable to keep the ardent Vice-Principal within the limits of ornamental High Churchism, for which the latter never cared. Liddon was incapable by temperament, even if he had been willing, of playing the part of Mr Facing-Both-Ways. He tendered his resignation, which the Bishop accepted, convinced, as he wrote, that the Vice-Principal was untrustworthy as a guide of young men, because of his "strength of will, ardour, restlessness, and dominant imagination."

Liddon found a more congenial ecclesiastical superior in the devout and unworldly Bishop of Salisbury, Dr Ker Hamilton, by whom he was appointed examining chaplain, and afterwards a Prebendary of the Cathedral. In 1859 he became Vice-Principal of St Edmund Hall, Oxford; in 1863 he was for the first time appointed select preacher; and in 1866 he delivered his famous Bampton Lectures. As member of the Hebdomadal Council he took an active part in University politics, always fighting by the side of those opposed to change in the constitution of the University. In 1870 he accepted the appointment to Dean Ireland's professorship of New Testament Exegesis; in the same year he was appointed Canon Residentiary of St Paul's.

Liddon was an excellent professor, and his lectures were

well attended ; but he will be remembered among English Churchmen, not as a professor, but as a preacher. Whether he preached in St Mary's or in St Paul's, the only limit to the size of his congregations was the size of the building. St Paul's presented a striking spectacle on the Sunday afternoons when Liddon was the preacher—a sea of upturned faces listening to a long discourse full of argument, and listening as if the hearers could never forgive themselves if they missed a single sentence. Liddon owed part of his mastery over audiences to physical and intellectual endowments which had been cultivated with unusual care. His swift and orderly intellect arranged and developed the subject of his discourse with such perfect though apparently artless skill that difficult questions seemed easy of solution, perhaps too easy, under the magic of his treatment. A master of phrase and of rhetoric, whatever he said was not only clear, but luminous in the light of imagination ; he managed his beautiful voice with a knowledge and skill which showed what pains he had bestowed upon the difficult art of public speaking. It was at one time the fashion to say in Oxford, in the early days of his success, that Liddon was a mere imitator of French models, who had gained popularity not by creating, but by importing a new style. He had certainly studied Bourdaloue, Massillon, and other preachers of the classical period, as well as Lacordaire and later preachers of France ; but the French traces upon his style have been much exaggerated, although they were there. Liddon was himself, modern and English, with a most intimate knowledge of contemporary English thought ; even when he left them unexpressed, one could see that he was perfectly cognisant of the unspoken doubts and difficulties of his hearers. English humour, although it never came to the surface, and English common sense saved him from the exaggerations to which popular preachers are prone, into which he would certainly have tumbled headlong had he been a mere imitator of the French. Intellectual and rhetorical endowments were, however, only the medium through which the faith and spiritual emotion of the preacher came into uninterrupted contact with his hearers. No one will doubt that Liddon's ministry was a spiritual power in the truest sense, whose memory enables him to

contrast with the crowd of reverend worshippers he brought and kept together, the scanty company of sightseers who used to gather in St Paul's in the old days, to look at monuments, to enjoy the music, and to endure, rather than to listen to a short formal sermon. But the personal affection of his hearers, as manifested on the day of his funeral, was almost a surprise even to those familiar with the reverent attention of his congregations. He never caressed his audience, nor did he seek to interest them in himself by egotistic confidences; but not even the traditional reserve of the Anglican preacher, and of the cultivated Englishman, could conceal from his hearers that the fragile speaker in the distant pulpit was animated with an undoubting and fervent faith in the Unseen, and that he longed with apostolic affection to communicate it to those who heard him. Those who could not fully share his faith, yet recognised in the High Church preacher one of that select company of whom the poet speaks, who come among men "radiant with ardour divine:"

"Souls temper'd with fire,  
Fervent, heroic, and good,  
Helpers and friends of mankind."

And this was not a histrionic illusion, only striking those at a distance. It was the feeling of those nearest to him. One of his colleagues, preaching on the Sunday after his death, said of him: "His life was a clear channel, down which the news of a life of grace might pass to us without derision. Can there be a better test of the spiritual sincerity of a man than this—that we feel no shock when he speaks to us in Bible language? And was it not this which was the entire secret of Liddon's power over us when he preached?"

Mr Frederic Harrison, in the kindly notice to which we have already alluded, confesses to a feeling of surprise that one with so little elasticity exercised such a wide influence in an age of transition. But even men who, in Goethe's phrase, had "thought themselves weary," found it an exhilarating change to leave for a season the exhausting atmosphere of compromise and hesitation, and to abandon themselves to a guide who had never lost sight of the great landmarks of faith and duty.

It is more difficult to explain why Liddon's sacerdotalism so seldom gave offence, although many, perhaps most, of his hearers were opposed to it. The chief reason, we think, was that while a firm believer in sacerdotal dogma, he had less of the sacerdotal spirit than most clergymen of his Church, perhaps of any Church. In a sermon on sacerdotalism, preached at Oxford, he defended his sacerdotal principles with his wonted unhesitating courage, but with not less emphasis, he condemned the sacerdotal spirit, warning young clergymen that prejudice against the Christian priesthood is less often roused by a theory or doctrine, than by a temper, a bearing, a line of conduct. "Men," he said, "will not put up with what seems trivial or petty when great claims are made upon thought and conscience. And their eyesight has been sharpened by our Divine Master's dealings with the Scribes and Pharisees; and the faults of the Scribes and Pharisees are the faults to which a clerical order—such is human weakness—is always prone." He counsels clergymen not to seek to exalt, or to give prominence to their office, unless in exceptional circumstances; to think less of their office than of their work; for the first is only a means to second the end. The absence of the sacerdotal spirit made Liddon's attitude towards Nonconformists free from all acerbity, although his rigid ecclesiastical theory forced him to exclude them from the visible fold of Christ's Church. He never sought, like some, to sharpen his polemic by dwelling on their mistakes and failures. It was a source of satisfaction to him, perhaps of some surprise, that genuine religious life and real beneficence existed outside the fellowship of the Catholic Church; and he thankfully acknowledged it to be a sign that God's Spirit was working among them. A signal example of the generosity of spirit, which forced its way through his ecclesiastical principles, was given by him on the occasion of the visit of the American Evangelists to England fifteen years ago. Clergymen of his school were for the most part hostile, or disdainful. Liddon, preaching before the University, expressed sincere respect for the men who had thrown themselves on our great cities with the ardour of Apostles, and "made many of us feel that we owe them at least the debt of an

example, which He who breatheth where He listeth must surely have inspired them to give us."

Liddon's ecclesiastical position was that of the High-Anglican. Our present object is not criticism, and it will be sufficient to say that as Roman Catholics will have none of it, and as all Protestant Churches in the world, saving the Church of England, are of the same mind, its triumph in England would mean that a local, not a universal religion, would become the religion of England. He held that the Reformation saved the cause of religion in Western Europe by dissociating Christianity from the entail of legend which had gathered around it. It led, however, to religious revolution in the lands which embraced Protestantism, with the doubtful exception of England, and broke up in the Western Church that visible unity so dear to all Christians who believe that our Lord uttered the intercessory prayer in St John, and that the Epistle to the Ephesians is the Word of God. His hope of reunion was directed towards Rome—a hope, although it be against appearances, that the largest division of the Church of Christ would abandon untenable positions, without forfeiture of her historic continuity, and thus reunite the scattered worshippers of the Redeemer in one visible fold.

Liddon's contributions to theology were mainly in the form of sermons. This secured that the interests of practical piety were never forgotten, but it had a tendency to make them inadequate in treatment and peremptory in tone. It is a defensible position to decline to entertain novel views, which seem to conflict with venerable traditions to which the Christian consciousness has for centuries assented. But if they are to be considered, and the laws of historical evidence are appealed to, historical science must be permitted to give its verdict, whatever that may be worth, without fear. Liddon was constantly passing in review the religious or irreligious theories of contemporary thought. He was too intolerant of such views to give them a patient and impartial hearing. His burning religious zeal led him to make short work of whatever seemed to endanger the faith; and he was much too fond of the argument from consequences to which no science ever pays much heed when embarked on the voyage of

discovery. This was his misfortune rather than his fault, for how could he pass by difficulties which to many of his hearers appeared insuperable barriers to the acceptance of Christianity, how give them fair and adequate consideration in the spirit of a preacher, and within the limits of a sermon? He was not unaware that the sermon was an inadequate medium for theological discussion, and that he was prone to hasty judgments and peremptory speech. He once admitted in an Oxford sermon that he and others had been too ready to ban the new Biblical Science as an enemy of the Faith. "The loyalty to Revelation," he said, "which animates our prejudice, does not justify it. The great Alexandrians, who baptised the Platonic Philosophy, would have bidden us of to-day welcome, and christen the critical and scientific spirit." As time went on, however, and these views were more fully developed, he became an inflexible opponent of the conclusions regarding the Bible of the new critical school, holding that, unless we are prepared to believe in an inspiration of un-  
veracity, we cannot admit that the Bible contains an idealised history, and discourses falsely attributed to those who never uttered them. Perceiving, with his wonted perspicacity, that these conclusions, if accepted, will profoundly alter the traditional view regarding the authority of the Bible, and of the theology founded upon it, he refused to cast into the crucible all that he most valued, although the promise was given that it would come forth gold twice refined. He lost no opportunity of controverting what appeared to him dangerous opinions, or of placing them in the light of the delicate irony which he knew so well how to employ. A proof was given of the unalterableness of his convictions on this point, a few months before his death, on the publication of "*Lux Mundi*," in which large concessions were made to the critical school. He had condemned the views when advocated by men of other schools. He did not pardon them, or preserve a politic silence, when they were defended by his own friends, of whom he did not hesitate to say that they had accepted the premisses of infidelity without being aware of it. Now that he is gone, neither friend nor foe will cherish a grudge to his memory because of his over-hasty judgments and peremptory speech.

There was, in his most vehement rebukes, no taint of personal bitterness, and none of the lower vices of the controversialist. He spoke what he believed, and because he believed it. He would have judged it a poor mark of consideration for friends to keep silence regarding their errors on a subject of momentous importance.

JOHN GIBB.

**“Until the Day Break,” and other Hymns and Poems left behind.**

*By Horatius Bonar, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1890.*

WHAT is it that makes a song to be a song, and a hymn to be a hymn? What is that subtle something which differentiates them from other verses, so that we almost instinctively take to singing some poems, while others we only read? It is not the mere rhythm that gives them this character (though doubtless that may have something to do with it), for two sets of verses may have exactly the same rhymes and cadences, and the one set shall sing themselves naturally, while the other will hardly submit to any musical expression. Nor may we affirm that the former are more strictly poetical than the latter, and consequently raise the mind into higher and happier strains. On the contrary, there are verses, we believe, in all languages,—certainly there are in our English tongue,—which are distinguished at once by a finer idealism, and a richer imagery than any of our songs or hymns, and yet, though they possess the very highest poetic qualities, they are only to be read, and one would never think of singing them. Wordsworth’s *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality* is absolutely gorgeous alike in its poetic thought and diction, but it is not a hymn, and it could hardly be set to music, or seize on the ear of the people if it were, as a hymn should always do. Not a few of our very best songs, on the other hand, have little or nothing of the grace of poetic expression, and many hymns are even marred by turns of expression which add to their beauty, but injure their simplicity. Hence our highest poets, men with “imagination all compact,” have often failed in this kind of composition, while others who had

little or no poetry in them, have yet written thoroughly popular songs, and hymns that laid hold on the hearts of all Christian people. Milton, with all the splendour of his genius, has contributed practically nothing to our English antiphone, while "Rock of Ages, cleft for me" sprang living out of the hard, dry soil of a bitter controversialist, to whom otherwise we should never have ascribed any poetic gift at all. Stranger still, the power of song-writing, and that of hymn-writing do not necessarily go together. Apparently one may have the one in singular perfection, and yet fail in the other. There is hardly a more exquisite song-writer in our language than the Baroness Nairn was. The humour of "The Laird o' Cockpen," the pathos of "The Land o' the Leal," and the tender yearning of "Will ye no come back again?" bear sufficient witness to her rare and varied gifts. Yet when her bright youthful genius ripened into a devout and beautiful piety, her hymns show almost nothing of the exquisite quality which so distinguished her songs. Some may be disposed to blame her theological opinions for this failure, and to say that a somewhat narrow Evangelicalism could hardly produce hymns of a kind to seize on the heart of the whole Church. But her early songs were about as much dominated by her political ideas as her later poems were by her theological convictions, and those songs are dear to many who have no sympathy at all with her Cavalier notions, while her hymns hardly touch the heart even of those who are quite at one with her religious views. Moreover, it is certain that the great body of our English hymns—and those especially which go deepest into our nature, and most perfectly express our religious thought and feeling, came from the most pronounced Evangelicalism of the churches, and are often saturated with its characteristic ideas. Cowper, the Wesleys, Newton, James Montgomery, Toplady, Miss Elliott, and Horatius Bonar all belonged to that party, and have enriched our Hymnology far more than Keble, and Newman, and Heber, and Lyte, and Palmer, excellent as much of their work assuredly is. One might have been disposed to think that Christian hymns, being for all men and all times, would necessarily rise above particular schools of opinion, and that they



would fail in their higher aim just in proportion as they took shape from special dogmatic views rather than from universal religious feelings. And, no doubt, many of them are more or less marred by the obtrusion of theological formulæ into the domain of poetry. Yet, on the other hand, some of those which are most universally cherished, like "Rock of Ages," and "Just as I am," are fashioned on the most stringent lines of Evangelicalism, and could not have grown on any other soil. Our best hymns are not merely incidentally the product of that school, but they are, in a great measure, the expression of their distinguishing views of religious truth and life. And yet they commend themselves to all the schools and to all the churches, except perhaps the Roman, as the most broadly human utterances of the Divine idea of praise, with the exception of the Hebrew Psalter, and in parts, at least, some of the old Latin hymns.

All this, now, goes to show that the question with which we started, What is it that makes a hymn to be a hymn, and not merely a religious poem? is a very nice one, and by no means easily answered. There are many verses which are used as hymns, indeed, but are not so in reality, though people get accustomed to them, and by frequent singing of them lose their taste for what is true. It is amazing indeed how far this may go. I have heard a congregation lustily shouting Pope's translation of the "*Animula, vagula, blandula*" ("Vital spark of heavenly flame") as if it were a Christian hymn, instead of a heathen sentiment; and there are many other things, quite as outrageous, sung every day as songs of Zion. I will not attempt, however, to answer the question I put; but when one comes across a true hymn, one somehow knows it, and, on the whole, the Christian instinct, if it sometimes accepts the wrong article, rarely rejects the true one. Therefore it has now for many years enrolled the name of Horatius Bonar as one of its genuine hymn writers, about whom there can be no doubt that he has enriched our divine praise with some of its most real and exquisite utterances. I do not know that he is very much of a poet—that his imagination is very soaring, or his imagery very striking, or that, apart from his hymns, he would be counted among the immortals. I am

not sure that, even as a writer of hymns, he can take rank with our foremost singers. Several of Cowper's have a finer quality, as literature at any rate, than any of his. None of them, I think, come quite up to Montgomery's "For ever with the Lord," or Miss Elliott's "Just as I am," or to Sarah Adams' "Nearer my God to Thee," or to Wesley's "Jesus, lover of my Soul," or to Toplady's "Rock of Ages," or to Keble's "Sun of my Soul, Thou Saviour dear," or to Lyte's "Abide with me." Of these writers, none, except Newton, Montgomery, and Keble, are reckoned among our poets exactly, yet all of them have written most effective and serviceable hymns—better, I think, than any of Dr Bonar's. Yet he has contributed more largely to our hymnology than perhaps any of them except Cowper, and many of his hymns, too, are of a very high quality, expressing with power and simplicity what is in every Christian heart. Hitherto Scotland had not done much in this way. Though deeply religious and abounding in song, yet her religion had never sung itself to much purpose till Dr Bonar arose. Logan and Michael Bruce had paraphrased some passages of Scripture which, along with others, had formed a pleasant variety in our congregational praise. But of hymns proper, growing up like natural flowers from the soil of Scottish religious life, there were none, if we except, perhaps, Dickson's "O mother, dear Jerusalem," which was an echo of an old Latin one. The "Buke of Gude and Godly Ballats" of the Reformation age was an ingenious attempt to utilise the popular songs of the time for religious purposes, but was more curious than edifying. Altogether, then, the piety and the poetry of our country had gone their several ways, and had little to say to each other, till Dr Bonar arose, and without having much of a strictly poetic genius, yet produced a variety of very beautiful hymns breathing the purest spirit of Christian faith and hope. Indeed, there are few more exquisite expressions of faith than such as these: "I heard the voice of Jesus say, Come unto Me and rest," or "I lay my sins on Jesus, The spotless Lamb of God," or "Thy way, not mine, O Lord, However dark it be." They are genuine hymns. They sing themselves, and they say just what Christian hearts want

to say on the subject. They are not merely pleasant to read, one wants to use them in praise. They are not merely religious poems, they are strictly religious songs, whatever that be in them which makes them proper hymns. Dr Bonar was a strict evangelical in his doctrine, using that word in its purely conventional sense. He was also a millennarian, and all his hope for the world was bound up with a personal return and reign of Christ on the earth. Both of these lines of thought also entered largely into his hymns, and stamped them with a peculiar character. And yet multitudes who do not belong to the evangelical school, and who have no sympathy whatever with his millennial views, can take his songs into their mouths, and sing them with interest and delight. That certainly shows the power of the writer to raise his theme above the sectarianism of opinion into the universalism of faith, which is one function of the true poet. I do not say that all his verses attain that high character. Some of them, on the contrary, are little better than short sermons in rhyme. But not a few of his real hymns rise high above the formulas of his school, and appeal to all Christian hearts. They present also a considerable variety both of aim and of spirit. For just as the songs of a people are of diverse kinds, some being love-songs, others war-songs, some patriotic and others festive, so the hymns of the Church, too, breathe forth her love of Christ, or her confidence in the struggle with the world, or they tell of the glory of His kingdom, or the bliss of its holy festivals. Dr Bonar has given us examples of all these, and if none of them takes perhaps its place in the foremost ranks, yet have they given him a name which is deservedly dear to the whole Christian Church.

The posthumous volume which suggests this notice of Dr Bonar's work consists of a number of pieces written at various times, some of them as long ago as 1864, others showing that he continued to pencil his thoughts in verse down well nigh to the day of his death. The book will be welcome to his many friends all the world over, but I do not think it will add another strain to the Church's Hymnology. It consists of religious poems, evangelical reflections, millennial hopes, all going to prove how steadfast he was to his early faith, and

what comfort he found in it. But there is nothing singable in the book. It will not greatly raise his already well-established reputation, but neither will it lower it. If the poetry is not striking, the piety is abundant, and it is as a help to piety that it will be chiefly read. Perhaps the freshest thing in it is a little poem called

CHRIST OUR SACRIFICE.

Enough of blood ; raze the old altar now,  
And quench the fire that has for many an age  
Been burning with that strange unearthly glow,  
As if no time its fierceness could assuage :  
Peace, heavenly peace, is now our heritage.

All sacrifice is o'er ; send back the lamb  
To the green fields ; no more we need its blood.  
The day of health has come ; the blessed balm  
For the sick conscience grows in yonder wood ;  
Death now is life, our lamb the Lamb of God.

Dry up the crimson stream, and wash away  
From the red pavement every trace and stain  
Of the old blood that flowed for many a day ;  
Let nothing of the unfinished past remain :  
'Tis finished now, and the One Lamb is slain.

Scatter the ashes, strew them far and wide,  
The symbols of a fire which to its last  
Has burned, and in its burning thus has died,  
Into that fire our guilt has all been cast,  
And the dread wrath is now for ever past.

That is, perhaps, as good an example as any, both of the theology and the piety of this book ; and with that we conclude, doubting not that Dr Bonar's many readers will be grateful for this volume as a final memorial of his service to the Church and to Christian life.

WALTER C. SMITH.

**Knowing and Being.**

*By John Veitch, LL.D., Professor of Logic and Rhetoric in the University of Glasgow. William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1889.*

EXACTLY forty years ago Professor Veitch was the prizeman in Sir William Hamilton's class, and it is difficult for one who remembers what he was at that time to review his latest book without connecting it with those earliest influences. Among Hamilton's pupils, Veitch was by no means the most Hamiltonian. The chief speculative society of those days was one instituted not by Sir William Hamilton but by Professor Fraser. And on the benches and in the chair of "The Metaphysical," Veitch was distinguished by wideness of outlook, impartiality, and independence, as well as by a general power which left all his contemporaries behind him. Yet with the lapse of years most of them have passed from the standpoint of Sir William Hamilton, while Professor Veitch has been found, among the faithless, faithful almost alone. It is natural for outsiders to connect this defection with the memorable assault which was made by John Stuart Mill, and which exposed so many surface cracks, if not internal chasms, in Hamilton's system. But Mill's *Examination* was published long subsequent to 1850; in fact, after Sir William's death. And as early as that year it happened sometimes even to very youthful students, during the short period of eighteen months usually devoted to Hamilton, to traverse the whole distance between idolatry of him as a teacher and utter disbelief in his system. The process of revolt was not the same in each case. Sometimes what was found impossible to receive was the new, original, and characteristic doctrine; for example, the philosophy of the Conditioned. Sometimes the seeds of scepticism were sown rather by the discovery of chinks and crevices in a seemingly solid system, which had been bound together with brocards and boastful aphorisms as with bands of iron. Hamilton was himself conscious that he had omitted to connect together in his lectures some apparently inconsistent facts or positions. But at the time of which I speak, his natural reluctance to unweave or reweave any part of

his web had been very pardonably increased by a paralytic affection, which lamed him on one side from head to foot. The consequence was that it was not till near the end of their second year that some of his students realised that their master, who claimed to be the chief and almost the sole representative of the view that we are "directly conscious of the external world," held also what is popularly supposed to be the opposite view. He held that no two men ever saw, or even looked at, the same object; that no man ever saw the sun, or the Venus of Milo; that all that we see is something in our own retina, and that nothing outside the organism is perceived at all. The two views might perhaps be consistent, but they were not systematised. And such lapses or afterthoughts in putting together his system perhaps caused Hamilton the loss of more disciples than did their own doubts of its prominent and pretentious parts. But sometimes both causes were combined. And when combined they were fatal.

The truth is, Sir William Hamilton was a born critic as truly as a born dogmatist, and he roused in his undergraduate pupils a passion for analysis which some of them turned against himself. This is no theory invented after the lapse of years. I have had the curiosity to verify it from notes written within the decade with which I am dealing. I find there, no doubt, abundant evidence of positive elements to swell the passionate admiration which Hamilton inspired. There was the noble presence, the large utterance, the voice that stirred like a trumpet, as it "invited those who were but lately striplings and schoolboys to enter the very shrine and penteria of knowledge," the intoxicating sense of the dignity of the new work to which he called, and that more sober but more powerful appetite—the newly awakened hunger for truth—"not of an age, of a sect, or of a school, but like its author, *id ipsum, et id ipsum, et id ipsum*, unchangeable and divine." But alongside of this positive passion there is acknowledged a "blast of analysis, which stripped off from us all our previous notions and prejudices, like leaves from the trees in autumn. All our lives we had been dealing with vague ideas, mumbling words which had no distinct meaning in our minds or which might have any meaning; hazy thoughts, nebulous concep-

tions, misty imaginations, muddy arguments : now, point by point, and part by part, all things grew clear before our eyes ; we used no word ourselves that was not limited and defined ; we believed no word of others that did not present a distinct idea to our minds—the chaos of thinking became a cosmos of thoughts. . . . And now, all things were before us—all questions, all theories, all speculations, all opinions—all products of human thought were in our hands, to analyse, to sift, to search, to disintegrate into their component elements, to reunite to their original sources, to pull down and to rear up, to build and to destroy.” Was it strange that youths, hardened for the time into such a temper as this, should turn its edge against the very system with which it was proposed to bind them,—with the result occasionally of retaining no connection with Hamilton except immense personal admiration and endless personal gratitude ?

Professor Veitch’s book is really a criticism of T. H. Green’s “*Prolegomena to Ethics*,” on the fundamental questions of consciousness and perception. Other Neo-Kantians are occasionally touched upon, but the argument in this volume—it is indicated that others may follow—is confined to the Hegelian confusion or identification of knowing and being, found more or less in them all. So far as Green is concerned we think our author is within his right and has made good his case. Whether a system, in which knowing and being shall be the same, may be attained by rising to it *per saltum*, or even by descending upon it from some transcendental point of departure, we need not say. Idealism has perhaps its own rights on its own ground. But Mr Green does not put forth unsupported idealism, nor does he profess mere earnest-minded muddling. He reasons or seems to reason every step of his earlier way, and one who does so must abide the judgment of logic. And what logic finds on every page is a constantly recurring superfluity or ambiguity. His demonstration that you cannot have even a succession of sensations, without having also something contributed by intellect, is by no means so clear or forcible as that of Lotze ; while he makes haste to back out of it as soon as he comes to the case of the lower animals. But the chief instance of Green’s rea-

soning by ambiguity is that fixed upon by Professor Veitch—as in his constant use of the phrase, “existing for,” from which to step or not, as suits best, to the idea of mere existence; or in the so-called argument, that because the relations “which for us determine sensible facts” exist in our thought, “it follows that thought is the necessary condition of the *existence* of sensible facts.” One is sometimes puzzled to guess why he entangles himself with this dubious machinery—his ethical interests seem more secure without it. But so one might question what interest the Hamiltonian has in maintaining Dualism, after perception of a world properly external is given up. In the present case Professor Veitch is merely the critic, and he cuts clean.

A. TAYLOR INNES.

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**Professor W. G. Elmslie, D.D.: Memoir and Sermons.**

*Edited by W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D., and A. N. Macnicoll.  
Second Edition. Hodder & Stoughton. 1890.*

ONE cannot lay down a volume like this without a feeling of regret that the career of so bright and gifted a spirit should have been closed when it seemed to be but opening. Dr Elmslie was not only one of the most brilliant preachers in the Presbyterian Church, or in any of the churches, but he was singularly fitted by his own strong faith and by his sympathy with new thought and new movements for being a spiritual leader in an age of transition. He was just the sort of man most needed by the church to give direction to her thought and work. He had but reached his platform of influence when death snatched him from us, and there is now little left but a meaningful memory to be an inspiration to fellow workers.

The Memoir has been well written by his two friends. It is an etching executed with a few well chosen lines. It brings before the reader the breezy, buoyant humanity of a winsome nature, though the editors are themselves conscious how difficult it is to convey a due impression of the charm of his personality.

The Sermons included in the volume are but specimens of



his ordinary preaching. Beautiful and stimulating as they are, they do not furnish an adequate measure of the versatility and spiritual insight of the preacher. They are in the best sense *modern*. The preacher knows what is being thought and said outside ecclesiastical and official circles, and makes his hearers feel that he knows ; but at the same time it is not upon passing phases of thought, but upon the abiding spiritual verities that he rivets attention. He does not think out his own difficulties in the presence of the congregation as is the habit of some "modern" preachers. His own "soul-struggles are fought out in darkness and alone" (p. 143), and strong in the strength of a faith which has overcome, he enters the pulpit to strengthen the faith of those who are weak. Another note of these sermons is *reality*. Compared with many popular preachers, Dr Elmslie won success slowly. For years his preaching was scantily appreciated, save by a few hearers of special discernment. The reason was probably this—that he would not talk "as he ought to have talked," and was resolved to preach only that which had gripped his own soul. He delivered his own message in his own way, with the result that after he became more completely master of his message in later years, he *made* his hearers feel that there was before them a *real* man speaking to them of *real* things. There was no trace in him of the merely abstract theologian. He was interested both in theology and philosophy, but only in as far as they helped him to understand the experience of ordinary men and women. It was the ethical side of theological and philosophical doctrines that *held* him. Scholasticism in either sphere was a pet aversion. It was man that interested him. Perhaps one of his strongest characteristics was his insight into the inner workings of men's minds and hearts. His insight was keen enough to have made him a brilliant cynic had that insight not been conjoined with a Christlike sympathy towards the weak and the erring. With a tender touch these sermons lay a loving finger upon the sores of humanity, and apply a healing balm. In this connection it is significant that the preacher chose many of his subjects from the stories of the Old Testament. He found there an opportunity for dealing with the simple basal elements of

human life. The sermon on Joseph's Faith is a beautiful example of how the Old Testament can be made to live in the hands of one who understands at once the human heart and the old world stories.

There is little discussion of theological questions in these sermons. Occasionally a bold word is spoken as when the preacher is dealing with "idols" which come between God and the soul: "Ay, and when this Bible of ours—this Protestant Bible of ours, or our great Evangelical doctrines are taken, and have given to them a place of importance in our salvation and in our belief that they ought not to have, once again be sure of it, God will create a true, lawful, and blessed recoil, and you will have these sacred things dashed down to a position of undue depreciation. It is God's way of leading us to Himself" (p. 173). The theological creed of the preacher may be simple, but its few articles are held with an intensity of personal conviction. One of these articles is the reality of God's love in human life. In the delirium of the fatal fever which cut him off, he said to his wife: "God is love. All love. We will tell every one that, but especially our own boy." Another article of his faith was the supreme significance and spiritual power of the personality of Jesus Christ. Theological metaphysics about the person of Christ had little interest for him, but the wonderfulness of Christ's personality was, for him, *the fact of human history*. The love of God and the saving power of Christ in the hearts of individuals and in the life of societies—in that formula might be summed up his spiritual outlook.

In a sermon on *The Example of the Prophets*, Dr Elmslie says: "A prophet was a man who knew the character of the true and living God, and because he knew and loved Him, and was living with Him, he made other men know Him, and feel Him and understand Him too" (p. 213). Surely he himself deserved to be numbered with "the goodly fellowship of the prophets."

D. M. Ross.

**The Lives and Times of the Minor Prophets.**

*By Ven. Archdeacon Farrar, D.D. London: Nisbet & Co.*

THIS volume—one of the now imposing “Men of the Bible” series—is a fresh monument of the truly astonishing industry and versatility of its celebrated author; for its pages bristle with references to the critics and interpreters of the Old Testament almost as much as the author’s former works abound with quotations from the authorities on the New. The book is packed with information, which, it need hardly be said, is presented with consummate literary skill. Indeed, as far as style is concerned, some may consider this the best of Dr Farrar’s books; for the narrow limits of the series in which it appears have placed restraints on his eloquence, and the mind of the reader has not to the same degree, as in reading some of his larger works, the sense of being withered with a tempest of words.

A writer so competent is certain of a warm welcome when he offers himself as a guide to the Minor Prophets, because this is perhaps the most difficult portion of Scripture, and commentators have done comparatively little to help people through it. These functionaries have the bad habit, sometimes attributed to other public servants, of being least in evidence where they are most required; and, if Dr Farrar’s work gives the ordinary reader less help than might have been hoped for, the fault may be theirs more than his, because they have not elaborated the Minor Prophets enough to make them ready yet for the populariser. It must be confessed that, even after Dr Farrar’s elucidations, at least the half of these prophets still remain desperately obscure.

The author gives in each case, first, a biography of the prophet, and then an account of the contents of his book. The biographies are written with great spirit, every scrap of information being ingeniously made use of, and there is generally given a strong and clear account of the drift of the prophet’s thought, in the course of which explanations of obscure words and sentences are supplied from the best interpreters, especially from Ewald. The reader who has his Eng-

lish Bible open will find many a crooked place made straight and rough place plain.

The chief defect of the book is the lack of a simple and vivid account of the historical background of the prophets' lives and writings. Indeed, this is the test of every book on the prophets; for the reason why the prophetic writings are so obscure is because the events are so little known out of which they sprang. A succinct sketch of the history would have been much more to the point than the somewhat commonplace remarks on prophecy in general with which the volume opens. In these the author specially emphasises the truth that prophecy is not the same thing as prediction—that "a prophet is not so much a foreteller as a forth-teller"—a truth which writers on prophecy still put forward as a novelty, though it must by this time be a commonplace in every Sunday School. They exaggerate it, too, as may be natural in the reaction from an exaggeration on the opposite side. For, after all, prediction was a very remarkable prophetic gift; and, though it is the fashion at present to ignore or minimise it, the great prophets never did so themselves; and it is more scientific, as well as more difficult, to define its actual extent and estimate its real value.

JAMES STALKER.

### A History of Philosophy.

*By Johann Eduard Erdmann, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Halle. English Translation edited by Willison S. Hough, Ph.M., Assistant Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in the University of Minnesota. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1890.*

WHAT is directly in connection here is the appearance of an English translation of the work which Erdmann, like Ueberweg in his own similar case, modestly calls a *Grundriss* (ground-plan) of the history of philosophy. In this reference Professor Hough, who edits the work, explains that "it has been designed to omit the designation of 'Outlines' from the title-page," though, as in the original, it is preserved "in the text." "Outlines," of course, aptly enough translates

*Grundriss*, though more *strictly* correspondent to *Umriss*, which, in a like application, is the word of Schwegler; and is not to be lost sight of as a distinctive designation, if only in view of Erdmann's much larger historical contribution which is confined to modern philosophy. Nearly twenty years ago, the present writer, in the preface to the third edition of his *Schwegler* (in 1871), remarked of this work of Erdmann's that it "ought to be translated into English," and, accordingly, it is all the more a satisfaction that this duty has been accomplished at last.

It is common information now-a-days that, in the exposition of philosophy, historically and otherwise, Dr Erdmann of Halle has been long in possession of a reputation almost exceptionally high, and not, by any means, limited to Germany. Very specially in this reference we have undoubtedly to signalise the work before us. No genuine student of philosophy, it may be safely said, but bears it in mind with peculiar gratitude, not seldom turning his regards to it for consultation and support; and, if it has proved only less popular than the correspondent works of Ueberweg and Schwegler (the one in the seventh edition, and the other in the fourteenth at the same time that 20,000 copies are stated to have been sold during the currency of the fifth), it is to be considered that the *Grundriss* of Erdmann has, in twelve years, seen three editions, while the single original, the scroll of Hegel, without which not one of them either would or could have been written,—after a first scant press, only followed in seven years by as scanty a second,—has never, in a further half-century, put forth another step! Professor Muirhead, as general editor of the proposed *Library of Philosophy*, now introduced by it, pronounces Erdmann's History of Philosophy to be "long since recognised in Germany as the best." That, to be sure, is, in the circumstances, somewhat to stretch the material, it may be; but good nature without difficulty, for all that, "wisheth the well-wishing adventurer in setting forth all happiness" of success in the end, with ready *amnestia* of a little puff to begin!

Erdmann, who calls himself "der letzte Mohekaner der hegel-schen Schule" (the last Mohican of the Hegelian school), was born

in 1805, at Wolmar in Livonia, and is thus, but for his name, which is genuinely German (*ächt deutsch*), a possible claimant, of other three nationalities, to wit, Polish, Swedish, and Russian. He was partly educated at the neighbouring Dorpat, and partly at Berlin. He entered the Church and was at first a pastor; but returning to Berlin, he qualified himself as a *privatim docens* at the university there, whence, in 1836, he was transferred to Halle; and here, ever since, he has remained. His earliest composition of any name was the "Versuch einer wissenschaftlichen Darstellung der Geschichte der neuern Philosophie" (Attempt at a Scientific Delineation of the History of Modern Philosophy), a laborious and comprehensive work, in three parts, and six volumes, which, begun in 1834, was only completed in 1853. He has given publicity at various times to treatises on psychology, logic, and metaphysic. He has written on the State, on academic study, on university reform, and largely otherwise. He has delivered scores and scores of sermons, for example, the tendency of which, apparently, was towards the orthodoxy of the church. In private character, Erdmann is represented to be a most amiable man and true scholar, eminently simple and plain, but staunch, upright, thorough,—prompt with assistance to the student who asks and needs, but blank at once when he who asks may discover for himself. There is probably no man alive who, as much and laboriously and perseveringly has pored over and grubbed in books—books of every and any age—books the dustiest, heaviest, and obscurest. And from all of them he has taken his own, as in regard to all of them he can shew. Ancient department, mediæval department, modern department: Erdmann is at home in each, and all in each is at first hand with Erdmann. So now, if, as rumour has it, he makes the evenings of his days no longer the hardship of toil, but the ease and pleasure of play in the reading with his spouse of the current fictions of literature, it is only for us who love and honour him, to wish him and his, in such relaxation, a long and happy close.

So far as the question of *system* may be entertained in connection with Erdmann and such works of his as concern philosophy, there can hardly be any reference to a system of

Erdmann's own. Philosophically, Erdmann's reflection is to be regarded as at once mature and full,—as quite exceptively comprehensive and thorough. As already said, he has read enormously, and he has studied and thought deeply; but his own endowments thereto, while open, susceptible, impartial, generous, are not so essentially different from those of the later German thinkers around him, as to have led to the striking out of what in philosophy should deserve to be characterised as a new and original system. It may be questioned, in fact, whether the actual situation anywhere at present be, in any way, such as at all to admit of the possibility of any man developing a *system*, a new system in philosophy. "Who-so understands not Greek and German philosophy," says Arnold Ruge, "he understands not our own time;" and in this way he gives voice to a current doctrine of his countrymen, who declare that we have to speak, properly, of only two periods of philosophy, the Greek and the German, and in them, further, only of a single series of successive, related, and connected philosophies, or rather, in them all, only of one philosophy. Ruge and his countrymen, indeed, have so intimately realised to themselves this view that such an eventuality as the emergence of a new formation in philosophy, if at all to be considered single, singular, and alone, would certainly seem to them not one whit less surprising than the sudden appearance of a new and unconnected development in nature. Philosophy is never to them "the spick and span new invention of some isolated and solitary original," but the result of the developed and duly co-ordinated thoughts of all true philosophers. "It is utterly childish," says Ruge again, "to regard earlier philosophies as only aberrations of the human intellect; they are all discoveries of the truth; there is no such thing as a philosophy that were the independent product of a single original head: philosophy, in truth, is the historical development, from the very first, of thought and thinking, and never belongs exclusively to any man as his own proper and peculiar creation."

If such views as these are correct, and if it is true that more than a hundred years ago, the course of history, so far as philosophy is concerned, passed from Great Britain to the Con-

tinent, then it is to be feared that we here, ever since, have been only vainly toiling at scattered illusions of our own. If we are not, as the Germans say, *verschollen*, lost from sight and never more heard of, we are at least, again, as the French say, *dérailles*: we are off the rails, we are *gli scostati*, the shunted ones; we are cheerfully digging away at a blind cutting, which leads nowhere—from which outlet there is none. And it is only because they sell so well that we are not aware that our books look so shabby. I know not that Erdmann would say of us anything so sweeping and unmeasured. It is certain that the Germans generally—except some of those that translate Buckle, perhaps—regard the English as already left behind by them in everything, at least, that relates to thinking; and it is not certain that, on the whole, and as a nation, we do not still look for all advancement in enlightenment to the shallows of the *Aufklärung*—to the men to whom to be able to see the discrepancies of the Bible is the ultimate of intelligence! That truly is but a shunting into a blind cutting, where every stroke leads but to the dark and darker. But that is Buckle, and we are without a qualm.

As regards Erdmann, however, it is certain that, be it as it may with him in other respects, he is of the same mind with Ruge and his countrymen in regard, historically, to the solidarity of philosophy. He has followed and assisted at its progress since, so to speak, the rails from Hume were taken up by Kant, and relaid in Germany. He makes no pretensions to the possession of a system on his own account; and he is content to appear only as an adherent. He knows and justifies the fact that this book of his “carries the colours precisely of the Hegelian school.” Throughout all his works, in fact, this is no mere admission on his part: it is his proclamation of pride. Referring to the Hegelians, “This name,” he says (section 344, 8), “can all the more readily be employed by the author of the present book, as the word is held by him to be a title of honour, rather than a term of reproach; and in employing it, he is far from wishing to deny originality to anyone who lays store by this quality.” This very work itself he specially associates here with the similar work of the Hegelian Schwegler. “In the year 1848, there followed,” he says (344,



10), "Alb. Schwegler's *Grundriss*, which has been very often reprinted, and with which that in hand is connected."

Even on the question of system, then, so far as it is referred to the history of philosophy, it is not to be wondered at that it is still the relative views of Hegel that have been dominant with Erdmann. Not that he is—just because he is a Hegelian—by any means singular or exceptive in this. Generally, in regard to the history of philosophy since Hegel, it may be said that no one even of those who have the merit, at least nominally, to resist the system of his name, can write on the subject without being conditioned everywhere by the lectures on the history of philosophy that are included in the collected works of Hegel. As much as this is evident, as well in the form as in the discussion of the precise material which we find in the history of philosophy by Ueberweg, who, with the consent of all, bears to regard himself as independent of any school.

So it is that neither man nor system is represented by Hegel as isolated and peculiar, unrelated to the past, and without connections in the present. "No man but is a son of his time," he says, and powerless "to overleap his day;" and no philosophy can leave the world of the here and the now to take stand elsewhere: "it is the same quality" (the philosophy, namely), "which pervades all the other sides of the national life; it stands in the inmost connection with them, and constitutes the very basis beneath them. The particular form of a philosophy is contemporaneous with the particular condition of the people itself in which it appears—with its constitution and forms of government, its established observances, its social life, the skills, crafts, customs, and conveniences of it, with its attempts and attainments in arts and sciences, with its religions, its fortunes in war, and external relations generally: the infinitely diversified whole mirrors itself in its philosophy as in the single focus which concentrates into itself all."

Erdmann never leaves his reader in any doubt as to his sympathy and entire agreement with all these views, as well of organic development from the past as of organic relation in the present. There is a *learned* treatment of the history of

philosophy, he says, which regards all systems as but opinions, and, consequently, as all equally true; a *sceptical* treatment which is indifferent to all as equally false; and an *eclectic* treatment which only selects from them, as in agreement with its own mind, parts. Opposed to all three, there is also, however, a *philosophical* treatment to which the history of philosophy is only philosophy itself, as Ferrier afterwards said, *taking its time*,—to which the series of philosophies is but the substantial flexion of the one philosophy. I know not, indeed, but that Erdmann's devotion to all this pushes on at times to such literal extreme as even to defeat itself—to such literal extreme, namely, as is but literal mannerism, lifeless, and on the outside merely.

How Erdmann opens his history is, as illustrative here, admirably in place. Philosophy begins only when man begins to think himself, his own existence; and that is only when, as free, he knows his own worth. Philosophy, therefore, belongs not to the East—not to China, nor India, nor Persia, nor Egypt, but only to Greece. A pre-Hellenic philosophy exists not. The *γῶθι σεαυτόν* are the first words of philosophy, and, from the lips of their wisest, golden on their holiest shrine, they are the sacred words of the Greeks. It is ingenious to say all this, and it has the guise of truth; but has it more than that? Are there not those who will stand by the early philosophy of India at least? The rationalising nature of Erdmann finds repose, at all events, in such an exordium, and proceeds to link on to it a similarly construed series. If Greece is the very first stage or step of philosophy, the very first of the first of it there, naturally, can only be as the dream of the embryo. Even in Greece philosophy must begin in the immaturity, religious, moral, intellectual, which could but end in the practical sagacity of the seven sages. Again, these, as reflection at once suggests, were for the most part natives of colonies—why that? Oh, in order that laws, moral maxims, wise proverbs, philosophy itself arise, “the freshness of existence must die out, and decay must begin!” But these conditions are expressly found in colonies. Colonies are “cities or states originating from prudent calculation, and developing with rapid splendour!”

In the Greek colonies, further, there was the "intercourse with non-Hellenic nations that rendered possible the growth of philosophies that should answer the question of the riddle of existence in the pre-Hellenic spirit." All this is the preliminary rationale for the beginning of philosophy with Thales, followed by Anaximander and Anaximenes. But once here, it is impossible not to reflect that for the Greeks, not philosophy only, but poetry as well, began in colonies, and both in the same. Homer as well as Thales was an Ionian of Asia. Well, that, too, after all, was but another uniformity and agreement. So circumstanced, "the Ionic spirit can produce only a realistic philosophy of nature" (Thales); and so it is quite in order that "in its poetry it found its satisfaction only in the objective epic" (Homer)!

But, in the history of philosophy, Thales and the other Milesians are not allowed to have it all to themselves. They are succeeded there by the Pythagoreans. Now that is a prodigious step—a step from the brow of Asia Minor across intervening seas and the whole of Greece to the very heel of the Boot; that is not a step, but a stride, a stride from the extreme east to the extreme west of the entire Greek world, a stride not much short of a thousand miles—how is it to be accounted for? how is that enormous gap to be crossed, filled up, or bridged over? Here, as one sees, is a riddle expressly adapted for such an ingenuity as that of Erdmann. And he cries out at once, Well, is not this plain? If the Milesians had "understood themselves, they would have admitted that they were not concerned about water or air, but about what was permanent, substantial, and essential in all things—categories, namely, discernments of thought." If the Milesians had understood themselves! But, more closely and more articulately, Erdmann says again, The Milesians had "explained all variety by condensation and rarefaction" (thickening and thinning), "the mind that reflected upon itself, consequently, must arrive at the conclusion that differences have become differences of more or less, that is to say, differences of number." In this way Erdmann sees, and would make us see, the philosophy of Miletus already pregnant with the philosophy of Crotona. But do *numbers* bridge the gap?

And so it goes on, always with a reason ; no fact must be isolated ; Erdmann must have his answer for every emergency, even as a woman her excuse. Not that it is to be understood that we would wish to deny Erdmann, on the whole, to be largely successful and amply justified in this—according, at all events, to the example that has been set him. The question, accordingly, is of that example, and not of single transitions that may possibly appear at times but bare ingenuity more or less forced. And here we may have to confess that even in regard to the principle or principles in transitions of Hegel, we are not always free from hesitations and doubts. Spinoza certainly follows, and, as Erdmann says, corrects Descartes ; but would it be quite fair to say no more for Kant in his position to Hume ? What *makes* Kant, and *is* Kant, is the *a priori* which he finds in the subsections under the general section of *Judgment* in school logic. Kant was certainly led to that in thinking of Hume ; but the causal necessity carries not by any natural necessity to a consideration of the affections of propositions. It is true that the *Bildung*, the general intelligence of a nation, is in alliance with all its other forms, religious, social, literary, and the like. But how often is not the philosophical form a thing apart, something alone, something neglected on the whole, that has a regard to its nation hardly, in any strict sense, literal. Rather is not philosophy to be considered, whether prospective or retrospective, as a speculation œcumenical, and only contingently national ? But we have here a subject beyond our limits, and may leave it as any further out of our scope for the present.

Let it be as it may, however, with Erdmann in respect to connections, there can be no doubt whatever of the substantial value of his presentment of the history of philosophy. Not a single philosophy but has been most anxiously inquired into, and all that is essential in it duly portrayed. The information has been, with his own eyes, perfectly collected ; and it has been, in his own happiest summarising brevity, as perfectly brought before us. This is the case even as regards the Middle Ages ; even there Erdmann has always, with infinite labour, seen for himself. When one has Erdmann

here, one needs neither Hauréau, nor Jourdain, nor Huber, nor Kaulich. Not but that when one considers, whatever be its value as an historical document, how little such a capital work, for example, as Augustine's *Civitas Dei* philosophically tells us, and how, according to Prantl, the great *Albert*, and the great *Thomas*, and the great *Duns*, are, on the whole, anything but great, and have nothing to add to Aristotle—not but that when one considers as much, one is apt to suspect, apart from the satisfaction of one's curiosity, that, so far as the history of philosophy is concerned, any traffic with the Middle Ages may, without loss, or even with advantage, quite righteously fall out. As “within a presupposition,” perhaps Schwegler is not so wrong in omitting Scholasticism.

Erdmann's style is particularly excellent; a harnessed power, organic connection there, too, is its main characteristic. It is pointed withal, antithetic, epigrammatic; at times it simply consciously sports, as it were, with a masterful toss of its own syntax. The general effect of it is the shrewdly quaint, or the quaintly shrewd. There are such shrewd wrinkles always round a veteran eye in the midst of it. But all the time this style, this writing, however perfect in itself, is wholly, solely, and in every turn of it, German. It is not the style of Schwegler, with which, as French or English, and consequently instantly direct and clear, we are at once at home. Neither, all German as it is, is it the style of Ueberweg, which, however plain and always in earnest, has all the intricate in-and-in packing, and, by consequence, all the cumbrousness and weight of his countrymen's endlessly-claused sentences.

Veteran in style, Erdmann is always veteran in good nature too; he is never without kindness and a smile. What tolerance and equanimity he has for views that are even diametrically opposed to his own! He sees, and he tells us of it as he sees, his master, Hegel, literally riven piecemeal, without a single sparkle of the eye, without a quiver of the lip. Hegel is “blamed” by one man and “denounced” by another; a third talks bitterly in his regard of “delusion,” and is above measure thankful that he has been “enabled to see the completely untenable nature of Hegelian views.”

Erdmann chronicles all this in silence ; he only consoles himself relatively when he has the chance to be pleased "with the tribute of recognition" which such and such a writer, or such and such another "pays to the master, Hegel, who is disowned by so many who live upon him !" Erdmann will always be just, impartial, true ; he praises always, and never neglects to praise when praise he can. Wherever he gets assistance, too, he is ready to avow it, as when he names Zeller, Mullach, Bonitz, Brandis, Biese, Prantl, and others the like. He praises his rival Ueberweg unreservedly, and, as we have seen, is content that his own *Grundriss* should be associated with that of Schwegler.

I may close this notice by a word in regard to the translation. Seven competent scholars have had more or less to do with the work of it. This work, in face of the peculiarities of Erdmann's writing, could not, as may readily be surmised, prove an easy one—even without any attempt to transfer into English the precise style of the writing to which these peculiarities belong. That, indeed, could not have been well possible—it is wonderful what delicate meaning Erdmann contrives to insinuate (parenthetically) in a pair of hooks ! But there is to be claimed for the translators, on the whole, a fair, clear, and correct rendering. I transcribe portion of a paragraph by way of example.

"No regretful longing for the glories of the past of which the plaintive elegy reaches our ears in the writings of Plato, can arrest the wheel of fate. The era of Greece has come to an end. To wrest from her hands the sceptre of the world, and thus to play the intermediary in its transition to Rome, was the destiny of the ephemeral supremacy of a people which was Greek and yet so unlike the Greeks, and which as in a dream anticipated the approaching universal empire of Rome. Philip, who deprived the Greeks of their reputation for invincibility, and his still greater son, who, by delivering the treasures of Greek culture to the East, robbed the Greeks of their true Palladium, the consciousness of being the intellectual *élite* of mankind, both of these dealt a mortal blow to Hellenism. But a time in which this new principle obtains acceptance can no longer content itself with the world-

formula of a philosopher who dreams of a State great by its smallness. A thinker is required capable of educating a king who subjects three continents, and who, just as his pupil does not hold the East in too great contempt to reside in it, himself does not consider anything too bad to be investigated, nor regards the conquest and amassing of all the treasures of knowledge as a robbery committed on the genius of philosophy. The poetical creativeness of Plato must be superseded by the collecting industry of Aristotle."

Plato, Greece, Macedonia, Alexander and the East, Aristotle and Philosophy : all here will exemplify the usual manner of Erdmann, his transitions, and his general rationalising connectiveness. Examination, too, will prove the translation excellent.

JAMES HUTCHISON STIRLING.

### **Religion : A Dialogue, and other Essays,**

*By Arthur Schopenhauer, selected and translated by T. B. Saunders, M.A. Second Edition. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1890.*

### **The Wisdom of Life, being the first part of Arthur Schopenhauer's Aphorismen zur Lebensweisheit.**

*Translated, with a Preface, by T. Bailey Saunders, M.A. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1890.*

THESE little volumes represent some of the more popular writings of the great modern pessimist. They are, let it be said at once, slight and sketchy in the extreme, and though even the *obiter dicta* of a thinker are interesting, and, therefore, should be welcomed in their English dress, yet it will be a misfortune if anyone is tempted to judge of Schopenhauer from these disjointed scraps merely. The age unhappily dotes on scraps. One of Mr Saunders' volumes is already in its second edition ; but when will this be true of Mr Kemp's valuable translation of the philosopher's *magnum opus* ?

The first of the above consists of a series of extracts from the *Parerga und Paralipomena*, a collection published by Schopenhauer towards the close of his life with the view of

popularising his main positions. Its contents are very various, papers on "Books and Reading," on "Physiognomy," and on "Psychology" alternating with others on such subjects as "Religion," "Pantheism," and "The Christian System." They are all of them brief, bright, and literary rather than philosophic in their treatment. They do not so much set forth a view or develop an argument as offer a series of suggestions on the topic in hand;—suggestions, however, which are often very apt and telling, as well as touched with Schopenhauer's own humour, sometimes dry and sometimes bitter. In the paper on "Reading" our invincible craving for the new book and our excessive tolerance for the poor get smartly rebuked, and on the general subject this is quotable: "Thoughts put on paper are nothing more than footsteps in the sand; you see the way the man has gone, but to know what he saw on his walk, you want his eyes." Observations of the same keen quality are to be found on every other page, together with others, it must be confessed, of that cynical sort that often makes Schopenhauer's otherwise pleasant pages so disagreeable. It is worth noticing how even in these jottings by the way on all things and sundry the main pessimistic principle now and again gleams through, as when it is given as a "psychological observation" that inertia and habit are just the "will" at different stages of objectivation, or when the pleasure we feel at beholding the free and unconscious movements of the lower animals is set down to the fact that in them we come face to face with this same basal principle of existence, the "will," while in men it is masked and hidden. Schopenhauer himself used to describe his system as a citadel with a hundred gates, and it *is* interesting to find yourself thus let in anywhere.

But of the theological pieces what can one say? Perhaps nothing. A review that still ventures to call itself Christian, when it notices the work of a writer who holds, with an infinite dogmatism, that Judaism, "as is well known," sprang from the Zendavesta and Christianity from Indian thought, that the only possible point of connection between the two systems is the doctrine of the *Fall*, that the "peculiar disadvantage" of Christianity is its historical character, and that indeed all religions merely contain in the allegorical form that



fits the mass of humanity (and with doubtful results at that), truths that the philosopher holds in their purity, and so on, and so on, may really be content to have noticed it and pass on.

The other volume is a sort of pessimist's guide to the wise and successful life, the curious thing being that from the first page to the last there is absolutely nothing pessimistic about it. Life to this writer also is a good thing! his aims and expectations, his counsels and injunctions are precisely the cultured Epicurean's! It is only fair to say that Schopenhauer himself admits as much. Rightly viewed, of course, life is, with him, essentially suffering. It represents the ceaseless self-assertion of the ultimate inscrutable force he names Will, its blind striving, its perennially unsatisfied desire; and were men only wise enough to see through the illusory shows of existence, they would withdraw from the struggle of life and so escape its inevitable misery. But that the ordinary man should attain such an insight is more than a thinker who believes so little in human nature can expect. Has not Voltaire said that "we shall all leave this world as wicked and as foolish as we found it"? And accordingly in this volume he consents to a compromise. Waiving the true metaphysical standpoint, he accepts the common view of things, and granting that a certain (illusory) happiness is attainable he goes on to ask: Of what kind then? and by what means? For the answer we must refer to the volume itself. It may be sufficient to have indicated the method of treatment, affording as it does so striking an illustration of the pessimistic paradox that the world is evil only and yet endures. For the rest it may be said that the conventional ethics get in these pages many a shrewd blow. No teacher has ever seen more clearly that the *happy* man is satisfied from himself, while his sense of the fruitlessness of all effort and desire leads to an insistence on *renunciation* as an element in the moral life which so far is good. And yet of course this renunciation is not properly Christian, any more than the pessimist's view of the world is Christian. Schopenhauer loudly protests a hyper-orthodoxy in both cases, but the error here is the same as when a similar claim is put in on

behalf of Buddhism. The Christian is bidden lose his life, but only that he may find it; and even though in his view the shadow that lies athwart existence is the darkest conceivable, this very fact appears only in the light of redemption.

ALEX. MARTIN.

### Herbert Spencer's Lehre von dem Unerkennbaren.

*Von Ernst Grosse, Privatdocent an der Universität, Freiburg.  
Leipzig: Weit & Co. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.*

THIS work is not an exposition of Mr Spencer's philosophy, as a whole, nor does it deal with those parts of the synthetic philosophy which, to Mr Spencer himself, seem most valuable. There is no reference to his theory of evolution, nor does Herr Grosse intermeddle with the religious and ethical speculations of Mr Spencer. He limits himself to Mr Spencer's theory of knowledge. The doctrine of the "Unknowable" is the theme of the book.

Herr Grosse assigns to Mr Spencer a pre-eminent position among English philosophers. Mr Spencer is declared to be one of the most important thinkers of his country and people. Proofs are given of his influence. The numerous articles written for and against his system during the last ten years are sufficient proof, as Herr Grosse points out, of his far-reaching importance. All thinkers must reckon with the system of Mr Spencer.

Having thus, with due courtesy, recognised the eminence of Mr Spencer, Herr Grosse proceeds to his task. It consists of two parts. The first is an exposition of Mr Spencer's theory of knowledge, the second is a criticism of it. As regards the exposition, it is clear, fair, competent. Herr Grosse does not, as some of Mr Spencer's critics have done, confine himself to the "First Principles." He has taken into account also the "Principles of Psychology," in which the theory of knowledge is set forth in elaborate detail. It is only fair to Mr Spencer that his fuller statement of the doctrine of the Unknowable should be fairly considered and duly weighed. The only question is whether we can really and adequately estimate Mr

Spencer's doctrine of the Unknowable, in his theory of knowledge, without taking into account his other works. In his "Principles of Biology" his theory of knowledge is also restated, and receives fresh illustrations; while his ethical studies, and his speculations on religion, are ruled by his theory, and cast fresh light on it.

In the work before us, the exposition of Mr Spencer's theory is based on the "First Principles" and on the "Principles of Psychology." Every paragraph shows that Herr Grosse has closely studied these works; with true German thoroughness he has gone into the subject, has weighed, sifted, classified; and with a clearness—which is more than German—he has set forth the system of Mr Spencer. He professes to give us an "objective" exposition, and his claim, we think, may be allowed. We believe that Mr Spencer would himself be satisfied with the account here given of his system. We have read many accounts of Mr Spencer's thought, both by those who agree with him and by those who do not; but we have never seen his doctrine of the Unknowable, or his theory of knowledge, more clearly set forth, not even by himself.

It is not necessary for us to summarise the summary of Mr Spencer's system given by Herr Grosse. We may take for granted that the main parts of Mr Spencer's philosophy are pretty well known. At all events, we cannot state them here. The first step in the criticism before us is to point out that Mr Spencer's doctrine of the Unknowable rests on the doctrine of the relativity of knowledge. As this doctrine is stated by Mr Spencer, it would appear that all knowledge ultimately leads to an unknown and Unknowable. Herr Grosse quotes the following: "If the successive deeper interpretations of nature which constitute advancing knowledge are merely successive inclusions of special truths in general truths, and of general truths in truths more general, it obviously follows that the most general truth, not admitting of inclusion in any other, does not admit of interpretation." In answer to this statement, it is pointed out by Herr Grosse that the truth which is most universal is also the truth which is most clear. Advancing knowledge is not from the known to the unknown, but the reverse. It is the inclusion of the unknown in what

is known. In fact this is consistent with the teaching of Mr Spencer himself, when he makes the "persistence" of force the most general, and the most sure of all the principles on which knowledge is based. Other defects in Mr Spencer's exposition of the Relativity of Knowledge are pointed out, and then Herr Grosse passes to the criticism of the doctrine of the Unknowable.

He points out that Mr Spencer has given us three definitions of the "Unknowable." It is (1) the Absolute; (2) the Unknown reality; (3) the Unknown force. These three predicates assigned to one subject are incompatible, and mutually irreconcilable. By Mr Spencer the Absolute "is defined as that of which no necessary relation can be predicated," and he has no difficulty in showing that this Absolute is "unknowable." But then the Absolute becomes an unknown reality, in which "subject and object are united." It is "a power of which the nature remains for ever inconceivable, and to which no limits in Time or Space can be imagined," but which "works in us certain effects." The criticism of Herr Grosse is, that if the Absolute can work certain effects in us, it stands to us in a relation, the relation of cause to these effects, and at once it ceases to be the Absolute which exists "out of all relations." "We have on the one hand an Absolute, which stands in no relation, and is unknowable; and on the other hand a Reality, which is a cause in relation to certain effects, and in a certain measure is knowable; in other words, we have two definitions which completely contradict one another" (p. 73). Mr Spencer must make his choice between the two definitions. "Either the ultimate reality is Absolute and unknowable, or it is relative and knowable; both it cannot be."

Herr Grosse passes on to the examination of the proof of the existence of the Absolute. Mr Spencer has said: "To say that we cannot know the Absolute is, by implication, to affirm that there is an Absolute. In the very denial of our power to learn *what* the Absolute is, there lies hidden the assumption *that* it is; and the making of this assumption proves that the Absolute has been present to the mind, not as a nothing, but as a something." The argumentation is by no

means conclusive. For, as Herr Grosse points out, the phrase, "we cannot know the Absolute," has two wholly different meanings. It may mean, "we cannot know whether there exists an Absolute or not," or it may mean, "we know that an Absolute exists, but we cannot know as what or how it exists." In an interesting foot-note it is shown that the English word "know" is ambiguous, and the ambiguity arises from the fact that it has the sense both of "Wissen" and of "Erkennen." Mr Spencer's argumentation would therefore be impossible in German, in which the meaning of "to know" would be precisely defined.

The further argumentation of Mr Spencer with regard to the existence of the Absolute is shown to be self-contradictory. When he says, "appearance without reality is unthinkable," he has again departed from his definition. In fact, all his arguments prove is, that his definition of the Absolute is a mistake, and the sooner he and others give it up the better. The Absolute, out of all relation, is like the Kantian thing-in-itself, a metaphysical ghost, and the sooner it is laid to rest the better for all parties.

Herr Grosse is of opinion that in this part the philosophy of Mr Spencer is at its weakest. He gives a qualified approval to the Spencerian doctrine of "Transfigured Realism," but puts some questions which Mr Spencer would find rather difficult to answer. On these, however, we may not dwell. The criticism of the Spencerian doctrine of Time and Space is sharp, clear, and incisive, and the account given by Mr Spencer of the genesis of our notions of time and space is shown to be untenable even on his own principles. Then follows a criticism of the doctrine of the "persistence of force," in which Herr Grosse points out various inconsistencies, and endeavours to arrive at the truth which underlies the Spencerian doctrine. In conclusion, it is pointed out that the sources of Mr Spencer's errors are mainly two. The first is, that he has taken abstractions for realities, and has fallen under the dominion of what he himself calls "a disease of language." He has dealt with abstract views and logical distinctions as if they must have an existence in reality, and is as scholastic as any schoolman. The second source of error is "too strenuous a

striving after the unification of knowledge," which has misled him, and vitiated even those contributions of his which are real and fruitful. Herr Grosse's criticism of Mr Spencer's reconciliation of religion and science consists mainly in an opinion of Mr Gladstone's, to which he gives no reference, and which we cannot verify. "Gladstone urtheilte über die Versöhnung zwischen Religion und Wissenschaft wie sie in den 'First Principles' gelehrt wird, sie sei gleich der Theilung eines Hauses, bei der die eine Partei die innere, und die andere Partei die äussere Seite erhalte; und diese Kritik ist in der That ebenso treffend als geistreich." On the book as a whole, we may say that we know nothing more valuable, more clear in its exposition, or more drastic in its criticism, than what Herr Grosse has given us in this little book. It does not extend beyond 119 pages, but each page is significant.

JAMES IVERACH.

### Church and State.

*A Historical Handbook.* By A. Taylor Innes, Advocate, author of "The Law of Creeds in Scotland." Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1890.

THE exact aim of this book may be best stated in the introductory words:—

"The two most celebrated forms of association in history have been known by the names of the State and the Church. This volume does not attempt to enter upon either of these great fields, the literature of which has been enormous. It deals exclusively with the relation between the two societies, their points of contact, collision, junction, and intersection. Even this intermediate field is vast; and it may be approached in two ways. On the theoretical side, the doctrinal and logical aspects of this relation have always had a fascination for thinking men, and the conflict of principles upon it fills many libraries. On the historical side it has moulded our modern civilisation, and 'the whole life and character of Western Christendom consists of the incessant action and counteraction of Church and State' (Ranke). It is necessary, therefore, to select a line of treatment. In these pages the question will be traced historically, and in the chronological order in which it has unfolded itself to the world."

Much was to be expected from the choice of such a method by

such an author. Mr Innes was already "passed master" in this peculiar region. His former treatise within a more strictly professional department of it, "The Law of Creeds in Scotland," is the standard book of its kind, and has long since won him the reputation of being among the foremost of living authorities on such topics. This new excursion exceeds expectation. Most writings on such themes have hitherto taken the form of ecclesiastical or political pamphleteering. Nothing can be more entirely the opposite than this learned and impartial digest—a piece of work without a parallel in our literature. The entire map of European civilisation is unrolled from the introduction of Christianity down to the present day. The line formed on this map by the intersection of the two societies is traced with microscopic exactness, yet with continuous grasp from first to last. Not a decision of Church council or State enactment, not a single movement of princes or people, not an utterance of divine, statesman, or *litterateur* bearing with any significance on the question is omitted at any period through the long contest—and all set down in proper perspective and proportion. Even those who are not entire strangers to the subject will be surprised to find how much there is in it. One closes the book impressed with the intensity and persistence with which the adjustment of the relation between civil and ecclesiastical society has been pursued in every Christian century and almost every decade down to that which we are just closing. Our author, by his encyclopædic knowledge of the facts, his mastery of principles, his pellucid style, his charm of expression, enables one to trace the evolution of this intricate question with an ease which is fascinating.

No doubt it is pre-eminently a case where it is hard to see the wood for trees. And one would often like to take the writer by the button, stop his eloquent tale, and ask him to tell us candidly what he thinks of it all himself—whether he would not supply us with some large and easily apprehended generalisation with which we could pass ourselves off as *au fait* on the whole theme. Doubtless he knows better, and has wisely resisted the temptation to attempt any such impossibility. One who can wear all the weight of learning, here implied, so gracefully, knows too much to commit himself to any cut and dry formula or partisan solution of this problem of the ages. The book is very far from being the work of a colourless mind. Amid all his judicial candour the author holds his own opinion subtly in solution. In the case of his earlier treatise, this peculiarity had the curious effect of inducing extreme Erastians, like the late Dean Stanley, to quote with approval what those who could read between the lines saw to be really a refutation of their views. The peculiarity mildly persists. Time has toned down a certain earlier fondness for paradoxical statement. Firm histori-

cal judgment is conspicuous in the present work. Yet if its firmness ever seems for a moment to become harshness, it is towards those whom the author might by outsiders be expected to favour. For instance, the Westminster Confession does no doubt halt "between two inconsistent views" of religious liberty, or, at least, views not at that time harmonised. Yet, is the closing paragraph of the noble chapter on Christian liberty so "plainly pernicious" as our author asserts? That civil society, so long as it is sane, will always maintain its right to suppress opinions and practices "contrary to the light of nature" is certain. One whose opinion is entitled to weight in this region—Dr Mitchell of St Andrews—does not see how the paragraph could well affirm less than it does, "if an unlimited toleration of all teaching, however blasphemous, and of all practices, however revolting, is not to be openly proclaimed."<sup>1</sup> No doubt there are clauses in it which might be construed into a call on the civil arm to enforce those religious opinions which the framers held to be alone Christian. But in recording this otherwise tolerant and high-minded statement as a moment in the solution of the Church and State question, should it not have been noted that the doubtful paragraph so characterised was the one in this chapter through which the English Parliament drew its pen in adopting the Confession?

The method of treatment announced at the outset is adhered to throughout. From the first paragraph to the last it is strictly historical. A certain abstract or speculative interest, however, pervades the history—an interest which, though the author had resolved to expel it as with a fork, must recur. For the problem will not allow itself to be mathematically defined as one of mere intersection of the boundaries of two organisations or societies. Its deeper form is that of the progressive influence of Christianity upon the civilisation in which it inheres. In the degree in which true toleration has been won in the various Christian nations, the result has been due not to religious indifference, but to the most finely sifted and intensely ardent Christian belief—glowing with the charity which is its highest fruit. It has been, that is to say, the triumph of a law or principle which is distinctively Christian. Again, where the relations of Church and State have been most successfully and peacefully adjusted, we have really the supremacy of a particular form of the Christian religion. With evident admiration and in more than usual detail, Mr Innes gives (pp. 196-202) the adjustment which has prevailed in the United States since the Declaration of Independence, and which has secured a remarkable peace on Church and State questions there for more than a century. Is not this due to the application of Christian principles to the question in that

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of the Westminster Assembly," Introduction, p. lxx.



specially favourable form in which these were planted in the New World? Is it not, in short, the legislative and constitutional embodiment of the Protestant religion in that special form which American Christianity has developed? This underlying question of what Liberalism and Constitutionalism owe to Christianity—how far, indeed, they are simply the application of Christian principles to States and their government—shines through all the long contest here described. In the earlier part of the history it receives more express prominence. In the later it is obscured by the crowded state of the canvas, rather than by any suppression of it in the author's intention. And how, at any moment, the simple, bare question may come to the front, he shows us in his closing paragraphs. When the State and the Church alike shall become the *demos*—when there shall be not King and Parliament on the one side, Synod and Council on the other, but when Church and State shall mean simply the same persons in diverse relations and in varying proportions—the whole issue may turn upon a grandly simple application of the principles which this age-long controversy has exemplified and ripened.

From the publisher's point of view the book is another instance, surpassing even its predecessors, of the quantity of valuable and original literature which this series of Bible Class Hand-books puts within reach of students at the most modest outlay on the part of the purchaser.

JOHN LAIDLAW.

### **St Paul: His Life and Times.**

*By James Iverach, M.A. London: James Nisbet & Co.*

THIS recent addition to the "Men of the Bible Series" is welcome as another attempt to aid the public in doing justice to the Apostle Paul by reading his teaching in living relation to his life. As compared with Dr Stalker's brilliant sketch, it uses its 216 closely-printed pages to enter into more detail, with some gains if also with some loss in general effect.

In his general attitude, it is doubtful whether the author has hit the happy mean of giving their dues to the "psychological" and "supernatural" aspects of Paulinism in general, and of its initial fact—the conversion—in particular. No doubt a reaction was needed against the critical dogmatism which has confidently pronounced on the "kicking against the goad," and sought the key to Paul's case in "a feeling of compunction." But the remark that the phrase "need mean no more than that his opposition to the Christian cause would be of no avail," might have carried more with it, if it had been the outcome of a careful analysis of the known conditions, internal and external, of Paul's history. Instead of this, our author says (p. 5),

"We need not enter at any length into a discussion of the kind of learning he obtained in the school of Gamaliel, nor say anything either of the views which obtained there, or of the methods by which they were attained and defended." This leaves a certain vagueness in the description of "his religious experience as a Pharisee" (pp. 10, 11), though it also contains many true things (e.g., "He lived at high pressure").

Among the points well emphasized in the book are the significance of Stephen, in whom the Christian principle and the Jewish principle are seen in conflict; the "Barnabas" disposition, its strength and weakness (pp. 37-8, 41-2); Paul's situation at Athens; the frank recognition of the apostle's haste before the Sanhedrin; and in general, though with some qualification, the questions centring in the Epistle to the Galatians. In matters of exegesis our author as a rule carries conviction, pp. 119, (? the Jews the aggressors, so Schürer ii. 263), 130 (where ἐστίν is forced), 139 (surely κατ' ἄνθρωπον in 1 Cor. xv. 32 = ἀνθρώπινον λέγω, Rom. vi. 19), being slight exceptions.

In the Higher Criticism the author omits (p. 45) to account for the absence of the journey to Jerusalem (Acts xi. 30, xii. 25) from the catalogue in Galatians, which claims to be, in some sense at least, exhaustive. We notice, too, that he says the Roman Church was probably founded by Paul's disciples and converts (p. 191); that he does not refer to the "encyclical" theory of Ephesians as explaining the lack of personal allusions, nor to Lightfoot's view that Philippians is not the last of the captivity group. Also, whilst he temperately discusses the Pastoral Epistles, he makes too little, perhaps, of the theological developments, "the separation of doctrine and ethics, the notion of the Church, tradition, and apostolic succession," which weigh so much with critics like Sabatier.

As regards the chapter on "Pauline Theology," the most cardinal point—the determinative and supreme place of Christ in Paul's thought as in his life—is admirably grasped. We should have welcomed indeed more than he has attempted. "It is a task which might easily be accomplished," he says, "to place all the distinctive teaching of the apostle in due relation to this leading thought. All his significant words and phrases . . . fall into rank, order, and due subordination in the light of the doctrine of the Person of Christ. . . . Take the doctrine, or the words in which the apostle states his doctrine, out of this relation, and they easily become untrue." We wish he had devoted a page or two to doing this on the basis of a synopsis like that of Reuss or Sabatier. The underlying simplicity of Paulinism would thus have been made more apparent. Further, while we agree with him in the emphasis with which he speaks of "Paul the disciple, Christ the Master," and think this true to Paul and

true to fact, we are not so sure that due account is taken of the more metaphysical form in which the Christ of the apostle's religious experience appears in some of the later epistles. "Evidently to the apostle himself," he says, "the fuller statement was no speculative deduction, nor was a statement of fact revealed to him. . . . For the Pauline view of Christ is in no way the product of speculation. It is rooted in history." Rooted in history, doubtless, but Paul's mind had a Pharisaic stage ere his conversion. Rabbinical training had not only its own exegesis and dialectics, but also its metaphysic. Are we to regard this latter as gradually transformed, as the rest of his being was, by the revelation of God's Son, while yet forming the historic point of departure? Or are we to regard the Pauline categories as throughout directly revealed, as Christ was revealed as Lord on the road to Damascus? Is there in this latter sense a system of revealed metaphysics? Our author's insistence upon the fact that Paul was apostle or missionary before theologian indicates a view which has an important bearing on the question, though that view is not expressed at length.

Two queries suggest themselves in closing our study of this book. Were the *Jerusalem* Hellenists liberal-minded? Sabatier gives good reasons for judging them zealous amid pure Jews to establish a character for strict orthodoxy. Again, what are we to infer from the absence of recorded effort on the part of James and the Jerusalem Church on behalf of Paul when he was in trouble through acting on their advice? The book indeed suggests a variety of questions, and sets one thinking on many points in the life and work of the great apostle. It is a serious attempt to wed in the mind of the Christian public "true religion and sound learning."

VERNON BARTLET.

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### **After the Exile. A Hundred Years of Jewish History and Literature. Part II. The Coming of Ezra to the Samaritan Schism.**

*By P. Hay Hunter, Minister of Yester. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, Edinburgh and London. 1890.*

C'est pour nous tous (says a distinguished French orientalist, recently deceased) un devoir de rompre le cercle magique dans lequel nous restons volontairement enfermés; sachons nous concilier le grand public par une bonne et scientifique vulgarisation de nos travaux. Mr Hunter's work is precisely *une bonne et scientifique vulgarisation* of recent research in regard to one of the most important periods of Jewish history. The fragmentary character of the documentary authorities and the arbitrary way in which they

have been treated by the Chronicler are rightly emphasised, and we have to thank Mr Hunter not only for what he has given us, but for what he has not attempted to give us. The second volume opens with the arrival at Jerusalem of Ezra and the party under his leadership, in the year 459 B.C., and presents us with a clear and animated—if, at times, slightly diffuse—account of the varying fortunes of the Jewish colony during the next thirty years. Mr Hunter's is the pen of a ready writer, and can with equal effect describe a scene or sketch a character. Witness the graphic description of Ezra's grief in the opening chapter, and the sympathetic portrait of Nehemiah in chapter five.

While rightly maintaining his independence of judgment in matters of detail, the author is in sympathy, in the main, with the newer school of Old Testament criticism. The "Deuteronomic Code, either in whole or in part," continued to be "the sole statute book of the community of the second temple," till Ezra "brought with him from Babylon the so-called priestly code." We have hitherto had too much *destructive*, and too little *constructive*, criticism; this is why a work like the present is so eminently seasonable. As a specimen of this constructive criticism, I would point to the chapter—one of the best in the book—entitled "Idyll and Allegory," in which the reader will find a discussion, admirable alike for its freshness and its boldness, of the books of Ruth and Jonah. There are not a few things in this chapter, as there are throughout the book, to which exception may justly be taken, but, as a careful and attractive study of an eventful and difficult period, Mr Hunter's volumes deserve to be welcomed both by the general public and the smaller circle of Old Testament scholars.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

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### Some Volumes of Sermons.

MESSRS MACMILLAN have published this summer a number of volumes of sermons and addresses upon pastoral work. Among these are nineteen sermons under the title of *STONES FROM THE QUARRY*, by the Rev. Robert Vaughan, Curate-in-charge of St Mary's, South Shields. Mr Vaughan's sermons are upon some essentials of Religion and Theology, the meaning of the sufferings of Christ, The Resurrection Body, Our Saviour's Advent, Economy in Revelation, and some elements of the Christian Life. They are written in a quiet, restrained style: they are short: they are always thoughtful and suggestive: some of them are fresh contributions to the treatment of their subjects: but—whether from their narrow limits (they average about ten small pages) or from some other cause—few of them give us a complete study of its theme. We do not care so much for the opening ones

on Spirit in Matter, and the nature of "Our God," &c. They strike us as vague. But those on the sufferings of Christ are fresh and true, and we are persuaded that in this line Mr Vaughan has something to tell his age in a form less confined than the Anglican parish-sermon. On the cry from the cross, "My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken?" he remarks that our Lord's feeling of forsakenness "did not arise from the Father's imputation of the world's wickedness to His innocent Son; nor from Christ imagining Himself to be guilty for the sins which others committed; and yet it came from the sin of the world. . . . The sin of the world caused the world to account Him the sinner of sinners; the sin of the world induced men to take and with wicked hands to crucify and slay the Holy and the Just One: and it was thus the sin of the world which caused that deep sense of desertion to seize the soul of Christ." He had been abandoned by those He had come to speak to from God. Their sin had made them desert Him, mock Him, crucify Him. Mr Vaughan is very fine in Sermon VI., on the Moral Nature of Christ's Sufferings.—**THE COUNTRY CLERGYMAN AND HIS WORK** is six lectures on Pastoral Theology, delivered in the Divinity School, Cambridge, in 1889, by the Rev. Herbert James, M.A., Rector of Livermere, Suffolk. He speaks with experience and authority on the Country Clergyman's Field, Preaching, Visiting, Educational Work, Parochial Organisation, and Influence.—**FOR CHRIST AND CITY** is a volume from the other side of the work of the Church of England. It consists of "Liverpool Sermons and Addresses," by Charles William Stubbs, Rector of Wavertree, the well-known author of "Christ and Democracy." It is a manly, lucid exposition of the social principles of Christianity, with texts and illustrations drawn from events and institutions in the life of Liverpool. The sermon on the Social Creed of the Church is instructive and stimulating. Its key-note is a phrase borrowed from the Lambeth Encyclical on Socialism—"not charity but social duty." In "The English Church and Historic Continuity," Mr Stubbs follows the late Bishop of Durham in making his ideal of Church "a holy season extending all the year round—a temple confined only by the limits of the habitable world—a priesthood coextensive with the human race;" and in accepting the threefold ministry, the consecrated place, the episcopal succession, &c., as but "practical expedients." In Church Comprehension and Reform, Mr Stubbs pleads for a reform of the constitution of the Church which will give the laity the same power in her government as exists for them in the Presbyterian Church: and for greater power to the Bishops to remove inefficient clergy. The volume closes with **A Pastoral Letter**, which, describing as it does work in a large English parish, ought to prove a strong example to our own generation, and to succeeding ones a historical document of great value.

Along with these volumes come from Messrs Macmillan four volumes of their re-issue of Charles Kingsley's Sermons :—Sermons for the Times ; The Water of Life ; Village, Town, and Country Sermons (in one volume) ; and National Sermons. It is interesting to note that the first three sets of these have reached from a seventh to a ninth edition. The Sermons on National Subjects, containing the Sermons on the Cholera, and first printed as a whole in 1880, are in their third edition. GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

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**Messrs Eyre & Spottiswoode's Publications.**

THE HOLY BIBLE. *Authorised Version. Brevier 8vo, Marg. Ref. With the Queen's Printers' "Aids to the Study of the Holy Bible, with which is incorporated the Appendix of 1877."*

THE VARIORUM TEACHER'S EDITION OF THE HOLY BIBLE.

THE VARIORUM REFERENCE EDITION OF THE HOLY BIBLE.

THE TEACHER'S PRAYER-BOOK : BEING THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, WITH INTRODUCTIONS, ANALYSES, NOTES, AND A COMMENTARY UPON THE PSALTER. *By the Most Rev. Alfred Barry, D.D., Bishop of Sydney, and Metropolitan Primate of Australia and Tasmania ; and a Glossary by the Rev. A. L. Mayhew, M.A.*

THE PSALTER, WITH INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY FROM THE "TEACHER'S PRAYER-BOOK." *By the Right Rev. Alfred Barry, D.D., Assistant-Bishop in Diocese of Rochester ; late Bishop of Sydney, and Metropolitan Primate of Australia and Tasmania.*

It is not necessary at this date to say much in commendation of the various editions of the Bible which are published by the Messrs Eyre & Spottiswoode. The Queen's Printers' editions have made their way into general recognition, and they have deserved to do so. It would be difficult to surpass them in all the qualities that go to make the best combination of the useful and the beautiful. The brevier octavo edition of the Authorised is in point of type, paper, and binding all that one could well desire ; while the Appendix, which contains the *Aids*, places at the reader's disposal a wealth of information admirably arranged and thoroughly reliable. The two editions of the *Variorum* Bible give what cannot be got elsewhere in the same form. The one prepared for the special needs of teachers contains both the *Aids* and the *Various Renderings and Readings*. The other, the Reference edition, gives the *Renderings and Readings*, and a valuable indexed Atlas. These are new and revised issues of the *Variorum* Bible. The first edition of this Bible supplied a long felt want, and left everything else of the kind a long way behind it. The present edition is

materially improved in type, in arrangement, and in matter. The amount of toil represented by the footnotes is enormous. They are drawn from the writings of sixty-nine interpreters of the Old Testament and seventy-three of the New. They have been most carefully prepared through many years of assiduous application by scholars of the highest reputation. They show at a glance how it stands with every sentence of Holy Scripture in which either reading or rendering is in any degree disputable or uncertain. It is an edition which one should always have at hand. There is none to compete with it. The *Teacher's Prayer-Book* and the *Psalter* are not inferior to these admirable editions of the Bible in beauty of form. The former is already in its second edition. The Introduction and Notes attempt nothing original, but give a very good statement of the main questions relating to the origin and principles of the Prayer-Book. They necessarily touch on many matters, both historical and doctrinal, which have been keenly controverted, but they do so in a sober spirit. The Commentary on the *Psalter* is conservative in tone, taking little to do with critical questions, and limiting itself to such explanations and remarks as are most congruous to hours of private, devotional study. The version of the Psalms in both these volumes is, of course, that of the "Great Bible" of 1540, a version which, as Dr Barry rightly observes, "seems to lend itself with special appropriateness and beauty to liturgical use." It is, however, less exact than that of 1611, and Dr Barry's Commentary, though it does not pretend to grapple with the great questions which are now in debate on the literary history of the Psalms, their Messianic interpretation and the like, corrects that inexactness in many cases. The Queen's Printers' *Psalter*, in short, is a book to take with us into the closet. Its substance and its form fit it to be the cherished companion of all, and especially of those advanced in life, in hours of devotion.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

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### **The Expositor.**

*Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. Fourth Series. Volume I. London: Hodder & Stoughton.*

HAVING now entered its fourth series, *The Expositor* may fairly take rank among our old established magazines. It pursues its useful course with vigour. The present volume contains many articles of importance. Where all are good, it is invidious to single out any for particular mention. We need only say that, while there are articles which touch the great questions of scholarship, such as those by the late Bishop Lightfoot and those by Professor Beet, there are others of more general interest, such as Dr Plummer's Recollections

of Dr Döllinger, and the choice tributes paid to the late Dr Delitzsch and the late Dr Hatch by Count Baudissin and Professor Sanday. A reasonable amount of space is given to properly expository papers, like those by Dr Bruce on Hebrews, and Canon Cheyne on the Psalms. It is pleasing, too, to see the practised pen of Dr Samuel Cox writing with the old skill on the favourite themes. The volume takes its place worthily with the many that have preceded it.

### **The Expository Times.**

*Edited by the Rev. James Hastings, M.A. Volume the First.  
October 1889 to September 1890. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.*

WE congratulate the energetic Editor on the completion of his first volume. This new magazine has already secured a good place, and it has deserved to do so. A large number of writers of recognised ability have been enlisted in its interest, and it has succeeded in offering from month to month a rich and varied supply of matter. The larger articles are of great value. The shorter notes and papers on matters of interpretation and the like are admirably constructed, and often call attention to novel and interesting expositions of Scripture. Excellent provision is made at the same time for the needs of teachers, young people in the Sabbath school or Bible class, and private students of Scripture. The marvel is that so high a general standard of writing is maintained, and so great a wealth of matter supplied at so modest a cost. The magazine has a place of its own to fill, and we wish it all success.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

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## Cardinal Newman.

CARDINAL NEWMAN. *By Richard H. Hutton. Methuen & Co.* 1891. Pp. 251. 2s. 6d.

A SHORT LIFE OF CARDINAL NEWMAN. *By J. S. Fletcher. Ward & Downey.* 1890. Pp. 207. 2s. 6d.

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, THE FOUNDER OF MODERN ANGLICANISM, AND A CARDINAL OF THE ROMAN CHURCH. *By Wilfrid Meynell. Kegan Paul & Co.* 1890. Pp. 116. 2s. 6d.

CARDINAL NEWMAN: A MONOGRAPH. *By John Oldcastle. John Sinkins.* Pp. 76. 1s. 6d.

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF CARDINAL NEWMAN. *By Arthur W. Hutton, M.A. "Expositor," September, October, November, 1890.*

THESE books and sketches are of various grades of literary merit, though some of them can hardly be classed as literature at all. Mr R. H. Hutton's is, of course, a serious study of the mind and art of a great writer, an attempt at a critical analysis and estimate of a "leader of religion," by one who is discerning rather than discriminative, and who, as a consequence, exercises his literary rather than his judicial faculty. His work is without perspective, and so without proportion; he judges blindly, as one who knows and admires to the uttermost, but also as one who has either forgotten or never known the canons or standards by which his author, as thinker or theologian, must be measured. Not that his criticism is silent—here and there he is critical enough; but it is more the criticism of the intelligent than of the informed, of the man of letters rather than the man of science. Mr Fletcher's book is a hasty but handy compilation, by no means accurate or orderly, with no pretence at criticism or literary appraisal, but well adapted to the needs of those who like to know just enough to keep them from being altogether ignorant. Mr Wilfrid Meynell is John Oldcastle, and the two books like the two authors are not two but one, only with an occasional difference in tone and words correspondent to the difference between the pseudonymous and the avowed author.



ship. The book is graphic, now and then extravagant, being written in the manner of the pressman or bookmaker, though animated by a somewhat higher purpose than inspires him who must produce simply so much lively copy. Mr. A. W. Hutton's contributions to the Newman literature are well characterised by their title; they are "personal reminiscences," interesting as such, vivid, and affording an instructive glimpse of the man as he seemed to one who passed through the phases of convert, disciple, brother, and shall we say pervert or revert? Mr R. H. Hutton's book is a study of Newman through and in his works; Mr A. W. Hutton's articles are a study of him as a man, the Father of a Brotherhood; the other books are only second-hand productions, and as such mixed, fragmentary, external, useful only to those who wish to read while they run.

These books may stand as an illustration of the extraordinary fascination exercised by Newman over the most dissimilar minds. No man in our century has been more intensely hated or more passionately loved, and the hate and the love have, each in its own way, tended to obscure or benumb the judgment. What is curious is that in spite of his changes and the invincible logic by which they were worked, his power remained specifically Anglican, never became distinctively Roman. While his influence outside his own communion was immense, inside it was but small, at least till within a few years of the end, and even then it was due less to its intrinsic force than to his extrinsic reputation; the honour then done him was an act of homage to the honour in which he was held by those who were without. He was happy in the home he had made for himself, but he was so potent as to be a real and effectual presence only in the home he had left. The men with whom he had real affinity, and for whom he entertained true affection were for the most part the friends of his Anglican period, the men who had either accompanied him to Rome, or who only loved him the more that they had lost him. Of all his economies there was nothing in which he was so economical, in all senses of the term, as in his friendships. The hold he had upon men he had really loved, or who had once really loved him, was marvellous. Even a man so superficially cynical, but so really sensitive and emo-

tional as the late Mark Pattison, continued true to his early reverence and love for Newman, however much he might indulge his sharp tongue or sharper pen in jibes at Newman's expense. No man, indeed, could be a better hater, or be more disdainful in speech or conduct, even when the provocative cause was imperfect sympathy rather than positive aversion ; but when he loved, no man could be more delicately tender or gracefully affectionate, as all his many dedications and some of his published letters amply prove.

The secret of Newman's power is difficult of analysis, though its more obvious sources are patent enough. His intense sincerity, the depth and strength of his religious nature, the very limitations of his intellect, which made him as little able to understand a heresy as to tolerate a heretic, the rigour of his conscience and the splendour of his imagination, the qualities that made him a poet, disguised now as a preacher who searched the heart and now as a theologian who studied the Fathers, and above all, his unsurpassed literary genius,—were all elements contributory to his commanding influence. Its quality is defined as much by its limitations as by its range and strength ; for it is truer in his than in any other modern case, that while he powerfully commanded he also deeply offended, and the offended were often, to say the least, the moral and intellectual equals of the commanded. Yet neither in their respective attitudes could ever become quite intelligible to the other. So long as the question was spiritual,—a searching of the secret man within the breast, a rebuking of the meaner self, a holding up of the mirror to the baser nature so as to show not only its actual state, but the possible depths to which it might descend,—he possessed unrivalled power which perhaps all but a very few could feel. But when it became either a question of the higher ethics or the higher reason, of the ideals that were needed to regulate life and the fields in which our activities ought to be exercised, of the relation of truth to the intellect, and of the intellect to truth, and of the methods the intellect must follow to seek and find the truth—then the differences emerged that made Newman's argumentation seem to many as violent and artificial as their attitude seemed to him insolent and impious. No mind of a

high order has lived in our day with less sympathy with the day in which it lived than Newman's; and to this deficiency much of his power, rising over many minds to supremacy, was largely due. I very much doubt if there is anywhere so remarkable an instance of a mind which did not know the deepest intellectual problems of his age concerning religion, as his age knew them, being still able to exercise, if not over, yet within his age, so transcendent a religious and intellectual influence. For it is hardly possible to state the matter too strongly. There is no evidence anywhere in his writings that he ever conceived the mind opposed to him to be other on its intellectual side than the eighteenth century mind. He looked through the eyes of Butler on an age that reasoned from the premisses of Locke, or his immediate successors. He knew neither the new scientific temper and the reasoned Agnosticism which is its consequence, nor the transcendental criticism which is its antithesis. He never either at the beginning or at any point in his career showed that he understood, or had come face to face with, or even conceived the purport of the specifically modern questions in historical criticism, whether as touching the Scriptures or the Church in its apostolic and sub-apostolic periods. But this failure to apprehend the radical problems of the age seriously affected the character and worth of his message to it. It accounts for what many feel to be the irrelevance and ineffectiveness of his apologetic work; it accounts still more for the deep offence many have taken at the way in which his dexterous dialectic has trifled with their difficulties and mocked their honest perplexities. But it is significant most of all of the worth of the mental processes which carried him to his conclusion. The researches that were conducted in what can only be described as a mental twilight could hardly lead to discoveries that can bear the penetrating light of day.

There is indeed, and has long been, as Mr A. W. Hutton says, "a mythical Newman, just as in High Anglican circles there is also a mythical Keble and a mythical Pusey." This is true, with a difference. In Keble and Pusey's case the mythology has been a natural creation, the product as it were of the fond and worshipful imagination of disciples; but in Newman's case he himself has been directly, though without conscious purpose,

the main factor in the mythical process. For here, as perhaps in no instance in our whole literary history, a man has in his own lifetime determined alike the standpoint from which he must be studied, and the terms in which he is to be interpreted, if he is to be studied and interpreted at all. The Newman of the *Apologia* is the one Newman known to this generation. Now, the reality, the sincerity, in a sense the veracity of the book or its author no man can question ; it is a picture of the artist painted by himself, not simply of himself as he then saw himself to be, but of a series of successive selves as they lived in memory, illumined, coloured, qualified by the light of the present. The work is no less a work of imagination that it was meant to be a piece of scrupulously veracious autobiography ; the past it reveals is a past that lived to an imagination which did not and could not cease to be constructive by becoming retrospective or reminiscent. The man was a poet and could not deal with himself other than poetically. His life had been full of tragic incidents and elements, and he could not be, and was not, unconscious of the tragedy. It was a life full of struggle, of passion, of violent changes that had come of resistance to change, that in meeting revolution had generated forces that created revolutions, and he could not pass through his imagination the life, even though it was his own, which had been the cause and condition of so many conflicts and so much movement without investing it with something of an epic dignity. And so the "mythical Newman" is Newman in the heroical mood or epical setting of the *Apologia*, the central figure in our greatest modern religious drama living all unconscious of his great destiny, yet acting, even when he is most blind, as one destined to high deeds. But Newman can never be understood if read in and through the *Apologia* alone ; he has many sides, but must be studied from all. The hymns show him under another and no less noble aspect ; so does the pulpit of St Mary's, so does Littlemore, so does his action on men, expressive as it is of the meeting in him of centrifugal and centripetal forces of almost equal strength. But quite as significant of him and of his temper and quality are his tracts, his controversial treatises, his use of authorities, his methods of warfare, his

dealings with opponents and with the weapons he employed, whether to secure victory or discover or defend the truth. Only the man who has studied Newman along those varied lines and under these varied lights can be said to know Newman, and the Newman he knows will be still the Newman of the *Apologia*, but as turned into flesh and blood, and set in a scene which allows him to be judged as he really lived, thought, and acted. The man seen in true perspective will appear in his real proportions.

Now, as was said above, both the perspective and the proportion are absent from Mr R. H. Hutton's book. It is a fine example of Newman's subduing influence on a mind of rare independence and critical insight; and it is from this point of view that it is really instructive and helpful to a knowledge of Newman. But in other respects it is much less significant, and is abundantly mistaken in many of its judgments. His estimate of *The Arians of the fourth century* can only be characterised as absurd. The book is not in the proper sense a history at all; it is only an overgrown polemical pamphlet. One rubs one's eyes at a statement like this: "Newman was the first to deny that Arianism was of Alexandrian origin, and to maintain what scholars now generally admit, that it originated in Antioch." Why, the relation of the schools of Alexandria and Antioch to Arius was a commonplace of *Dogmengeschichte*, and Arius' own words were too explicit to admit of much doubt as to the source of his doctrine, which he always maintained to be one he had received, and not of his own invention. But scholars were always careful to indicate what is the historical truth that Arius had Alexandrian as well as Antiochean antecedents, though the antecedents were in each case of a different character. As to Newman's book as a whole it may be said he was writing of the fourth but thinking of the nineteenth century; he could not see the one because he was so possessed by the other; his desire to teach, warn, or reprove the moderns made him unjust to the ancients. The History and the Translation of Athanasius' Orations, with the explanatory notes, ought to be read together in order to show how unhistorical was the cast of Newman's mind, and how perverse he

was as an interpreter. From the book it is easier to know Newman than to understand the men and movements he treated of.

Mr Hutton's chapter on "Newman's Alleged Scepticism" is a remarkable instance of his missing the only point really in dispute. He quotes Huxley's famous saying about the ease with which a "Primer of Infidelity" could be extracted from certain works of Newman, and easily makes out a case in favour of Newman's scientific caution in the matter of "Ecclesiastical Miracles," though it may be added his victory over Huxley is too easy to be complete. He is a long way from getting to the root even of this matter in Newman's mind. But the case he makes out has nothing to do with the real question; *that* is much more radical and determinative than a point or method in historical proof. It is nothing less than the old question as to the bases of belief; in the strict sense of the term Newman was a philosophical sceptic, and his philosophical scepticism determined his quest after authority, with all its inevitable results. He himself tells us that he owed two principles to Butler, viz., the supremacy of conscience and the doctrine that probability is the guide of life; but these two principles are contrary the one to the other; if conscience be supreme, probability is not the guide of life; where the categorical imperative commands, probability can never hold rightful sway. Butler's doctrine of conscience was his own, and in its essence transcendental; but his doctrine of probability was Locke's, and in its nature and basis empirical. In Butler's own case as in Newman's, the conflict of the principles was attended with a search for a system that would strengthen the authoritative principle over against the critical. On a basis of probability it is impossible to build absolute certainty of belief; but where the religious faculty is the conscience, with its categorical imperative, it is not possible to be satisfied with less than absolute certainty. Hence Newman was ever representing the reason as inimical to the belief in God, while the conscience made him as sure of God's being as he was of his own. He could not allow proof and conviction to be proportional to each other—had they been in his own case he could never have

attained certitude ; but he was ever seeking in a special disposition, or an ethical temper, or a dictum of the conscience, to obtain what would secure a result impossible to any process or method of rational proof. His argument for authority was precisely the one Hume would have employed if along with his own philosophy he had held Newman's doctrine of conscience, and had as a consequence possessed his belief in God and his idea of the nature of religion, and their arguments would have been identical, because their philosophies were alike sceptical, and a sceptic in philosophy, in order to faith, must ever in the last resort invoke an external infallible authority that shall in this region silence or supersede his reason. To speak with Newman, he becomes a Catholic because he was a theist, and could find no standing ground between Catholicism and Atheism. Precisely so, that is the argument and conclusion of pure philosophical scepticism within the sphere of religious belief.

On one other point I would have liked to deal with Mr Hutton's book—his estimate of Newman's "Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine." Here he loses himself in simple extravagance. Newman's idea of development is not the anticipation but the converse and contradiction of Darwin's. The one is biological, the other is logical ; the one is a theory as to the development of the organism, the other of development by the organism. Darwin's is essentially an hypothesis as to the process of creation, though it be but of the creational mode ; but Newman's is essentially an hypothesis as to a process of agglutination, governed and conducted throughout by the authority and will of the subject. To Darwin the organism is a creation, but to Newman it is the creator. In the one case, the organism is studied in and through its environment, because it is from the interaction of the two that new energies, organs, species, are developed ; in the other case, the organism is studied, if not in isolation, yet in a connection that means that the environment has no place and no function save such as the organism chooses to give it. In other words, Newman's is no theory of development in the scientific sense at all, for what is assumed as necessary to its very being—control under the eye of authority—is precisely

one of the things a scientific theory would feel most bound to explain. But as little can we allow Mr Hutton's claim that the theory "demonstrates that Newman's genius" had "so deep an insight into the generating thoughts which are transforming the present and moulding the future." He had indeed genius, but hardly of this kind, though of a kind quite as remarkable. The theory on the field of history was by no means new. The germs of it could be found in perhaps the most illustrious Jesuit of the seventeenth century—Petavius. The application of it had been made by Moehler, while a far more scientific theory, indeed specifically Darwinian in its character, had, fifteen years before Newman's essay was written, been formulated by Baur, and applied in an historical spirit and method, such as Newman never showed the faintest approach to, to the interpretation alike of dogma and the Church. And so we must conclude that Mr Hutton's book, while an interesting study by a sympathetic admirer of Newman's mind and influence, has no claim to be considered an historical and scientific criticism of the man and his work. The time has perhaps not yet come when the last word on the subject can be spoken, but certainly that word is still to speak.

A. M. FAIRBAIRN.

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**George Buchanan, Humanist and Reformer.**  
**A Biography.**

*By P. Hume Brown. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1890.*  
*Pp. 388. Demy 8vo. Price 12s.*

GEORGE BUCHANAN is one of the very greatest of Scotsmen. No one, indeed, at the present day would subscribe to the statement of Dr Johnson, when he declared to Boswell that Buchanan "was the only man of genius his country ever produced." But, apart from all such exaggeration, George Buchanan has many claims on the esteem and admiration of his countrymen. Both as a "Humanist" and a "Reformer" he holds a very distinguished place. In the former capacity, indeed, that of a man of letters and a fosterer of learning, he



stands alone. No Scottish scholar of the age in which he lived possessed such a European reputation as did Buchanan; and besides his great erudition, which, wide as he proved it to be, was doubtless surpassed by that of Casaubon and the younger Scaliger, he was universally admitted to rise above all his contemporaries as "a great poetical genius;" while Dr Johnson himself generously admitted that, in addition to the special services he rendered to Scotland, "he had spread the spirit of learning amongst us (the English), but we had lost it during the civil wars."

An evil fate, however, has pursued the memory of Buchanan. The close relation in which he stood to Mary, and the part he had at last to play in exposing the guilt of that unhappy queen, have roused party spirit against him to an extent which is hardly credible, and led to the outpouring upon his head of the most virulent abuse and misrepresentation. Thus Whitaker, in his "*Vindication of Mary*" (i. 190), refers to him as "the ever-slandering Buchanan," while Chalmers, in his life of the queen, speaks of "that greatest of liars, Buchanan" (ii. 177); and these are only specimens of the sort of language in which the partisans of Mary have been accustomed to indulge regarding him. Even Ruddiman, who did such excellent service in connection with the works of Buchanan, when constrained to allow that he did *not*, as had been industriously reported, express on his death-bed regret for what he had written respecting the queen, shows his hostility towards the man by adding ("*Animadversions*," p. 13), "But alas! what will his great admirers gain by that concession? Only this, that they make him die a hardened and impenitent sinner; and rather than his reputation, or more truly that of their own cause, should suffer in this world, they choose to let him drop into hell in the next." Such language would hardly be ventured upon at the present day. But the same spirit of bitterness against Buchanan still continues to be shown by some recent defenders of Mary. Thus, Mr Hosack, in his work entitled, "*Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers*," says of Buchanan in one passage (ii. 249), that "first the sycophant, and then the slanderer of his sovereign, his pen was ever at the service of the highest bidder." This of a man, who, it is well

known, did not leave sufficient money with which to bury him !

In another, and very different way, the memory of Buchanan has also grievously suffered. Owing perhaps to some traditions of that grim and caustic humour which he undoubtedly possessed, he came to be regarded by the common people of Scotland as having been a kind of king's fool at the Court of James VI. We remember to have seen in our young days a chap-book lying about in farm-houses with the title, "The witty and entertaining exploits of George Buchanan, commonly called the King's Fool." It was a small collection of the most contemptible stories, full of the coarsest buffoonery. They served, however, to give an edge at times to rustic wit ; and, for lack of anything better or more original, they were quoted as the funny sayings and doings of "Geordie Buwhannan."

In these circumstances, we gladly hail the publication of Mr Hume Brown's scholarly, and, as we trust it will prove, popular biography of our great countryman. The distinctive merit of Mr Brown's book is that he has cleared up many points in the career of Buchanan which have hitherto been involved in obscurity. Dr Irving's "Memoirs" was excellent in its day, and must always be referred to with gratitude and respect. But that book could not make use of materials which were as yet unknown. Mr Brown has, by patient research among the archives of Continental Colleges, brought these to light, and skilfully woven them into the old narrative with which admirers of Buchanan were already familiar.

George Buchanan is distinguished from most other men of letters by the vast amount of incident and vicissitude which entered into his life. Born near Killearn in Stirlingshire in February 1506, he was, at the early age of fourteen, sent by his uncle to the University of Paris. Both with respect to learning and religion, things were then in a very chaotic state in that city. The movement known as the Renaissance continued to be very strenuously opposed, and the University held tenaciously to the obscurantism of the middle ages. The traditional theology was also clung to with the most persistent and persecuting zeal, and the famous Sorbonne resolutely set

itself against every attempt at religious reform. Young Buchanan must have witnessed many strange scenes, and listened to many fiery discussions, during the two years which he then spent in Paris. At the end of that period, and compelled, as it would appear, by poverty, he left France and returned to Scotland. He then betook himself to St Andrews, where, in accordance with the practically international character which then belonged to the Universities of Europe, and which we hope to see restored to them in our own day, the two years he had spent in Paris were allowed to count, and he graduated B.A. in 1525.

Next summer Buchanan followed his old teacher Major to Paris; we know not why, for the prelections of that able but antiquated exponent of mediæval logic and theology were certainly not much to his taste. Two years were spent by him in the Scots College, which had been founded in 1326 by the Bishop of Moray. In the brief sketch of his own life which he wrote, he tells us that these two years passed "in a severe struggle with adverse fortune." This was the familiar experience of students at that period. As Mr Brown writes (p. 49): "The food and accommodation even of the best-endowed colleges were of the most wretched description; in the case of the poorer colleges the fare was not only unwholesome but scanty. The lodging was that of the worst slums in our large cities." But his condition became much improved after he had taken his degree of M.A. in 1528, and thus qualified himself for holding the office of regent (tutor) in a college. For three years he filled such a post in the college of Ste. Barbe, but though he seems there to have exerted a wide influence for good, the dry routine of teaching did not then, or at any subsequent period of his life, commend itself to his liking. "We may fairly conjecture, indeed," says Mr Brown (p. 80), "that under the happiest circumstances the profession of regent or tutor, which he was thenceforth to follow, could never have been grateful to him. It is almost as easy to think of Heine, or Swift, or Burns yoked to this profession, and finding it their true function, as Buchanan. His health was never robust, and by his mental constitution he had the irritability of the poet and man of letters. We

must therefore set it to his credit that, with his late experience behind him, he chose the mode of life he did, when by a little compromise he might have found in the Church some comfortable benefice that would have enabled him to cultivate his muse in peace." But Buchanan was at no time the man to seek for compromises, or to profit by them when others suggested them to his adoption.

Happily he now became engaged as tutor to the Earl of Cassilis, and in 1535 he seems to have returned with that young nobleman to Scotland. It was at this time that he wrote his poem *Somnium*, in which, with Erasmian freedom, he exposed the ignorance and immorality of the Scottish clergy. As to their ignorance, Buchanan tells us, as does Erasmus, that many of them believed that Luther had written the New Testament! Their morals were on an equally low footing, and both furnished ample scope for the pen of a satirist. But it is to be remembered that Buchanan still, and for a long time afterwards, regarded himself as a member of the Church of Rome. And it is greatly to his credit to find him, at this very time when he was so busy in satirizing clerical ignorance and vice, bearing impressive testimony to the excellences which some of the clergy presented even in those evil days. Buchanan had been present at an entertainment given by Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, and he celebrates it in an Epigram, as lofty in tone as it is choice in expression, to the following effect (we use Mr B.'s translation): "Having sat as a guest with Gavin, I envy not the gods their nectar and ambrosia. A feast where was no vain display, but a table chastely and generously furnished, seasoned with talk, now serious, now bright with Attic wit. The guests were equal in number to the Muses, worthy of themselves in doctrine, genius, sympathy, and noble feeling. As Apollo led the choir of the Muses, so our host shone above all by his noble speech. The talk was of the glory of Him who wields the thunder, how He took on Him the burden of our condition, how the Divine nature clothed with man's frail flesh received no stain of sin, how God descended in the form of a servant, yet His mortal covering stripped Him not of His own Divine nature. Each guest is in doubt whether the

school has found its way to the palace, or the palace to the school."

Through the enmity of the Franciscans, Buchanan, along with many others suspected of Lutheranism, was now (1539) thrown into prison, with his life in no small danger. He escaped, however, as he himself tells us in the curtest terms, and we next follow him to England. But, as Henry VIII. was then engaged in impartially burning Papists and Protestants alike, Buchanan felt that England was no place for a man like him, and passed on once more to Paris. Unfortunately, his old enemy Cardinal Beaton was there also; and, to escape his rancour, our persecuted scholar again speedily shifted his abode by accepting a post which was offered him in an important school which had been opened in 1533 at Bordeaux. His residence there is chiefly remarkable for the facts that he had the essayist Montaigne among his pupils, and that he made the acquaintance of the "omniscient swashbuckler" (as Mr Brown happily calls him), Julius Caesar Scaliger. This extraordinary man, who in his lifetime played so many different parts, then resided at Agen, some sixty miles from Bordeaux, and was accustomed, from time to time, to hold a sort of levee of those scholars who lived near enough to gather round him. Among these Buchanan held a distinguished place, and was, as we learn from Scaliger's verses addressed to him, acknowledged by that most arrogant of men to have far outstripped all his contemporaries in the composition of Latin poetry.

After staying at Bordeaux about three years, Buchanan almost disappears from view, until we find him in 1547 acting as a Professor in the Portuguese College of Coimbra. The period of five years which he spent in this place was a strangely chequered one even in his experience. It was a time both of much joy and suffering. On the one hand, it witnessed the production of the greater part of his version of the Psalms, and often must he, while engaged in this elevating work, have felt, like David himself, lifted high above all earthly trials. But, on the other hand, the Jesuits now got him into their toils, and threatened dire vengeance against him for those heretical proclivities which he was supposed to

have evinced. They even went the length of *instructing* him ! He himself tells us that they mingled some respect with their severity, and says in an odd enough passage, " After the inquisitors for a year and a half had worn out his and their own patience, lest they should be supposed to have persecuted to no purpose one not altogether unknown to fame, they shut him up for some months in a monastery, in order that he might be more *accurately instructed by the monks*, who proved indeed neither unkindly nor ill-disposed, though they were utterly ignorant of religious truth." However, he did at length recover his freedom, and finding a Cretan vessel in the port of Lisbon, he set sail in it for England.

But there was still no place of repose for our *vagus Hercules*. England, when Buchanan returned to it in 1552, was not in a condition to furnish a man like him with a safe place of residence. Accordingly, he is soon again on the wing, and in the beginning of 1553 we find him once more in his favourite Paris. And now, after a little while, one of the happiest events in his long and trying career occurred. He was engaged in 1555 by the eminent Maréchal de Brissac as tutor to his son. The Maréchal admitted Buchanan to terms of the most intimate friendship, and held him in the highest respect, while the great scholar, for his part, cherished the warmest feelings of admiration and gratitude towards the illustrious soldier in whose family he lived. We cannot linger over the five peaceful years now enjoyed by Buchanan further than to say that, as he himself tells us, they were devoted mainly to the study of the Bible, and the great religious controversies of the day. He became at length quite decided in his views, and returning to his native land in 1561, he at once joined the Scottish Church of the Reformation. To the honourable name of Humanist, by which he might hitherto have been sufficiently described, he now added that of Reformer, and it is in that double capacity that he henceforth appears before us till his death in 1582.

It is needless to dwell on the history of Buchanan after his return to Scotland, as that is mixed up with the public course of events with which all our readers are familiar. We have preferred rather to devote our brief space to some account of

his Continental experiences as brought before us in Mr Brown's work. We are in full sympathy with the whole tone and spirit of this book. The author has justly appraised Buchanan both as a man and a writer. He has sufficiently vindicated that noble, though somewhat rugged character, which the Humanist and Reformer possessed. He has also set in due prominence those gems of heaven-born poetry which abound in Buchanan. To many of these Mr Brown has appended translations which are creditable both to his taste and talent, though we certainly do not think that of the *Nympha* (p. 148) one of his happiest efforts. But the original, as given on the same page, may well be the despair of any translator.

The most ambitious work of Buchanan is his "*Rerum Scoticarum Historia*," in twenty books. This *History* was received, when published, with the highest eulogies, and continued for a long time to be spoken of with admiration; but, in spite of its stately and energetic style, it has no chance of ever again being widely read. His treatise, "*De jure regni apud Scotos*" (rather undervalued, we think, by Mr Brown), is an extremely able exposition of the principles of constitutional government, and shows, as clearly as has ever been done elsewhere, that *Lex* must always be above *Rex* in the proper ordering of a state. Of the terrible "*Detectio*," in which he laid bare the guilt of Mary, we here say nothing, except that to find its match in power of eloquent invective we must go back to the second Philippic, or the Verrine orations of Cicero.

But, passing by all his other works, it will be by his Latin translation of the Psalms that our great countryman will most certainly have his name transmitted to posterity. His version is a work of genius throughout, and sometimes rises, as in the 104th and 137th Psalms, to surpassing excellence. Unfortunately his prosody is not always equal to his poetry. Here and there he falls into mistakes for which nothing but *incuria* will account. Our great Aberdeen Latinist, Dr Melvin, while full of admiration for Buchanan, and habitually reading him with his more advanced pupils, used to shake his head mournfully over such a quantity as *salūbri*; but

then, again, he was soon extolling as incomparable the lovely dedication to Mary, which begins with these melodious lines :—

“Nympha, Caledoniae quae nunc feliciter orae  
Missa per innumeros sceptras tueris avos.”

ALEX. ROBERTS.

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### **Die Kosmologie der Babylonier.**

*By P. Jensen. Strassburg, Trübner. 1890. 8vo, pp. 546. M. 40.*

### **Astronomisches aus Babylon.**

*By J. R. Strassmaier and J. Epping. Freiburg, Herder. 1889.  
Pp. viii., 190. M. 4.*

THERE is a good deal of difference in the appearance, and still more in the price, of these two books. Dr Jensen's “Kosmologie” is sumptuously printed on large, thick paper, with wide margins, and has been issued at an almost prohibitive price. The work of the two Jesuit Fathers, on the other hand, though clearly printed in the old German type, is compact and handy, and costs only a tenth of the other volume.

Both books are—to use a German expression—“severely scientific” in character. But whereas the “Kosmologie” is purely philological, the larger part of the work we have coupled with it appeals to the astronomer. Both books, however, deal with the same subject-matter, though the Babylonian astronomy with which Messrs Strassmaier and Epping alone concern themselves occupies only the first half of Dr Jensen's work.

It was unfortunate for Dr Jensen that this portion of his book was printed before the appearance of the “Astronomisches aus Babylon.” The numerous astronomical tablets of the Seleukid period found in Babylonia, and now in the British Museum, where they have been copied by Dr Strassmaier, have enabled his colleague Dr Epping to restore the astronomical science of ancient Babylonia, and to determine the nature and extent of it, at all events in the third or



second century B.C. He has discovered the Babylonian names of the signs of the zodiac, and finally settled the question of their Chaldean origin ; and he has further identified the planets and many of the fixed stars. The problem which Dr Oppert, and subsequently Mr Bosanquet and myself, endeavoured to solve many years ago, with the help of imperfect materials, has now yielded to the epigraphic skill of Dr Strassmaier and the astronomical knowledge of Dr Epping.

The attempt of Dr Jensen to solve the same problem by the assistance of philology alone, was necessarily doomed to discomfiture. It is interesting, therefore, to see in how many cases the scholarship and acumen of the young Danish Assyriologist have enabled him to divine the truth, or, at all events, to approach it very nearly. He has been less successful in identifying the names of the planets than in identifying those of the zodiacal signs. Apart from the sign of the Scorpion, which has been known to Assyriologists since the publication of George Smith's "Assyrian Discoveries" in 1875, several of his identifications have been verified by the researches of Dr Epping. On the other hand, his claim to have corrected the identifications proposed by Dr Oppert and myself for the three planets, Mercury, Mars, and Jupiter, turns out to be unfounded. We were right in the case of Mars ; and in the case of Jupiter and Mercury he has gone as far astray as ourselves. The names of the other planets were correctly determined by Dr Oppert nearly twenty years ago.

The fact is a very useful commentary on a good deal of the work that has been published of late by the younger Assyriologists, more especially in Germany. They have shown themselves too ready to announce as discoveries what is either not true or not new, and to claim superior scientific exactness for their work on the strength of a new system of transliteration. Doubtless Assyrian research has made great progress during the last ten years, in consequence of the large amount of fresh material that has been examined as well as of the increase in the number of students. But the progress has been for the most part in details only, and in those departments of decipherment in which the older scholars would have been the first to acknowledge that their translations were

merely provisional and tentative. The fact is that the translation of the Assyrian texts is not in a very different stage of advancement from the translation of the Hebrew books of the Old Testament. A considerable portion of the language is now known with certainty, and the majority of the historical texts can be translated with as much ease and accuracy as the historical books of the Hebrew Scriptures. When, however, we come to deal with texts which relate to religious, mythological, or kindred subjects, the case is necessarily altered. Here we meet with new words and expressions, at the meaning of which the decipherer can only guess, or with forms of syntax which are at present obscure. Nevertheless, on the whole, the general sense even of these more difficult texts has been long ago made out. Any one who will compare the translations given by Dr Jensen of the Creation and Deluge tablets with the translations published more than fifteen years since by George Smith, will see that in all essential points they seldom vary much from one another. When Dr Jensen says that the translation of a document like the Chaldean account of the Deluge must be thoroughly revised every couple of years, he is speaking with the rashness of youth. Except in supplying the broken portions of the text, there is little of really material consequence to be added to the existing translations of that particular document. It is true that certain words and expressions still remain obscure in it; but, as regards these, though some of them may be cleared up hereafter, we can never hope to obtain full certainty as to the rest.

It is the same with the books of the Old Testament which are not historical. Hebrew scholars know full well how uncertain are many of the renderings which they put forward, and how hopeless it is to expect to attain absolute certainty in regard to the meaning of many words. The Hebraist, indeed, possesses an advantage which is denied to the Assyriologist; our knowledge of the Hebrew language is traditional, and the tradition which has handed it down has never been interrupted. But, on the other hand, this very advantage has its dangers. It often makes us blind to the difficulties which accompany the traditional interpretation of a passage.

Moreover, if the Hebraist has the advantage of an unbroken tradition, the Assyriologist has the advantage of having at his command a larger mass of literature than that contained in the Old Testament, and of having to deal with texts which were written down at a time when Assyrian was still a spoken language. The literature, furthermore, includes vocabularies and lexicons, and is written in a syllabary in which the vowels as well as the consonants are expressed.

In one important respect, however, the study of Assyrian differs from that of Hebrew. The Assyriologist must be a decipherer as well as a philologist. He must not only be able to analyse the words and grammatical forms with which he meets, but also divine the meaning of the inscription or passage which he is called upon to interpret for the first time. Some of the younger Assyriologists have forgotten this fact, and have endeavoured to establish a system of Assyrian philology before the work of decipherment has been accomplished. Such efforts must necessarily be unsuccessful until the cuneiform tablets, whether in the museums of Europe and America, or still covered by the soil, have all been examined.

Dr Jensen's "*Kosmologie*" is written for students of Assyrian only, and will be found disappointing by the reader who is not an Assyriologist. It presupposes a knowledge of the language of the cuneiform tablets, and every page bristles with Sumerian and Assyrian words. It is full of ingenious etymologies and valuable explanations of words which have hitherto been misunderstood or left untranslated. But the fresh light it throws on Babylonian cosmology is not great. "*The Island of the Blessed*," which Dr Jensen finds on the southern horizon of the Persian Gulf, is more than problematical; at all events I can find no trace of a belief in any such island in the cuneiform texts. On the other hand, the arguments urged by him against the identification of the Babylonian "*Mountain of the World*," with the "*Mount of the Congregation*" of the gods alluded to in Isaiah xiv. 13, are either hypercritical or beside the mark.

The cosmological system traced by Dr Jensen is that of a few mythological poems, and must not be pressed too far. At most it can represent only the beliefs of an early period and

of a particular Babylonian locality. We are not justified in inferring that the beliefs were held by the educated classes of the later historical period, or that they had ever prevailed throughout the whole of Chaldæa. Such an inference would be as wide of the truth as the conclusion that we believe the earth to be fixed and stationary because we say that the sun rises and sets. The Babylonian poet might describe the doors that had been created on either side of the world ; it does not follow that either he or his contemporaries believed in their literal existence.

With these reservations, however, we may gain a fair idea, from the documents which have come down to us, of the conception of the universe formed by the ordinary Babylonian. The earth was round and immovable, and rested on the "abyss" of waters. Above it stretched the arch of the sky like a huge extinguisher, and above this firmament, again, were the waters of "the great deep." Through the sky moved the heavenly bodies, including comets and (according to Dr Jensen) meteors. The sky was divided by "ways," one of them being the Ecliptic, another the Tropic of Cancer, another the Tropic of Capricornus. Beneath the earth lay Hades, the realm of the dead, which an old myth asserted to be surrounded by seven walls and approached by seven gates. Dr Jensen thinks that the earth was originally regarded as a lofty mountain, the roots of which penetrated to the watery abyss. But we may well ask how such a conception could have arisen among the inhabitants of the alluvial plain of Babylonia, and the passages invoked by Dr Jensen in support of his view admit of a different interpretation. He is clearly right, however, in holding that in the pre-Semitic period of Chaldæa the earth was divided into seven parallel zones, encircling one another and divided by dykes or mounds, and that this conception was modified by the Semites who substituted for it the division of the earth into four equal quarters.

A remark made casually in the Appendices (p. 507) is full of suggestiveness, and will prove of special interest to the Biblical student. Dr Jensen here points out that the Persian Gulf was called by the Babylonians the *nâr marratîm*, or

"river of bitterness." It was, therefore, considered by them to be not only a river, but the main stream into which flowed the four great rivers, Euphrates, Tigris, Kerkha, and Karun. Here, then, we have at last an explanation of that most difficult passage in Gen. ii. 10, where it is said that "a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted and became into four heads." Eden, as is now well known, was Edinu, the plain of Babylonia, the "garden" of which stood in the neighbourhood of Eridu on the shores of the Gulf. The "heads" will have been, not "sources" in the ordinary sense of the word, but the mouths of the rivers where the *nār marratim* or main stream seemed to flow into them. It must be remembered that in the inscriptions the rivers are regarded as deriving their waters from the sea.

I am glad to find Dr Jensen raising his voice against the uncritical acceptance of every statement found in the so-called syllabaries. The scribes who compiled the lexical lists and the commentaries on the older literature of the country, were as little "scientific" in their procedure as the rabbis of the middle ages or the etymologists of the last century. Not only the Accado-Sumerian texts, but even Semitic texts of an early date were often as obscure to them as they are to us, and the explanations they give of words and ideographs are not unfrequently childish and false. Their etymologies remind us of those which were proposed in Europe before the rise of Comparative Philology. Just as Junius derived the word *soul* from the Greek ζᾶω "to live," and the Teutonic *wala* "well," so an Assyro-Babylonian scribe gravely derives the Semitic *Sabattu* "the Sabbath," from the Accadian *sa* "heart," and *bat* "to cease," and accordingly explains it as "a day of rest for the heart." I have long since drawn attention to the fact, and it is satisfactory to find Dr Jensen enforcing the same lesson. The uncritical use of the syllabaries has been the main cause of the strange translations of Assyrian words which have been current of recent years, as well as of the paradox which sees in the Accado-Sumerian texts a vast series of epigraphic mystifications.

A. H. SAYCE.

**Das Christenthum in seiner Begründung und seinen Gegensätzen.**

*Von Dr C. E. Baumstark, Dritter Band. Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1889. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. vi., 485. Price of the 3 vols., M. 24.*

THIS is the third and concluding volume of a work of which the first volume appeared in 1872 and the second in 1879. The sub-title of the work is "Christian Apologetic on an Anthropological Basis." The writer takes man, his nature and his needs, for his starting-point, and undertakes to show that Christianity corresponds perfectly to the religious constitution and wants of human nature; confirming the positive argument by a negative one directed to show that no religion save Christianity satisfies the needs of humanity. The course of the argument in the two early volumes is as follows:—In the first place, in opposition to Materialism and Pantheism, the religious nature of man is ascertained by careful enquiry, and it is pointed out how far his spiritual capacity extends, and where his religious development, without the aid of revelation, has its limits. The second part of Vol. I. treats of the non-Christian religions, with the view of ascertaining how far they satisfy man's religious needs. In the second volume the author sets himself the task of proving that in Christianity the full satisfaction of these needs is found. The principal topics dealt with are, the sources of Christianity, Christianity as confirmation of natural religion, the ethics of Christianity, the metaphysical fundamental doctrines of Christianity, including the nature of God and God's relation to the world. The volume now published completes the plan of the second, and exhibits Christianity in its specific character as the Religion of Redemption, and in a concluding chapter as a civilising power.

The author claims for his scheme, as a whole, that it admits of the apologetic material being easily grouped around the psychological demonstration, and has the further merit of transferring the argument to a field on which the apologist engages on advantageous terms in direct conflict with the chief modern foes of Christianity, Pantheism and Materialism. And

there can be no doubt that the method is a very legitimate one, and that it conducts us into the heart of the subject, and gives greatest prominence to those aspects of it which at present occupy men's minds.

As to the manner in which the task has been executed, Baumstark's contribution to apologetic may be characterised as honest, painstaking, intelligent, and sensible, without brilliancy or special power. This is the impression which lingers in our mind from the perusal, years ago, of the two earlier volumes. There is, of course, a risk of doing injustice to an author who publishes a work piecemeal, one volume now and another seven or ten years later. But on the whole, it is believed that such as read the three volumes together will find the above estimate not far off the mark. The impression made on our mind by the earlier volumes is confirmed by reading the one now under review. It is pleasant and profitable reading, but not in any part specially striking, instructive, or helpful. Many important topics are discussed, and the discussion takes largely the form of a running comment on the views of unbelieving writers. Under the head of *the Foundation of Redemption*, the author treats of such questions as the origin of conscience, retribution, sin, evil. In connection with the last-mentioned topic, he discusses at considerable length the views of modern pessimists, arriving at the verdict that the pessimists are largely right in fact, but wrong in judgment as to the significance of the facts. Some of his remarks, by way of showing how much there is in life to justify a pessimistic mood, are very amusing. Here is one sample: "Every one knows that travelling brings more trouble than pleasure, and yet people travel not merely on business, or for health, or in quest of knowledge, but for enjoyment. Wearisome nerve-shaking railway journeys, bad beds, shameless hotel bills, impudent coachmen, and disgusting waiters, this and much more one willingly endures, for the sake of a single enjoyable hour." We are told also that optimistic opinions are to be met with chiefly among aspiring state and church officials, whose optimism is in inverse proportion to their merits, and who cannot imagine why a world in which they have got on so well should not appear fair to everybody.

In connection with the subject of *the Preparation of Redemption*, the writer draws a contrast between Judaism and Heathenism with a view to show the divine origin of the former in respect to monotheism, the law, and prophetism. The Old Testament history is handled somewhat freely, and with some concessions to modern critical views. Thus it is admitted that the story of Samson bears a mythological character, and that it is difficult to draw the line between the historical and the mythical. It is contended, however, that the person of Moses is historical, and that he was indeed the deliverer and legislator of Israel.

Under the head of *the Work of Redemption* the writer takes occasion to discuss the credibility of the Gospel history and the church doctrine of redemption. With reference to the former he follows generally the views of Dr Bernhard Weiss. As to the nature of redemption he is not satisfied with the church doctrine of Satisfaction, and still less with the speculative theories of atonement advocated by Schleiermacher, Biedermann, and Lipsius ; and he endeavours to construct the true doctrine out of the facts of Christ's personal history. His view comes out in this sentence : " Christ, in giving away His life and completing obedience by death, cancelled sin in principle, and so for all who enter into spiritual fellowship with Him, laid a foundation for the removal of sin, and therein lies the atonement " (p. 390). On the Person of Christ and the Trinity, not less than on the nature of Atonement, Baumstark dissents from the church doctrines. He believes in both, but he has his own way of stating the truth. He thinks the two-natures-in-one-person dogma has no foundation in Scripture, and that the true Scriptural conception of Christ's person is that humanity and divinity are each predicable of the whole Christ.

While in these and some other respects a friendly critic of church orthodoxy, the author is in the main thoroughly conservative in his theological tendency, and addresses himself earnestly to the defence of the Catholic faith.

A. B. BRUCE.



**The Golden Bough : A Study in Comparative Religion.***By J. G. Frazer, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.**London : Macmillan. 2 vols. pp. 816. 28s.*

COMPARATIVE Religion, the most interesting branch of Anthropology, is a study surrounded by peculiar difficulties. In the first place, the accumulation of the necessary data, consisting of the accounts of myths, customs, and opinions, is a task involving a prodigious expenditure of time and labour. Then, it not infrequently happens that these are often vaguely and inaccurately recorded, sometimes through carelessness, sometimes through ignorance of the language and habits of thought of the people observed ; and sometimes even wilfully, owing to the bias of a preconceived hypothesis in the mind of the recorder. For these reasons the student of this subject needs to have his critical faculties in continual exercise.

Of the numerous recent contributions to the literature of this subject, this work is one of the most important and most erudite. It is the record of a literary labour which can only be compared with that of Mr Darwin, in respect to the amount and range of the reading from which the material for these volumes has been drawn.

Mr Frazer's text is the classical story of the Nemæan priest in the Arician Grove, who had slain his predecessor, and who kept solitary guard over the tree with the golden bough, waiting for the assassin, who was destined, in turn, to be his murderer and successor. From this legend our author works out an interesting and coherent hypothesis, which he offers as a key to explain the complex phenomena of human religions as exhibited in mythology, history, and folk-lore.

The hypothesis may be briefly formulated thus :—Of all the phenomena which nature presented to the human mind through the senses, in the earliest dawn of intelligence, that which produced the most forcible impression was the annual cycle of vegetative life. When men began to reason upon these observations they regarded these phenomena as due to the agency of immaterial forces, capable of volition and of

independent action, and powerful for good or evil in providing or withholding food.

As the collective human intelligence increased, this crude animistic idea became modified, and the natural tendency to anthropomorphism of conception led mankind to personify these forces, until they became regarded as independent divinities. The tribal leaders, impelled partly by arrogance, partly by self-deception, assumed to be, and were recognised as, the incarnations of these spiritual powers; becoming thus, if not real gods, at least priests and kings, whose people believed them to be able to bend nature to their wills.

These sacred personages were hedged round by protective reservations and restrictions, partly as a result, partly as a manifestation of their consecration. These we have learned to call by the Polynesian name "*taboos*." In these the ideas of holiness and of uncleanness are often blended, so that it becomes difficult eventually to distinguish whether some things are tabooed for the one cause or for the other.

These royal priests are regarded as being so much the embodiment of the spiritual forces ruling outward nature, that if they are allowed to grow old or decrepit, vegetation will languish; hence they must only retain their power while in their full vigour, and must be deposed or put to death while yet in their prime.

The many derivations of his germinal idea are traced at length and with great care; the customs and folk-lore of races from equator to pole and from east to west being laid under contribution to illustrate the thesis. In treating these, the author is generally careful to separate the details of the several observances and ceremonials from the myths which accompany them, for he has laid it down as a principle that ritual may be the parent of myth but is never its child. Whether this is universally true may well be questioned, the border line between history and myth is not always clear, and rituals to commemorate historical events are too frequent for us to disregard the possibility of a ritual surviving even when the event had grown shadowy in the past. The story of Guy Fawkes was not invented to explain the 5th of November bonfires, whatever we may say of the Philistine priests leaping

the threshold of Dagon's temple ; or of the sinew that shrank concerning which Mr Frazer has given us such interesting details.

In the author's view the history of religion is a long attempt to reconcile old custom with new reason, and to find a sound theory for an absurd practice. Therefore he expects to meet with uniformities of custom but divergences of myth.

As it is from the vestiges of the cult of the Priest-King ruling over the vegetative powers of nature and the associated taboos that Mr Frazer derives the world-wide religions, social and magical observances and their correlated myths, so one of the most fertile departments of folk-lore for his purpose is that connected with harvest celebrations. On this subject he has accumulated a vast store of legendary and folk-lore, and he traces the sequence of customs from the classic days of the rites of Demeter and Proserpine to the "Carline" and "Maiden" of our present-day Scotch peasants. With each stage he associates the cognate myths, even regarding the harvest home as the sacramental eating of the slain god. Whether these will bear the interpretation put on them in many cases is open to question ; indeed, many of the customs supposed to be relics of a system of deicide are capable of a much simpler and more natural explanation. The section on "Killing the God" is certainly the weakest and most inconclusive part in the work.

Tracing the gradual development of the primitive religious systems from this source he endeavours to show the origins of the ideas of incarnation, of the death of the god, of his resurrection, and of substitutionary sacrifice. Here the author stops short, and leaves it to the reader to carry this to its legitimate conclusions with regard to present-day religious systems, only summing up in one significant though somewhat enigmatic sentence : "The temple of Diana indeed has disappeared, and the King of the Woods no longer stands sentinel over the Golden Bough. But Nemi's woods are still green, and at evening you may hear the church bells of Albano, and perhaps, if the air be still, of Rome itself, ringing the Angelus. Sweet and solemn they chime out from the distant city, and die lin-

geringly away across the wide Campagnan marshes. *Le roi est mort, vive le roi!*"

There are some things that will stand fast in spite of all attempts to overthrow them, and the foundations of Christianity are too real to be shaken by βέβαιαι καὶ γραῶδες μῦθοι.

Every stage of Mr Frazer's argument is most carefully stated and ably upheld. His discussions on Totems, Taboos, Theriolatry, and other cognate subjects are of the deepest interest, but one cannot resist the conviction that Mr Frazer proves too much. He accumulates evidences as to similarity of rite in the cultus of the most dissimilar tribes, and we are led to the conclusion that the germinal stage must have been passed through while as yet there was but one human family in a very limited tract of country. The alternative, that the newly developing minds of races in environments widely dissimilar have progressed in identical paths passes the bounds of probability.

Whatever value we may assign to the fundamental hypothesis, there can be only one opinion as to the value of Mr Frazer's book as a storehouse of interesting and precious records. Those only who have been engaged in such work can have a just appreciation of the astounding labour, patience, and discrimination herein shown forth: but all readers must be struck with the easy flowing style, the vigour of description, and the modesty with which the author, in the earnest quest of truth, keeps himself so perfectly in the background.

We have been accustomed now to see the fluctuations of opinion in questions of comparative religion according to the popularity of some dominant hypothesis. Time was when Bryant and his school reduced all legendary lore to the symbolic remembrance of the Deluge and the Ark. Then we had the unsavoury school of Knight and those who regarded the central idea in mythology as the reproductive powers in nature. Then, when comparative mythology became allied to philology, we were taught that the whole circle of the gods were but personifications of solar phenomena: and now Mr Frazer has made out quite as good a case for his great

vegetative myth as any of his predecessors have done for theirs.

It is interesting to follow the supporters of these rival theories in their treatment of the oldest system of mythology on historic record, that of Egypt. Brugsch, Pierret, and Renouf have, in their respective countries, adopted the solar theory, and have given us detailed analyses of the phenomena personified by each person of the Egyptian Pantheon, and now Mr Frazer gives us the exegesis of the mythology upon his own hypothesis. According to him the Osiris myth, like the Adonis legend, is a form of the cultus of the spirit of vegetation. The Tat, or emblem of Osiris, is a tree stripped of leaves, a maypole; and Isis, the mother of Osiris, is the Demeter, the "Carline" or goddess of the corn-fields, while the Osiris with his disintegrated body is the sown grain previous to its resurrection.

Mr Frazer attaches too much weight to the late and certainly garbled versions of the Osiris myth as found in Greek authors. We know how grossly incorrect Diodorus is whenever we can check him by comparison with native literature, and the work ascribed to Plutarch on Isis and Osiris, written three thousand years after the myth had crystallised itself in its legendary form, is moulded so much by Greek ideas that it is an unsafe guide. The comparative mythologist here is met with the difficulty that Isis, Osiris and Ra were personified and regarded as real beings, as separate personal gods at the earliest period to which the Egyptian literature reaches. How these views had been developed we know not and have no materials to know. The Egyptian legend is that they were real persons—a divine ancestry.

Mr Frazer makes a good point as against the solar theory that if Osiris be the diurnal sun his festival should be daily, not yearly; but the period of that festival (beginning on the 8th of Athyr, which corresponded to our November), was scarcely one appropriate to the spirit of vegetation. Even Mr Frazer in his note cannot make out a good case from the observance. The identification of the Tat with a tree does not carry much weight. It was a pillar of a certain shape, and is associated with the idea of supporting, sometimes of light-

bearing. There is a rare sense of this word used in an inscription at Karnak as shining, associated with the Coptic "*taate*."

Again, Mr Frazer cites Plutarch as testifying that Osiris had introduced agriculture. He might also have cited the legend still farther, that he had introduced all the arts of civilisation. He also identifies Isis with Sekhet, and quotes Brugsch's testimony that *sekhet* means a barley-field; but even allowing (which is doubtful) that *sekhet* is the same as Isis, we must remember that *sekhet* is a word of many meanings. The most common use of the word, when not a proper name, is the verbal sense to overturn or to cause to descend. It is used of the sun at Dendera, "The great sun sinks (*sekhet*) low." It is used of moulding bricks, and it also signifies to weave or to make a net. The "*Her sekhet*" was the chief weaver. It is also used in the sense of wounding, and very rarely in the sense of a field. This, then, gives very little support to the thesis. The fact that in one figure in Philæ the dead Osiris is represented with corn springing from him is only one of many forms in which his dead body is represented, and is slender evidence for such a hypothesis. There is not a word about any ruling over vegetation in most of the religious rituals or hymns to Osiris, none in the "Lamentation of Isis and Nephthys" for the dead Osiris. In one stele, that of Amenemha, in the Paris library, where creation and providence are ascribed to him, it says, "Heaven and earth are before his face; the circle of the sun is in his control; the winds, the waters; a God of seeds; he gives all plants plentifully to each;" but practically the same language is used of Ra (the sun-god) in an inscription at Biban el Moluk, where it is written, "He sendeth forth the plants in their season." Similarly in the litany to the sun in a Boulaq papyrus (17) the sun is said to be the "Maker of herbs, Maker of forest trees, Maker of grass for the oxen, Lord of wheat," &c. So much is never said either of Osiris or Isis.

This part of Mr Frazer's work is also inconclusive; indeed the last word is far from having been said upon the Egyptian mythology.

Comparative Religion is a subject only in its infancy, not

yet worthy of the name of a science, and it will probably be long ere any theory with pretensions to finality can be formulated. Truth can only be found by the gathering of accurate knowledge, by the sifting of facts and the synthesis of the selected materials; and although there is much that is provisional, and much that is speculative in Mr Frazer's work, yet he has certainly assembled his facts more judiciously and used them more systematically than his predecessors, so that his work must take rank as a classic in this branch of Anthropology.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

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### **The Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice and Atonement.**

*By Alfred Cave, D.D., Principal of Hackney College. New Edition, Revised throughout, and partly rewritten. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 550. Price 10s. 6d.*

THAT Principal Cave's "Scriptural Doctrine of the Atonement" has reached a second edition is a tribute not less to the capacity and healthy digestion of the reading public than to the competency of the author. For the book is of the good old kind, full and solid and stiff, recalling the pre-magazine age when "booklets" were yet unknown. In fact Dr Cave tells us that he was instigated to take his task in hand because he found that previous writers on the subject of sacrifice had confined themselves to one or other branch of it, to Old Testament sacrifice, or to the sacrifice of Christ, or to the sacrifices of the Christian Church. This he justly criticises as an imperfect method, these three forms of sacrifice being inextricably connected with one another. On the other hand, readers of Dr Cave's book will, we fear, be found asking whether perhaps he has not undertaken too much, laid down an outline which it is impossible for one man in one book satisfactorily to fill up. Roomy as the treatment generally is, the chapters on the New Testament teaching regarding sacrifice and atonement suffer from a too brief discussion. To one, indeed, who has gone over the ground for himself, Dr Cave's statements exhibit traces of careful study, but as they appear

in his pages these statements are bare and unsupported. The grounds of them are not exegetically investigated. Where statement alone is required Dr Cave's work is excellent. Thus, one of the most valuable parts of his book is the very clear survey he has given of the various theories of atonement which have been held. These theories are lucidly stated, and they are criticised in a spirit of admirable candour and charity.

It can hardly be expected that in discussing Old Testament sacrifice there should be anything very novel. Dr Cave finds, as many previous writers have found, that the Mosaic sin and trespass offerings atoned for the sin of the offerer in the sense of *covering* the sin, and so rendering it powerless to arouse the judicial anger of Jehovah. On some points, as on the meaning of the imposition of hands on the sacrificial victim, he dissents from the traditional view. On others, as on the typical significance of the Mosaic dispensation, he tends to be retrogressive. Coming to the New Testament he finds that the death of Christ operates for our reconciliation with God by its being a substitutionary bearing of the determinate penalty attached to sin by God. And at this point we begin rather to feel that large as Dr Cave's book is, it might with advantage have been still further expanded in order to embrace an exposition of the harmony of Scripture doctrine on this subject with the moral sense of men. It is at this point light is desired from men of light and leading. That the Scriptures teach substitution is plain as day; but many find themselves in the merest twilight, through which fitting bats disturb their meditations, when they proceed to reconcile this doctrine with other radical beliefs and undeniable facts.

Dr Cave has read widely and carefully; and he tells us that in this edition of his book literary references are brought down to date. A considerable element in the utility of the book consists in the fulness of reference to authoritative works. But it must be said that some of the references had better have been omitted than made in the manner adopted by Dr Cave. Since the publication of the first edition of this book there has appeared a work in which the foundations are laid for a scientific treatment of sacrifice, from which results of importance



can scarcely fail to be gathered. But of Professor Robertson Smith's intensely interesting and suggestive contribution to the literature of his subject, Dr Cave has little more than this to say: "These naturalistic views are the outgrowth of a philosophic tendency, and the criticism of a tendency can only be advantageously conducted by a criticism of its postulates as well as of its instances, its minutiae, its detail. Where principles are at stake, a brief criticism would be valueless." That may be so, but precisely those who are most thoroughly interested in Dr Cave's subject will be the most grievously disappointed at finding a total blank at the very point where the criticism of experts is at present required. But with all drawbacks Dr Cave's book will prove a quarry for less industrious men, and on the whole it admirably accomplishes its purpose of setting forth the whole doctrine of Scripture on Sacrifice and Atonement.

MARCUS DODS.

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### **A Historical Introduction to the Books of the New Testament.**

*By George Salmon, D.D., F.R.S., Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, sometime Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin. London: John Murray. Fourth Edition, crown 8vo, pp. 654, Price 9s.*

It is not surprising that Dr Salmon's introduction to the study of the New Testament should so soon have reached a fourth edition. Its clear and vigorous style, its apt illustrations, its freedom from needless technicalities, its manly tone of sturdy common sense, would have won a hearty reception for a less able and learned champion in the theological arena. But no one will quarrel with the assertion that a book which covers so much ground, and treats of such a variety of topics, can hardly be expected to exhibit the same careful workmanship in all its parts. It is almost a necessity that in completing so large a design the author must on some points have accepted current views, without submitting them to the same careful and minute examination which he bestowed upon those parts of his subject which he has made more peculiarly

his own. Perhaps a few pages of this review may be devoted to the enquiry whether Dr Salmon has not thus lent the sanction of his name to one particular argument, touching a very important matter, which requires more consideration than it appears to have hitherto received from its exponents.

Ever since Professor Sanday published his essay on "The Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel" (Macmillan, 1872), English scholars have given a prominent place to the proof of the authenticity and genuineness of the Fourth Gospel from the internal evidence of the Gospel itself. Dr Salmon devotes one lecture to an exposition of this argument, and says that he chiefly reproduces the reasonings of Professor Sanday and Dr (now Bishop) Westcott.<sup>1</sup> Professor Sanday has himself somewhat modified the position which he originally took up (see his Inaugural Lecture as Dean Ireland's Professor, delivered in 1883). But even in the parts of the argument by which he still stands, and which Dr Salmon repeats, there are points to which exception may be taken. I select for criticism the following from the *data* which are taken to indicate that the writer of the Gospel must have been a Jew of the time of Christ.

(1.) Dr Salmon's first proof of Jewish origin is the use which the writer makes of the Old Testament. Quotations from it are as frequent, he tells us, as in the Jewish Gospel, St Matthew. Professor Sanday calls this a convincing argument. But is the number of quotations which a writer makes from the Old Testament any indication that he is a Jew? There are writings of Gentile Christians, like Justin Martyr or Clement of Alexandria, which contain a very much larger proportion of such quotations than the fourth Gospel. Justin's "Dialogue with Trypho" is full of them, while his two "Apologies" contain hardly any. There are no quotations from the Old Testament in the Epistles of St John, and only one in the Apocalypse. Is the writer, therefore, less a Jew than the author of the Gospel? Obviously the number of quotations which a writer makes from the Old Testament depends on his subject and habit of writing, not upon his nationality.

(2.) Along with many other exponents of this argument,

<sup>1</sup> Lecture xvi., p. 275 in the Fourth Edition.

Dr Salmon assumes that when a Greek quotation in the Gospel corresponds more nearly with the Hebrew original than with the Greek of the LXX., the writer must have translated the Hebrew for himself, and, therefore, must have been a Hebrew-speaking Jew. There is good reason for thinking that the true explanation of this phenomenon is the fact that the writer of the Gospel used a different Greek translation from our LXX. version.<sup>1</sup>

(3.) Next, the writer's knowledge of Judaism is quoted as evidence that he was a Jew by birth. But the objection at once occurs that St Luke is not supposed to have been a Jew, and his Gospel exhibits a considerable acquaintance with Judaism, probably quite as much as, if not more than, the fourth Gospel.<sup>2</sup> The answer to this would no doubt be that St Luke's knowledge of Judaism may have been due to the information brought down to him by the tradition of the Christian Church, and to his association with Jews, and to his study of the Old Testament. But if so, is it not possible that the knowledge of Judaism which the fourth Gospel displays may be accounted for in the same way? Whether the writer used the other three Gospels or not, he certainly assumes a knowledge of the general Christian tradition. There was a Jewish element and a Judaizing party in the Christian Church. There were Jewish synagogues in the towns where Christianity was planted. There was an active controversy with Judaism, whether within the Church or without. We know from the scanty remains of early Christian literature which have come down to us, from Justin Martyr's "Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew" in the second century, Cyprian's three books "Against the Jews" in the third, and from Tertullian's "Answer to the Jews," not to mention others, that this controversy continued long past the time with which we are now concerned. In fact to the present day it has never wholly come to an end. Finally there is ample evidence wherever we look amongst the early Christian literature

<sup>1</sup> See a note on "The Greek Quotations in the Fourth Gospel" in the *Classical Review* for December 1890, and Hatch's "Essays in Biblical Greek" (Essays IV. and V.).

<sup>2</sup> If the Acts be included, St Luke shows a much larger knowledge of Judaism than the writer of the fourth Gospel.

of the extraordinary zeal with which Gentile converts who had any taste for literary pursuits devoted themselves to the study of the Jewish Scriptures. All these considerations appear to greatly weaken the force of the reasoning that the writer of the fourth Gospel must have been a Jew because he is acquainted with Jewish customs and ideas.

(4.) Amongst the Jewish ideas to which especial prominence is given in connection with this argument are those connected with the expected Messiah, and both Dr Salmon and Professor Sanday, as well as others, found on them an argument for the early date of the Gospel. They argue that the Jewish expectation of a temporal Messianic Kingdom at Jerusalem came to an end when the city was destroyed by Titus, A.D. 70, and that therefore the writer of the Gospel must have lived before that date, and have been a contemporary of our Lord. In stating the argument Dr Salmon goes beyond Professor Sanday. He supposes that when the city was destroyed the belief in a temporal kingdom came to an end even amongst the Jews. He does not see any fatal objection to this supposition in the historical fact that sixty years later, in the reign of Hadrian, the pretended Messiah Bar-chochebas drew vast numbers of his countrymen to his standard, and hundreds of thousands of Jewish lives were sacrificed in the attempt to drive the Romans out of Palestine and establish the Messianic kingdom in Jerusalem. He speaks of these events as due to "a revival of Jewish nationalist and anti-Roman feeling" (p. 281, note). But what proof is there that these feelings had died out in the meantime? The great Jewish rebellions against the authority of Rome in the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98-117) do not look as if they had. Professor Sanday takes a different line. He thinks that the expectation of a temporal kingdom may have continued amongst the Jews, but that such hopes were certainly laid aside by the Christians (pp. 36, 290-2). But even if this were so, it does not follow that a Christian writer could not have been familiar with the Jewish expectation. The following extract from Justin's "Dialogue with Trypho," written in the second century, is evidence to the contrary. "Do you really admit," Trypho the

Jew asks of his Christian opponent (ch. lxxx.), "that this place, Jerusalem, shall be rebuilt; and do you expect your people to be gathered together, and made joyful with Christ and the patriarchs, and the prophets, both the men of our nation, and other proselytes who joined them before your Christ came?" To which Justin answers that he and many others are of this opinion, but that some good Christians think otherwise.

(5.) It would be possible to produce other passages from Justin and from the writers of the second and third centuries to parallel the quotations from the Gospel which are advanced as containing topics "which were discussed in our Lord's time, and not a hundred years later" (Salmon, p. 281. See also Sanday, p. 291). One of the latter is the objection made by the Jews in John xii. 34, "We have heard out of the law that Christ abideth for ever: and how sayest thou, The Son of man must be lifted up? who is this Son of man?" With which we may compare the objection made by Trypho (ch. xxxii.), "These and such like Scriptures, sir, compel us to wait for Him who, as Son of man, receives from the Ancient of days the everlasting kingdom. But this so-called Christ of yours was dishonourable and inglorious, so much so that the last curse contained in the law of God fell on him, for he was crucified." The other objection in John vii. 27, "We know this man whence he is: but when Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is," which is also quoted as being unknown to the second century, and which Sanday paraphrases (p. 291), as "Was not the Christ to come suddenly out of obscurity?" may be compared with what appears from Trypho viii. and cx. (and Apol. i. 31?) to have been a commonplace of controversy in Justin's time, "But Christ—if He has indeed been born, and exists anywhere—is unknown, and does not even know Himself, and has no power until Elias come to anoint Him, and make Him manifest to all."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> With which may perhaps be compared John i. 26, 27, "There standeth one among you whom ye know not; he it is who coming after me is preferred before me," &c., and 33, "I knew him not: but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending," &c

(6.) Under the same head Dr Salmon includes the discussions in the Gospel about the observance of the Sabbath. He asks (p. 281), "What Gnostic of the second century would have cared to discuss a breach of the Sabbath, and to inquire when the duty of Sabbath observance (admitted to be the general rule) was overborne by a higher obligation?" Has Dr Salmon overlooked the fact that in Justin the reasonings about the Sabbath are almost precisely the same as in the fourth Gospel?<sup>1</sup> Indeed the resemblance is so close that we are inclined to ask whether the discussion in Justin was simply imitated from the controversies between Jesus and the Jews in the Gospel. But even if this be so, are we to suppose that the Christian controversialists of the second century were only fighting dead men, that they were simply repeating arguments which they learned from the Gospels to have been used a century before, but which no real person "cared to discuss" at the time when they were writing? This is no doubt a possibility. But it ought not to be assumed without proof.

(7.) The knowledge which the Gospel shows of the topography of the Holy Land and of Jerusalem and the Temple, is quoted as a further proof that the writer was a Jew of Palestine who lived before the destruction of the city in A.D. 70. Many examples might be cited to show that a knowledge of Palestine was not limited to born Jews. But it is certainly natural to expect that, if the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans under Titus were so complete as is commonly supposed,

<sup>1</sup> Compare "Trypho" xxiii., xxvi., xxvii., xxix., xlvii., &c. (and "Ignat. ad Magness." ix., x.), with John v. 10, 17; vii. 19-24.

The following references may be of use in comparing the allusions to Jewish ideas in the fourth Gospel with those in Justin Martyr, a Gentile Christian of the second century. Almost all the topics referred to are amongst those cited by Professor Sanday and Dr Salmon. Compare "Trypho," xlix., &c., with John i. 21, Matt. xvii. 10, &c. (Elias must first come); "Trypho," lxxviii., 1 Apol. xxvi., liii., lvi. (see also "Clem. Recog.," i. 54, 57, 63, ii. 7, &c.), with John iv., viii. 48, Luke ix. 52, Acts viii. 9-25, &c. (Jews and Samaritans); "Trypho," xxv., xlv., cxl. with John viii. 33, 37, 39; Matt. iii. 9 (Abraham is our father); "Trypho," i., 1 Apol. xxxii., &c. (see also "Clem. Recog.," i. 68, iv. 5, and i. 32, 33) with John i. 45 (Moses in the law and the prophets), viii. 52, 53 (Abraham and the prophets), ix. 28 (Moses' disciples); "Trypho," cviii., lxxviii. with John i. 46, vii. 41, 42, 52 (can Christ come out of Nazareth, or Galilee, and not from Bethlehem?).

we should find no reference to its topographical features in writers of a later date. Nevertheless it is remarkable that in the gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, a work which is universally dated long after the destruction of Jerusalem, there are a large number of very exact references not only to the topography of Palestine and neighbouring countries, but also to Jerusalem and the buildings of the Temple, much more than are to be found in any of the Gospels, or perhaps in all of them together. However we are to account for this remarkable fact, it compels us to pause before we can agree with Professor Sanday, that "nothing more" than the allusions to Jerusalem and the Temple "is needed to prove that the Gospel was written by one who was intimate with Jerusalem as it was before 70 A.D." (p. 288, note 1).

The issues involved in the question of the date and authorship of the Fourth Gospel make it the part of wisdom to look at the evidence with the utmost care, and not to commit the case to any reasonings which are not entirely relevant and valid. Weakness in any point selected as a point of defence is apt to be taken to imply weakness along the whole line. The argument in support of the Johannine origin of the Fourth Gospel is of course a very large one, embracing many important *data* in the external evidence as well as in the internal. It is only a few points in the latter that we deal with here. We venture to call attention to these in view of the great importance of the question, and the place given them in the argument as it is at present conducted. We refer to them as they are stated in particular by the author of this useful Introduction and by Professor Sanday, because the well-known scholarship of these two valued authors gives weight to any opinion which they express.

J. A. CROSS.

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### **The First Three Gospels : their Origin and Relations.**

*By J. Estlin Carpenter, M.A., Sunday School Association, London.*  
(Second Edition.) 8vo, pp. 428. Price 3s. 6d.

THIS book deserves to be carefully studied. It is able, very well written, and the material, which is gathered from many sources, is most skilfully arranged. It is also based on a

thorough knowledge of what has been written on the Synoptic Gospels both in our own and in other lands. While we gladly acknowledge the ability and scholarship of the author, and also admit his desire to be fair and accurate, we arise from the study of his work with the persuasion that the writer's unconscious or conscious bias has coloured his treatment of his great theme. It is significant to find in the preface the following statement: "Above all, Dr Pfleiderer's most stimulating book, 'Das Urchristenthum,' has been my constant companion." Any attentive reader of the work of Dr Pfleiderer and of the present work will readily see that the two are one in spirit and in aim. To both the origin and history of Christianity are the origin and history of a certain circle of ideas. To both "the sublime figure of the Christ, portrayed to us by the first three evangelists, was, in a certain sense, created by the Church." Of both of them it may be said what Dr Schürer has said of the "Urchristenthum," that they do not sufficiently take into account the creative personality of the Lord Jesus Christ.

The outcome of Professor Carpenter's work, and the impression made on us by it, are that we really do not know anything of Jesus of Nazareth. In one place Professor Carpenter says, "Our Synoptic Gospels present us with three versions of the Teacher's sayings, and their variations often point the way to important facts. But there is no rule or norm by which to judge of their positive value, beyond our ideas of what will harmonise with such conceptions of his character as we have already formed." If the ideas we have formed of him are that He was a Jewish Rabbi of great moral insight and of exceptionally high character, but only this and nothing more, we shall at once shut out every saying and doing ascribed to Him, which involve a claim to exceptional honour and obedience, and to exceptional rank. All sayings, such as "Come unto Me . . . and I will give you rest," are at once set down on this principle as unhistorical. The method of Professor Carpenter is, that he has somehow formed a conception of the character of Jesus, and he has to explain away all that he finds inconsistent with it.

We find that the book begins with chapters which deal



with the Gospels and early Christian literature, the first three Gospels and the fourth, the formation of the Gospel traditions; that it proceeds to deal with the Messianic idea, Messiah's preparation, the miracles, and the coming of the Son of man; and that finally it treats of the Gospels in themselves and in their relations to one another. The last section is the most valuable in the book, and contains some helps to a solution of one of the most complex problems presented to the exegetical science of our time. It may be so far separated from the previous part of the work, and in truth Professor Carpenter, in the interest excited in him by the problem, has so far laid aside his bias as to let the elements of the case before him have something like their due weight on his mind.

We do not find the earlier parts of the book to be nearly so satisfactory. The problem he has set himself to solve is twofold: how to account for the origin of Christianity without Christ, and, secondly, to show how the Church invented the Christ set forth in the Gospels. Before he can reach this problem, he has to set the Synoptic Gospels aside as unhistorical documents. He minimises the historical evidence of the existence of the Gospels; he refers only to such witnesses as the Canon of Muratori, Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement, Tatian. These, he admits, had our Gospels as we have them. When he deals with the testimony of Justin Martyr and Papias, he does it under the heading, "The Gospels before they were Scriptures." He will not allow that Justin had our Gospels, or, at all events, if he had them, he did not regard them as Scripture. Professor Carpenter has not looked at the probabilities of the case, nor measured the difficulty of supposing that a new set of Gospels should have been imposed on the Church between the time of Justin and the time of Irenæus. It is calculated by Professor Norton that at least 60,000 copies of the Gospels were in existence at the beginning of the third century; that they were recognised as authoritative, read in the Churches in Asia Minor, Greece, Egypt, Italy, Spain, and Africa. The question is, how could books, not regarded as Scripture in the time of Justin, have been recognised as Scripture in all these places within the next quarter of a

century? To ask the question is to answer it. The Gospels of Irenæus are the Gospels which lie at the foundation of Tatian's Diatessaron, are the Gospels from which Justin quotes; and the same considerations lead us still further back.

It must not be forgotten that behind the somewhat scanty references to the Gospels contained in the extant Christian literature of the second century, there lies the Christian life of many churches in many places. The presumption is that the faith and life of these churches were fed on the Gospels, which are to them authoritative when they emerge into the clear light of history. Professor Carpenter says: "For more than two generations distinguished teachers and eminent church-officers had been eagerly discussing, travelling to collect information, meeting for conference on diversities of practice, corresponding, issuing decrees, asserting pretensions and repudiating them, smoothing down difficulties, softening bitterness, and conciliating opposition: and the result was the gradual growth into light and strength and beauty of the 'holy Catholic Church.' Here lay the rule of faith. To this and to this alone belonged the Scriptures and the sacrament." During this period and by these means "the four Gospels attained to their unique position." It is a glowing picture, but somewhat fanciful. It takes no account, however, of the fact that during the second century there was no organised universal church. There were many churches, Syrian, Egyptian, Greek, Latin, and these churches used different languages—some spoke Greek, others Latin, others languages of the East. The supposition of Professor Carpenter is, that these churches corresponded together, and somehow came to an agreement to select four Gospels, which were henceforth to be acknowledged as authoritative. Somehow all the churches were got to agree, local prejudices disappeared, and the usual conservative tenderness of particular churches vanished, and there was a general consent to accept these four Gospels and no other. Truly a most wonderful state of matters; without a parallel in the history of the Church.

We now come to Professor Carpenter's account of the genesis of the Christian conception of Christ. The main

element is, of course, the Messianic idea. We ought to state this in his own words.

"The Apostolic witness all centered round one great idea. Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah. When He had passed away all reminiscence was steeped in this belief. By what processes His followers had arrived at this conviction need not now be examined. It is sufficient to observe that the recollection of His words and deeds were suffused with the glow of feeling which this faith excited. All memory palpitated with emotion, which could hardly fail to impart to imagination a certain quickening power. Under its stimulus the testimony even of eye witnesses rose unconsciously to meet the high demand for a fit account of Messiah's work" (pp. 82, 83).

According to our author the early church under the influence of the Messianic idea set to work both unconsciously and intentionally to shape the Gospel story in accordance with the Messianic ideal. We ask for some proof of the assertion, and we find a very good account of the Messianic idea as it was set forth in Hebrew prophecy, and in the current expectations of the people. Professor Carpenter has really a historic conscience, and he frankly admits that the title "Son of God" cannot be discovered in any of the earlier literature concerning the Messianic idea" (p. 116). He also admits that the aspect of Messiah's work which identifies Him with the suffering Servant of Jehovah has no place in apocalyptic literature, is unconnected with the doctrine of the two ages, is independent of the royal line of Judah, seems on a different plane from the visions of the New Jerusalem, or the great judgment of the Son of Man. It lies altogether apart from the expectation of those who hoped that Messiah would restore the kingdom to Israel. All this he admits, and admits also "that its presence in the Gospels is palpable." Here are two instances in which the Messianic idea as set forth in the Gospels is utterly different from current expectations. Whence are they and others?

"When we try to trace it back to its source," says Professor Carpenter of the suffering Servant of Jehovah, "shall we be wrong if we ascribe it, at least provisionally, to Jesus Himself?" We should say, decidedly not. If he were to follow out the hint given by himself here, he would do well in ascribing a great many other things to Jesus Himself. Among other

things he might see that the character portrayed in the Gospels is a real character, and not one invented by the Church.

It is a hard task which Professor Carpenter has set to himself. It is to show how "the high demand for a fit account of Messiah's work" should have arisen, and to show also how a conception of Messiah's work radically different from the popular expectation can be said to have met that demand. How a Messianic idea which thwarted and defeated popular demands can be said to meet that demand, is not very apparent. But as Professor Davidson says,

"The dimensions of the Messianic hope among the Jews at the beginning of our era may very readily be overstated. It is doubtful, for instance, if there was any idea of a suffering Messiah. Again, it is certain that among Jews outside of Christianity a great Messianic development took place in the first century A.D. This may have been due to Christian influence and intercourse before the final schism between Judaism and Christianity. It is certain that the Christology of the New Testament was largely due to the teaching of Christ, and reflection on His life, particularly the conception of the spiritual nature of His aims and His kingdom. These points exclude that interpretation of the New Testament literature proposed by Strauss—(1) The supernatural element in the Gospels, being impossible, shows that the narrative arose long after the life of Jesus; they are mythical. (2) The *ideas* which have been clothed in history are the popular Messianic ideas of the time. The theory falls with the falsehood of the last assumption. No such developed circle of Messianic ideas can be shown to have existed before Christ."—"Chambers' Encyclopædia," article *Bible*.

The two assumptions of Strauss are also the main assumptions of Professor Carpenter, and his account of the origin falls with the falsehood of his assumptions. We may say in conclusion that Professor Carpenter's book gives no rational explanation, either of the origin of the Gospels, or of the character, person, and work of the Lord Jesus Christ. As Dr Dods has said, "It abounds in unverifiable statements and misleading principles."

JAMES IVERACH.

### **A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ.**

*By Emil Schürer. Div. I. Vol. I., pp. 475, and Vol. II., pp. 415.  
Translated by the Rev. John Macpherson, M.A., Edinburgh.  
1890. T. & T. Clark. 2 vols. 8vo. Price 21s.*

SCHÜRER's book is recognised as the standard authority upon its subject. Readers may be reminded that Division II., upon "The Internal Condition of Palestine and of the Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ," appeared before Division I., which gives the background in the form of "The Political History of Palestine from 175 B.C. to 135 A.D." The present division opens with a valuable Introduction in three sections, devoted respectively to Scope and Literature, Auxiliary Sciences, and Sources.

The Scope is well set forth in the author's opening words :

"In the fulness of time the Christian religion sprang out of Judaism ; as a fact, indeed, of divine revelation, but also inseparably joined by innumerable threads with the previous thousand years of Israel's history. No incident in the Gospel story, no word in the preaching of Jesus Christ, is intelligible apart from its setting in Jewish history, and without a clear understanding of that world of thought-distinction of the Jewish people."

This no doubt represents a study which no scientific theologian can safely ignore. It is the study of the organism in its environment. It is not enough, therefore, to be familiar with the conditions reflected in the Old Testament Canon ; for, as Schürer remarks, "the Gospel of Jesus Christ is much more closely connected with its immediately contemporary surroundings, and the tendencies of thought prevailing in that particular age." This sense of the significance of the "Ages of Silence" marks a new era in the interpretation of the New Testament. But whilst Schürer thus extends the scope of study, as compared with Schneckenburger and Hausrath, he confines himself to the history of the *Jewish* people in the *times of Jesus Christ*, since "this alone in the strict and proper sense constitutes the presupposition of the earliest history of Christianity." He justifies his *terminus*

*a quo* and his *terminus ad quem* on the ground that "the predominance of Pharisaism is that which most distinctly characterized this period," and that "this Pharisaic tendency had its origin in conflicts of the Maccabean age;" while "just as the concluding of our enquiry with the age of Hadrian recommends itself on outward or political grounds, so also it will be found to correspond to the course of the spiritual development of the people." Henceforth "no longer the Thora of Moses, but the Talmud, forms the *basis* of all juristic discussion." There then follow a lucid programme of Division II. (that on the internal conditions), and a full bibliography of the subject as a whole.

The section devoted to the Sources of the more external history is very thorough, dealing with the Two Books of Maccabees, Non-extant Sources (*e.g.*, Posidonius, Strabo, Nicolas of Damascus, Justus of Tiberias, Aristo of Pella, various works *περι 'Ιουδαίων*, Chronographers, &c.), Josephus, Greek and Roman writers, and last but not least, the Rabbinical Literature. In regard to the Books of Maccabees, the first of which is our main source for 175-135 B.C., he here confines himself to the question of the date of the Seleucid era, and reaches the conclusion that in First Maccabees it begins with *spring* instead of the usual *autumn* 312 B.C.; while for Second Maccabees there is "no sufficient reason for assuming a special era" of its own, rather than either that of its more trustworthy namesake or the usual Syrian reckoning. For the rest, Schürer's rehabilitation of Justus of Tiberias, as "a man of precisely the same style and tendency as Josephus" is to be noted. Josephus himself, "the Jewish priest now transformed into a Greek literary man," is fully treated; the sources of various parts of his writings are examined, and his tendencies as an historian duly described. But to many the succinct account of the bewildering literature, current under the title Rabbinic, and due to "the professional labours of the Rabbis or scribes," will be most welcome. The last decade of the second century A.D. is taken as *terminus a quo* for almost all extant types, whether Halachic or Haggadic (the "Book of Jubilees" being the one clear exception); and Talmudic proper—Mishna, Tosephta, Jeru-

salem and Babylonian Talmuds—Midrashim, Targums, and certain historical works (Megillath Taanith, Seder Olam, &c.) are all presented in clear survey. Here students will read with interest Schürer's arguments leading to the conclusion that "in Babylon the old and correct statement about a translation of the Pentateuch by the proselyte Aquila was erroneously attached to the anonymous Chaldaean Targum, and the name Onkelos therefore is merely a corruption of the name Aquila." In view of agreement in certain New Testament renderings of Old Testament passages (*e.g.*, Eph. iv. 8), with those of the Targums and for other reasons, he also traces back the basis of the known Targums to the apostolic age and even earlier, and agrees with Nöldeke that their linguistic character is Palestinian.

As regards the history itself, only a few points can here be noted. Perhaps its main feature is the admirable way in which the religious and political aspects of the Maccabean movement are related, and the gradual supersession of the former by the latter is traced. The Jewish history during each period is prefaced by a careful sketch of Syria as a whole, under first the Seleucids and then the Romans, which, however, is largely interwoven again into that history itself. "The Rise of the Maccabees, and the Period of Freedom" is introduced by a chapter entitled "Religious Destitution and Revival," in which the interest of the period is indicated, and the basis laid for its true appreciation. "The Maccabean age was simply the period of the greatest crisis through which it (Judaism) was called to pass during the whole era"—between the enunciation of the law by Ezra and its codification in the Mishna.

"The attempt was made to overthrow the foundations of its earlier development, to convert the Jewish people to heathenism. The result was that the foundations laid before by Ezra were now strengthened, and the theoretical elaboration of the law and its practical applications were prosecuted with glowing enthusiasm. The law which Ezra had introduced was essentially a ceremonial law. The religion of Israel is there reduced to strictly legalised forms, in order that it may be made more secure against the influences of heathenism. . . . Precision in the observance of all these prescribed rites was to be made henceforth the gauge and measure

of piety. And in order to make this precision as exact as possible, it was necessary that an authentic interpretation be supplied. A special order, under the name of 'Scribes,' devoted themselves to the study of the law as a profession, and engaged upon a subtle and refining exposition of it. But the pious considered it to be their chief business to fulfil with zeal and conscientiousness the law as thus expounded. That very considerable progress in this direction had been made, even in the second century before Christ, is distinctly proved by the history of the Maccabean revolution. There was a religious party which interpreted the Sabbath command so strictly, that they would rather surrender without a struggle than infringe upon the observance of the Sabbath by wielding the sword (1 Macc. ii. 32-38). . . . But alongside of this legalistic tendency, there were operating in Palestine, from the time of Alexander the Great, influences of an altogether different kind, which proved the more decidedly and dangerously hostile to the interests of the law and its promoters the longer they existed. These were the Hellenizing tendencies" (pp. 193-4).

In this quotation we have the data of the coming struggle. Here Hellenism within the Jewish nation was mainly represented by the upper classes, and concentrated as time went on in the ranks of the higher priesthood, who, as officials, were "opposed to any kind of religious enthusiasm," and under John Hyrcanus (135-105 B.C.) became recognised under a name familiar to us in the Gospels as Sadducees (Zadocites). Zeal for the Law of the Scribes appears in the circle represented in the above incident, the Chasidim, or "Pious," the lineal predecessors of the Pharisees (p. 211, note). Distinguishable from them were the Maccabees proper, a middle or national party, marked, indeed, by a zeal for the law in its substance, as the law of their fathers, and so associated at first with the Chasidim; but fired also with a desire for political freedom, and subsequently for supremacy at home, which more and more emerged, and at last transferred Hyrcanus and his following from the Pharisaic to the Sadducaic side. Such, at least, is Schürer's view (pp. 198, 286-8). And the study of the period in this connection is most timely just now, seeing that Professor Cheyne claims that it is the presupposition to any valid judgment of the historical setting and dating of many Psalms, or, as Schürer himself reminds us (pp. 194, 209), of the Book of Daniel.



The frequent occurrence of an "opposition party" in the nation itself at this time (ἄνδρες παράνομους and ἄνομοι, 1 Macc. xi. 21, 25) must be reckoned with (p. 245, cf. 236).

Space will allow only a reference to the excellent *resumé* of the development in the aims of the Maccabean party on p. 256, to the skilful use made of coins in proof of an encroaching dynastic spirit under the old forms (p. 285), as well as to the account of Herod's attitude of compromise towards Hellenism and the Law. The notes are full of rich material bearing on topics such as the term "Maccabee" (p. 212), the Feast of the Dedication (p. 217), the units of organization under Gabinius (p. 373), the relation of Antipater's office to Hyrcanus II. (pp. 376, 378), Jewish polygamy (p. 455), and especially the topography of Zion (pp. 207, 263). Indeed accuracy, topographical, chronological, and otherwise, is strenuously cultivated. As to the moral, no one can read the account of the Maccabean deliverer-king, as he came to be, without realising more vividly why the Messiah of popular wish and imagination was far other than Jesus of Nazareth, the Prince of Peace, the Christ of God.

So far nothing has been said of Vol II., which describes the history from the death of Herod (B.C. 4) to the destruction of the Jewish Commonwealth (135 A.D.). Nor is detailed notice needed. To say that it is Schürer's is to ensure its accuracy and adequacy. But the dynastic complications and intrigues, the doings and misdoings of the Roman procurators, which here play so large a part, are not of immediate religious interest, except at the points where this history touches that of Christianity, as it does here and there, notably as regards the evangelical chronology. In the most important case—the census of Quirinius—Schürer, after a searching examination (pp. 105-143), sums up adversely to the accuracy of Luke's account. His contention is: (1) that history knows nothing of a *general census ordered* by Augustus, so that Luke, possibly aware of a census in many provinces, may have simply generalized therefrom (as Schürer believes him to have done in the case of the famines in the days of Claudius; see Acts xi., 28, discussed in section 19), a mistake to which an imperial *survey* by Augustus, if historical, may have contributed; (2)

“he knows farther that a census in Judæa under Quirinius (of ‘the taxing,’ Acts v. 37) had taken place somewhere about the time of the birth of Jesus Christ. By means of this census he explains the fact that the parents of Jesus travelled from Nazareth to Bethlehem, and places it therefore exactly in the time of the birth of Jesus under Herod, *i.e.*, about ten or twelve years too soon.” In proof that such mistake is not precluded *à priori*, he urges that Theudas (Acts v. 36) seems to be antedated by some forty years.

This discussion is followed by an excursus on “the so-called testimony of Josephus to Christ,” where he prefers the hypothesis of “spuriousness,” as simpler than that of “interpolation.”

Most important for the history of the Palestinian Church, and so indirectly for the Church at large, is the course of national ferment connected in some sort with the persistent Messianic hope (yet more political and degenerate in form now that the Israel within Israel had become separated to Jesus as its Messiah), so admirably depicted in its two great moments, *i.e.*, A.D. 66-73 and 132-135, the one ending in the dismantling of the city and destruction of the Temple, the other in the complete blotting out of the metropolis of the Jewish race.

Among points of detail that deserve mention in connection with early Christianity, it must suffice to note what is said on the jurisdiction of the Sanhedrin (p. 74), the chronology of the *Legatio ad Caium* (pp. 101-104), the date of James’ martyrdom (pp. 186-7, “the year 62 cannot by any means be accepted as the date of his death”), Zacharias, son of Baruch (p. 229, *not* to be identified with him of Matt. xxiii. 35), and the rebuilding on the temple site by Hadrian, *c.* 130 A.D., to which date the Epistle of Barnabas (*cf.* xvi. 4) would then be referred (pp. 290-5).

Students will appreciate the eight appendices at the end, which include not only the history of Chalcis, Iturea, and Abilene, and of the Nabatean kings, as well as the genealogies of the Seleucidæ, Asmoneans, and the house of Herod; but also an examination of the Jewish coins, and coins of the Rebellion, together with comparative tables both of the Jewish, Macedonian, and Julian Calendars, and of the Greek, Syrian,

Roman, and Christian eras. In all of these, wide and accurate scholarship has condensed results hitherto scattered over a large literature. The addenda to Div. I. are mainly bibliographical and topographical (*e.g.*, the identification of Gamala with Jamli is now accepted), the chief confirmation being that of the *birthday* proper of Herod (Matt. xiv. 6). In a note, subscribers are exhorted to apply to the publishers for the translation of Schürer's exhaustive Index, to be issued shortly—good advice, to judge by the German original. As compared with Vol. I., the translation shows signs of haste. If any readers find matters obscure, especially at the beginning (where we have compared the original), the translator, rather than the author, must be held napping (*e.g.*, p. 6., mid. 21, 28 end, where read "Mariam could not have been born before B.C. 5, her son Aristobulus scarcely before A.D. 14"); nor is his English always equally good.

This volume concludes the "Foreign Theological Library" as a series; translations henceforth will appear "as occasion offers." The first of these will be Schultz's *Alttestamentliche Theologie*.  
VERNON BARTLET.

### **The Book of Isaiah, xl.-lxvi.**

*By the Rev. Geo. Adam Smith, M.A.*

(*The Expositor's Bible*). London: Hodder & Stoughton. Large crown 8vo, pp. 447. Price 7s. 6d.

THOSE who have read Mr Adam Smith's previous work (The Book of Isaiah i-xxxix.) in this series have looked forward with interest to the appearance of the present volume. The task which was here presented to him was in many respects a more formidable one. The latter portion of "Isaiah" is less varied in its contents and less practical in its character than are the earlier chapters. The centre of interest is religious rather than historical. Whereas the victory and the redemption upon which the earlier chapters converge are nothing less than the overthrow of the forces of a world-power which threatened Israel with annihilation, in the latter portion of the book the consummation is reached by the suffering of the

Exile, and Israel's hope is identified with the mystery of the sacrifice of her Representative. The stratum of thought is less obvious in proportion as it is more continuously maintained at a higher spiritual level.

Admirers of the previous volume need have no cause to be disappointed with its successor. We confess to having read Mr Smith's exposition of these chapters (xl.-lxvi.) with the utmost interest from beginning to end. The freshness and vigour which the writer succeeds in imparting to his discourse are admirably sustained throughout the work. It is impossible not to feel that passage after passage, which to the ordinary, well-educated, English reader, clerical as well as lay, may have hitherto seemed but a maze of beautiful sentences, receives a living interest from Mr Smith's remarkable powers of lucid exposition and eloquent illustration.

As is to be expected from the character and purpose of the series to which it does such credit, the book cannot be estimated as a commentary by comparison with the more advanced works of Delitzsch, Cheyne, or Dillmann. It possesses, however, very high value as an exposition. The careful analysis which is given of the contents of these chapters, coupled with the vigorous and literal English translation from the Hebrew, constantly supplies a hint of correct exegesis, where the limits of space prevent any exhaustive treatment of difficulties. We come across scholarly disquisitions upon Hebrew words of disputed meaning or of special significance—*e.g.*, 'î (p. 109), *r'ishonôth* (p. 121), *ssadtq* (pp. 215-230), *mishpat* (pp. 299-300); and in numerous instances the commentator's command over the original has prompted him to a skilful and felicitous elucidation of the meaning—*e.g.*, the explanations of "I have created thee," &c. (p. 240), "He shall not cry nor lift up" (p. 303). Readers who have not access to the larger and more learned works may rest assured that in Mr Smith's treatment of a passage they will find the utterance of sound scholarship put forth after careful investigation of the best authorities, from Calvin and Vitringa to Dillmann and Driver.

It would fall outside the scope of a commentary intended for practical purposes to enter with great minuteness into

questions of criticism. But the whole treatment of these chapters of Isaiah must depend upon the view taken of their date and structure. In dealing with these questions Mr Smith deserves all credit both for the management of his argument and for the tone in which he conducts it. He devotes his first chapter to the discussion of the date of chapters xl.-lxvi. He confines himself to reasons, which any intelligent English reader will be able to appreciate, for denying the Isaianic authorship of this section, and for ascribing the greater portion of it to the latter end of the Babylonian Exile. We need not here follow up his defence of a position, which, among the best scholars, is indeed now scarcely disputed, and is rapidly passing out of the sphere of biblical controversy. But we may notice an interesting answer to the question, "Why should a series of prophecies written in the Exile be attached to the authentic works of Isaiah?" He does not, as some of his predecessors, look for a solution of the difficulty in the error of a scribe, or in "the custom which ancient writers practised of filling up any part of a volume that remained blank when one book was finished with the writing of any other that would fit the place. The first of these reasons is too accidental, the second too artificial in the face of the undoubted sympathy which exists among all parts of the Book of Isaiah. . . ." His own view he expresses on pp. 23, 24; and the following extract will give the conclusions at which he has himself arrived. "Although our prophet has *new things to publish*, his first business is to show that *the former things have come to pass*, especially the Exile, the survival of a Remnant, the sending of a Deliverer, the doom of Babylon. What more natural than to attach to his utterances those prophecies, of which the events he pointed to were the vindication and fulfilment? The attachment was the more easy to arrange that the authentic prophecies had not passed from Isaiah's hand in a fixed form. . . . But these facts—that our chapters are concerned, as no other Scriptures are, with the fulfilment of previous prophecies; that it is the prophecies of Isaiah which are the original and fullest prediction of the events they are busy with; and that the form, in which Isaiah's prophecies are handed down, did not preclude additions

of this kind to them—contribute very evident reasons why Isa. xl.-lxvi., though written in the Exile, should be attached to Isa. i.-xxxix." (p. 24).

On the more complicated critical question, relating to the unity of authorship in these chapters, Mr Smith gives an independent judgment. We feel sure he is quite right in emphasising the unity of the structure and arrangement rather than of the origin and composition of these chapters. At the same time, we are glad and interested to find that he has been able to recognise the homogeneous character of the main body of the prophecy (xl.-lv.). In dealing with the concluding chapters, he speaks with due caution. He inclines to the view that the definitely exilic passages are lvi. 1-8, lviii., lx.-lxii., and possibly lxv. : lxiii., lxiv., and lxvi. he ascribes to the period of the Return, before the rebuilding of the Temple; while the only pre-exilic sections which he acknowledges are lvi. 9-lvii., and partially lix. In accounting for the presence of these pre-exilic passages, he gives as his "total impression" "that some prophet of the late Exile, and probably the one whom we have been following, collected these reminiscences of his people's sin in the days of their freedom, in order to remind them, before they went back again to political responsibility, why it was they were punished, and how apt they were to go astray" (p. 409). We think he makes a good case for his view; and without committing ourselves to entire agreement, we very heartily welcome a statement of opinion so independent in character, and so happily devoid of arbitrariness.

In the study of Isa. xl.-lxvi., the English reader has the utmost difficulty in tracing the connection of thought : scenes of joy and gloom, of bright forecast and keen rebuke, chase one another in rapid succession. Our author, however, succeeds in tracing out clearly and felicitously the continuity of the prophetic message. At the outset he insists on the necessity of keeping in view "that the immediate problem which the prophet had before him was twofold. It was political, and it was spiritual. . . . This twofold division of the prophet's problem . . . will make clear to us the different currents of the sacred argument, which flow sometimes through

and through one another, and sometimes singly and in succession ; and it will give us a plan for grouping the twenty-seven chapters very nearly, if not quite, in the order in which they lie" (Introduct., p. xiii.). The arrangement he adopts is very simple. Book i., after disposing of the question of date and authorship of the whole section, is devoted to a rapid and brilliant summary both of the events which led to the Exile, and of the position of the Jews during the Exile. Book ii., "The Lord's Deliverance," is practically a homiletic analysis of chapters xl.-xlviii., concluding with a chapter on the prophet's use of the word "Righteousness." Book iii., or "The Servant of the Lord," is entirely occupied with a discussion of the passages in which "the Servant" is spoken of, and the position to be assigned to him in the theology of the Old Testament. Book iv., or "The Restoration," deals with the concluding chapters on the same lines as had been followed in Book ii., but not so fully and with obvious signs of the necessity for condensation. It will thus be seen that Book i. is historical, while Book iii. is given up to the consideration of a topic mainly spiritual in character. In Books ii. and iv. the historical and the spiritual are closely intermingled, the appearance of Cyrus in the one case, and the imminent or accomplished Return in the other, supplying the theme of contemporary historical interest.

As a contribution to our knowledge of Old Testament theology, Mr Smith's work seems to us to be especially valuable for its delineation of the intense reality and living *Spiritual* force of true Hebrew monotheism. All through his book he makes this thought live and move ; but perhaps nowhere so powerfully as in the chapters, "God : a Sacrament," "God : an Argument from History," "The Passion of God," "Bearing or Borne." His chapter on "Righteousness" will be found very useful to students, and will open up a new world of thought to those who are apt to regard such words as vague religious common-places. He draws out the distinction between the righteousness of God and the righteousness of Israel, and shows how Israel's righteousness is of two kinds, "allied and necessary to one another, yet logically distinct,—the one a becoming righteous through the exercise of virtue,

the other a being shown to be righteous by the voice of history."

Though it might be enough to say that the discussion of "the Servant of the LORD" is not unworthy of the great importance of the subject, we are especially glad to observe how clearly he demonstrates the progress of the development of the idea. The principle of his exposition on this point may well be summarised in the opening words of the interesting chapter on "The Service of God and Man." "We now understand, whom to regard as the Servant of the Lord. The Service of God was a commission to witness and prophesy for God upon earth, made out at first in the name of the entire nation Israel. When their unfitness as a whole became apparent, it was delegated to a portion of them. But as there were added to its duties of prophecy, those of martyrdom and atonement for the sins of the people, our prophet, it would seem, saw it focussed in the person of an individual" (p. 290). Considering the limits within which he had to work, we believe the treatment of the all-important passage, chaps. lii. 13-liiii., will bear inspection as a good example of the author's best work, of his sympathy with the spiritual problem, his scholarship, and his undeniable oratorical force. We would call attention to his healthy and sensible exposition of "the vicarious suffering" of the Servant (pp. 353, 354); to the protest against excessive literalism in the identification of "the Servant" with our Lord (pp. 367, 383); and to the very admirable passages, in which it is contended that in Christ alone the true interpretation of this passage is to be sought and found (*e.g.*, pp. 289, 370, 436).

Although we have already exceeded our limits for this notice, a few words remain to be said upon three points of interest.

(1.) The *writing*, as in the former volume, often rises to a pitch of real eloquence. We may instance the description of Babylon (p. 56), the metaphor introducing the quotation from Xenophanes (p. 124), and the eulogy on the power of speech (pp. 302-306), as passages which particularly struck us. The writer's sympathy both with the poetry of the prophet, *e.g.*, pp. 52, 341, 405, 431, and with the surroundings of Oriental



life, *e.g.*, pp. 247, 361, 389, 416, 429, enhance the pleasure of his style. His skill in the use of brilliant illustration, *e.g.*, from Milton's "Areopagitica" (p. 258), or from recent events (pp. 259, 437), is often exercised with telling effect. So far as the English style is concerned, there is perhaps a little danger of using too freely poetic expressions, such as "their rally and confidence" (p. 83), "her *restoral* to her station" (p. 220), "a more *clamant* conscience" (p. 290).

(2.) The *translation* makes no pretence at being an elegant version. It aims at giving the reader a true idea of the exact meaning of the words. For this purpose the Hebrew order of the words is often retained, and the attempt is made both to reproduce the rhythm of the original (*e.g.*, pp. 153-155) and to give the effect of the prophet's use of alliteration (*e.g.*, pp. 315, 341). We are inclined to think that the sacrifice to literalness is too great when it gives us "on-ahead" (p. 119), "orthodox" (p. 99), and "an egre of anger" (p. 401, fortunately with an explanatory note). But as a whole the version is strong and forcible, while its accuracy and its unconventional form cannot fail to be suggestive and useful to the English reader.

(3.) The definitely *homiletic* element deserves fuller treatment than we can devote to it here. Some of the chapters are models of continuous exegesis. The interest is not suffered to flag; modern phases of religious doubt and difficulty are encountered with weapons drawn from the armoury of the Hebrew prophet; like a true teacher our author elicits from the Word of God "things new and old."

It is almost a common-place now-a-days to assert that the great need of Christian congregations, that of continuous Bible teaching, is rarely satisfied. To be scholarly without being pedantic, to be at all thorough without being wearisomely diffuse, to adapt the teaching of whole sections of Scripture to modern spiritual needs without being superficial or sensational—these are difficulties, of which all of us, whether teachers or taught, have had some bitter experience. Where many have failed, Mr Adam Smith is conspicuously successful. And the secret of his success is to be found, not in his scholarship nor in his eloquence, but in the

union of these indispensable qualities with living sympathy in the modern needs of men and with the intensest realisation that "the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy" (Rev. xix. 10). His constant reference of the prophetic teaching to the expression of its highest development in the New Testament is free from the common fault of a forced and servile literalism; and the religious instruction he gives is based upon a natural and reasonable interpretation of the text (*e.g.*, pp. 186, 188, 366, 374, &c.).

Mr Smith's tendency is probably in the direction of diffuseness. But he has also the gift of conveying a great deal in a short sentence, of which we can here give but three illustrations; "History is strewn with the errors of those who have sought from God something else than Himself" (p. 150); "If we pray much for a man, he will surely become too sacred to be made the amusement of society or the food of our curiosity, or of our pride" (p. 204); "The unfulfilled prophecy of Israel is the conscience of Christianity" (p. 289).

To clergymen, to teachers, and to all thoughtful students of Scripture, this book will be one of very great service and value. To those, too, who are even now under the impression that modern Biblical Criticism is necessarily honey-combed with scepticism, we very earnestly commend its perusal. Those gifts of ripe scholarship and historical criticism, with which the Divine Spirit has enriched our age, are here consecrated to the service of the Crucified and Risen Messiah. Of His Divine Presence the writer seems never to lose sight. If this were the only merit in this work, it were indeed sufficient to make it rank high in our estimation, for it supplies one more instance, if such were needed, of the union of modern methods in Biblical interpretation with the purest spiritual faith and the simplest Christian devotion.

HERBERT E. RYLE.

**Can the Old Faith Live with the New ?**

*By the Rev. George Matheson, M.A., D.D. Third Edition. Edinburgh and London : W. Blackwood & Sons. Cr. 8vo. Price 7s. 6d.*

**The Psalmist and the Scientist.**

*By the Rev. George Matheson, D.D. New and Cheaper Edition. Same Publishers. Cr. 8vo. Price 5s.*

**Sacred Songs.**

*By the Rev. G. Matheson, D.D. New and Cheaper Edition. Same Publishers. Cr. 8vo. Price 2s. 6d.*

THE first qualification of an effective apologist is good temper, and the second is a hopeful tone of mind. In the books before us Dr Matheson shows that he possesses those qualifications in a pre-eminent degree. His sunny, genial nature never fails him; he neither declaims nor scolds; his most serious arguments are enlivened by touches of raillery and by kindly concessions to his opponents which prevent all offence. Besides, he has a fearless confidence in the truth of what he has to say, and in the success of his ingenious reasonings, which draws even the credulous reader along with him from stage to stage. Both in those qualifications and in others of more solid worth, Dr Matheson has made a marked advance since the publication of his essay on the "Growth of the Spirit of Christianity." Indeed those volumes entitle him to a high place among living apologists.

*Can the Old Faith Live with the New ?* is a treatise, or rather a series of essays, on the Problem of Evolution and Revelation. Dr Matheson's aim is to show that the adoption of the Evolution theory is consistent with adherence to the ancient faith, or, in his own language, "to find a place for the religious consciousness within the sphere of nature." He nowhere defines the "ancient faith;" but he means thereby the religion of the Bible, which he regards as an organic whole, and the expression of a coherent plan. The special doctrines with which he deals are Creation, the Divine Origin of Life, the Fall of Man, Providence, the Incarnation, the Work of the Spirit, the Soul's Communion with God, and the Immortality of the Soul. Although he seeks to express those doctrines in terms of modern thought, it may be said generally that such re-statement does not involve any departure from the received faith of Christendom.

His method, which he expressly distinguishes from that of Professor Drummond and Mr J. J. Murphy, is analytic. Assuming as proven the facts upon which Evolutionism rests, he analyses the grounds upon which those facts are supposed to be antitheistic in their teaching, and occupies himself in proving that they do not countenance an agnostic or a materialistic theory of the universe.

Not contented to show that the dogmatism of scientists in matters of religion is *ultra vires*, he contends that their admissions and explanations may fairly be summoned and retained as witnesses against them. Every branch of science, and still more the sciences viewed collectively, recognise the presence of an "eternal something" in the universe, and the place assigned to that "eternal something" is the place occupied by the theist's God. The belief that nature once did what she cannot now do, is virtually belief in the supernatural. Experience teaches that nature, *i.e.*, visible and tangible nature, is inadequate to account for her own existence. The Evolutionist is perpetually driven back upon a persistent but inscrutable Presence, of which phenomena are only manifestations or shadows; and the question is, whether the attributes and actions which Christian theism ascribes to that Presence are inconsistent with any proved facts, or whether, on the contrary, the Bible does not lead us beyond the "barred gate" which faces science, by a path which science itself indicates. In other words, religion is not only the complement but the corollary of science.

With a boldness fitted to rouse the wrath of Mr G. H. Romanes, Dr Matheson grapples with the Biblical doctrine of creation. Creationism does not imply that matter ever had a beginning, but only that it is an emanation from the Creator, which in all its phases must be traced to His influence, as every ray of light must be traced to the sun. Indeed, the Book of Genesis agrees with modern science in placing the origin of matter outside history, and in beginning the story of creation with the movement of the Spirit of God, *i.e.*, with the influence of Force upon Matter. Just as Evolutionism ascribes all to a primal Force, Biblical Theism ascribes all to a primal Spirit. The Six Days' Creation was conducted upon Evolution principles. The growth of one day's work out of another by no means excludes the doctrine that an essential factor in the growth was the intervention of Divine Power. In fact, the Evolutionist, so far as he holds that one power dominates in all changes, confirms the belief of the Theist in the creative omnipotence and omnipresence of God. The Book of Genesis is at one with Professor Huxley in the statement that there once was a time when animal vitality upon the earth's surface was impossible, and that the "vital spark" was due to the working of the Eternal Force. Balancing most ingeniously the Elohist with the Jehovist narrative, Dr Matheson shows that there was no "leap," but only a step in the creation of man. If it is true that life in its lower grades must originate in life and not in matter, there is no new principle involved in ascribing to Life Eternal the origin of the highest form of natural life. So far, Dr Matheson's argument commands assent; and the agility and acuteness of his reasoning are notable.

It is otherwise with his exposition of the doctrine of the Fall. The *via media* which he indicates is one in which both Evolutionist and Theist will probably decline to follow him. The life breathed into man's nostrils was, after all, it seems, generically different from the life that previously existed upon earth, being potentially but not actually immortal. The advent of it constituted a dualism in human nature, and involved a new creative departure, which began in strife. Death did not originate with the Fall. Previously it had been due to the absence of holiness, and had, therefore, in the case of beings which were incapable of holiness, involved no guilt. But as soon as the higher life of man was degraded by the temporary triumph of flesh over spirit, death assumed a new aspect, being now the wages of sin; and thenceforward immortality belonged to man only as a gift.

Dr Matheson apparently fails to see that such an explanation is suicidal, and that the *deus ex machina* which he has introduced leaves matters where they were, after having destroyed the inherent immortality of the soul. Indeed, at this point in his argument he falls into that hopeless dualism from which there is no escape, owing to the fact that, unconsciously perhaps, he has drawn a rigid line between the spiritual and the natural. It is true that he harks back, and declares that unfallen humanity had "the seed of immortality in himself," but the idea is not developed, and the apologetic value of his *uniat* is greatly impaired. It reduces itself to this, that, if science requires to posit an inscrutable force in order to account for the lower life, the same Force may have created, withdrawn, and recreated life of a higher and an eternal kind. It is scarcely worthy of so competent an apologist to press the statement that at first life only entered man's nostrils, and that it subsequently permeated his whole nature.

Dr Matheson is on far broader and surer ground when he faces the difficulties in connection with Personal Immortality. With firm and well-measured argument he shows that the principle of Immortality is indubitable, and is recognised even by those who predicate it only of Force, Nature, Law, or Matter. It is true that amidst the permanence of principle every separate phenomenon is subject to death, yet the individual life is not thereby excluded from that immortality which is secured by the indwelling in the second Adam of the primal power. Death is not annihilation of force; of this the doctrine of Conservation assures us; and if the existence of vitality as a special force can be proved, its permanence or continuity may be inferred. The *sense* of personal identity is admitted by the most materialistic enquirers; and it can matter little whether that sense be original or derived, for to an idealist like Dr Matheson the sense of personal identity is equivalent to its reality. Now, the persist-

ence of personal identity amidst the changes of the human body and its environment is obviously correlative to the persistence of the great Primal Power. The recognition by human consciousness of the inscrutability of that Power proves an identity of essence ; so that the life by which man perceives his own finitude is *pro tanto* infinite and immortal.

This argument is not novel ; it dates from the *Phaedo* of Plato ; but the lines of it require to be drawn for every generation ; and Dr Matheson, after drawing them vigorously and cogently, indicates suggestively that the self-surrender of the individual soul, and its incorporation in the system of the universe, far from destroying personal identity, raises the individual to his highest dignity ; his life is saved by being lost. In the concluding chapter he points out that Christianity itself, with its persistent spiritual power, is an illustration or rather a portion of the history of Evolution, analogous to the persistence of consciousness in the individual life.

*The Psalmist and the Scientist*, although traversing part of the same ground, is a deeper, broader, finer book. The idea of harmonising Biblical doctrines with Evolution has given place to an effort to vindicate the claims of religious sentiment. While intellectual convictions must ultimately control religious feelings, "that which appears to be dogmatically false may be sentimentally true." Although old forms may have perished, the religious sentiment which they embodied may survive. Has this been the case ? Are theistic sentiments superannuated by the modern conception of nature ? Those are the questions which Dr Matheson proposes to answer.

He takes the Psalter, "the prayer-book of the Jewish nation," as the largest and most comprehensive repository of the religious sentiment, and seeks to measure its dominating convictions by the rules of natural science. He neither asserts nor assumes the inspiration of the Psalms. He does not refer, except incidentally, to the epochs at which they were composed. They "show no evolution," for they belong to the unchangeable and eternal things of the heart ; and the convictions which they express belong to the unchangeable and eternal things of the intellect, which scientific results have not affected.

The Psalmist, for instance, bases his hopeful yearnings after God upon the fact that God "satisfies the desire of every living thing." Does not the Scientist find that every organism has its proper environment ? Can the soul's thirst for God be the only one of Nature's longings which has no reality to correspond to it ? Man's spiritual nature finds no satisfaction in the material or outward. Is this the one definite desire which shall never be satisfied ? Even granting, for the sake of argument, that the religious faculty is now useless and extinct, its former existence would justify us in infer-

ring that it once had a proper environment. Surely it is a contradiction in terms to say that the Eternal One, who formerly satisfied it, has ceased to be! Again, if the environment proper to a thirsty soul is "Nature," it must be living Nature, Nature with all the attributes of Deity.

Similarly, the intelligence of the creature presupposes the intelligence of a creator; he that formed the ear must hear; he that formed the eye must see; the effect must resemble the cause. J. S. Mill's familiar objection, that the cook who prepares hot soup must, on this principle, have been made of pepper, falls to the ground, for the cause of the soup is not the woman, but the woman at work with certain ingredients, of which one is pepper. Nothing could be more acute or persuasive than Dr Matheson's vindication of this position.

Thence he turns to the origin of life, ascribed by the Psalmist to the breath or inspiration of God, and shows that Professor Tyndall ascribes spiritual qualities to his "original fire-cloud," and that even Haeckel's "matter has a mental side." Life has not been generated by matter; at the most, matter is its concomitant. Although life develops through contact with matter, matter does not give it its growth; and as for the destruction of life it is only an interruption of the relation between subject and object, which warrants no conclusion with regard to the future of the subject when it finds other objects. The Psalmist's doctrine of the Little-ness and Greatness of man, as expressed in the eighth Psalm, is equivalent to the scientific truth, that the whole exists for the sake of every one of its parts. By telling me that I come from darkness, you rob me of nothing, for God Himself is in the darkness; it was He who fashioned my members in continuance, when as yet there was none of them. Just as the Scientist rests his faith upon eternal Force and Law, the Psalmist finds his ground for confidence, not in his knowledge of God, but in God's knowledge of him. Psalmist and Scientist alike are optimists, and their optimism rests, not on blindness to the world's waste and suffering, but on the conviction that these contribute to a higher and fuller development. The Scientist believes in the survival of the fittest, the Psalmist in the survival of the most favoured; but, in the view of both, survival depends upon the power of spiritual endurance and upon obedience to the law of sacrifice and self-surrender.

This book, too, closes with some suggestions about Personal Immortality, in which Dr Matheson seems to be less impeded by the weight of dualism. God is in the Psalmist's soul amidst its weakness and sinfulness. Though "a beast before Him," he is "continually with Him;" and hence he knows that he will not only be guided by the Divine counsel, but afterwards be received

into glory. Precisely as the Force of Mr Spencer is immanent in matter and therefore is persistent, the Divinity within the Psalmist constitutes his personal deity. He has one path because he is one with God. Christ abiding in the Christian is his eternal life.

If Dr Matheson would recast his earlier book in the spirit of that idealistic pantheism which lends eloquent conclusiveness to the close of the *Psalmist and the Scientist*, these two volumes would constitute an entirely trustworthy reply to the shallow dogmatism of pseudo-science. Even as they stand we lay them down with thankfulness, and it is almost ungracious, considering Dr Matheson's disclaimer, to express regret that the constructive results are somewhat incomplete.

We cannot close this notice without referring, however briefly, to the deep and fervent faith which pervades the writer's arguments. If explanation of his spiritual stand-point were required, it might be found in the little volume of *Sacred Songs* issued this year by the same publishers. Amidst some literary inequality, these reveal a most gentle and musical spirit which finds its chief delight in "making the rough places plain," and "revealing the glory of the Lord." It is difficult to select a fair example; but we quote two stanzas from a poem entitled "The Secret," because they show us the root of Dr Matheson's apologetics:—

It lies so low, so low in my heart,  
At the foot of all else 'tis found :  
To all other things it is the rest,  
But its own support is the ground.  
By the breath of its native life it lives,  
It shines alone by the light it gives.

O Peace, unsolved by the things of earth,  
Thy secret has made me great,  
If I cannot trace the place of thy birth  
There must be a higher gate.  
There must be somewhere a hidden door,  
Where tidings come in from the heavenly shore.

ALEX. R. MACEWEN.

### Exposé de Théologie Systématique.

Par A. Gretillat, Professeur de Théologie à la Faculté Indépendante de Neuchâtel : tome premier, *Propédeutique*, 1885 : tome troisième, *Dogmatique, I. Théologie Spéciale, Cosmologie*, 1888 : tome quatrième, *Dogmatique, II. Sotériologie, Eschatologie*, 1890. Paris, Librairie Fischbacher. Fourth Vol., pp. 640 : Price Fr. 10.

SWITZERLAND has, since the publication of Calvin's epoch-making *Institution de la Religion Chrétienne* (also issued in Latin as *Insti-*



*tutio Religionis Christianæ*), given but few doctrinal systems of note to the world ; hence Professor Gretillat's work is phenomenal. It is also notable for two other reasons ; on the one hand, because of its Biblical rather than speculative character ; and on the other hand, because of its persistent attack upon Ritschl and the Ritschli-  
 . aner. M. Gretillat fights tooth and nail with the Positivist or New Kantian tendency in theology associated with the name of Ritschl, a tendency which has its followers of name in Switzerland as well as in Germany. Indeed one of the most interesting bits of recent theological correspondence is a brilliant letter to M. Gretillat by Professor Lobstein, the well-known pupil of Ritschl, followed by a no less brilliant reply by M. Gretillat, which correspondence may be read in the Lausanne *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* for the years 1888, 1889.

In appreciating any System of Doctrine it is always desirable to obtain clear views at the outset as to,—first, what the author regards as theology,—second, what method of research seems to the author the best,—third, what aim the author places before himself,—and fourth, how the author maps out his subject.

First, then, Professor Gretillat *defines* Theology as “the science which has for object the Christian fact,” and means, he says, by the Christian fact “Christianity and the Christian Faith.” Let this point be observed. This system does not pretend to deal with the knowledge of God and of Divine things, from whatever source such knowledge may be gained, whether reason, or nature, or the ethnic religions ; the point of view is expressly restricted to the *Christian* fact, to the *Christian* religion, and as subsequently appears, to the *Christian Religion as taught in the Bible*. The Theology inquired into is a Biblical Theology.

Secondly, Professor Gretillat describes his *method* as *empirico-syn-thetical* : for, as he says, “every method which is truly scientific may be characterized as empirico-synthetical (*empirique-synthétique*), *empirical*, inasmuch as it is based upon an observation of facts ; *synthetical*, inasmuch as it aspires to the comprehension of these facts by the conception of the law which governs them.” In one word, that is to say, M. Gretillat's method of research is induction, the inductive study of Scripture.

Thirdly, the great *object* our author has in view is to present the *growth* of the Biblical revelations ; in other words, seeing that those revelations gather around the one fact of man's salvation, the object is to present the truth concerning salvation as taught by the several Biblical revelations, duly recognizing the development of those revelations. “The special task of theology, such as we conceive it, is to answer the question (what must man do to be saved ?), by interrogating upon this subject the historical and particular revelations

which have concerned themselves either with the preparation or the accomplishment of salvation in humanity." In other words, the dominant conception of this system is not the Idea of God, as in Calvin, or the Idea of Man, as in Augustine, or the Idea of Faith, as in Schleiermacher, or the Idea of the God-man, as in Dorner and in those modern systems which call themselves Christo-centric, but the Idea of Salvation.

Fourthly, the *divisions* of treatment adopted follow from the definition already given. The whole system consists first of an Introduction, and next of an Exposition of Doctrines. The Introduction deals with three subjects, Methodology, Apologetics, Canonics. Consistently enough. Theology being the science of the Christian Fact, what is meant by the science of the Christian fact has to be unfolded, and this gives us Methodology. Further, theology being the science of the Christian Fact, the proof that the so-called Christian fact is fact has to be undertaken, and this gives us Apologetics. Further, the Christian fact having been transmitted both orally and by documents, the credibility of this oral tradition and these written documents calls for examination, and this gives us Canonics. As for the division of the ensemble of doctrine, that is mapped out by our author under the headings of Theology Special, or the Biblical Doctrine of God,—Cosmology, or the Biblical Doctrine of the Primitive Creation,—Soteriology, or the Biblical Doctrine of the Pneumatic Creation in the First Advent of Christ,—and Eschatology, or the Biblical Doctrine of the Physical Creation at the End of Time.

On M. Gretillat's treatment of Methodology or Encyclopædia little needs be added. It is divided as is usual into four principal disciplines: exegesis, systematic theology, historical theology and practical theology. But it also includes a preliminary and mixed discipline,—Sacred Criticism, (or the general and particular introduction to the books of the Old and New Testaments,)—and an auxiliary discipline (of a character equally mixed, and effecting the transition from exegesis to systematic theology,) viz., Biblical Theology. During the exposition of these several branches of theology, incidental discussions of value are met with, of which I should like to signalize the criticism of the Scientific Method of Schleiermacher, and the Rôle of Faith and of Reason in Theological Labour. This volume also contains a useful Bibliography, which however is singularly lacking in knowledge of English and American works, and which contents itself with barely naming desirable books, without further characterization.

Manifestly, turning to the system of doctrine itself, the whole stress of the exposition rests upon the Apologetics and Canonics, as the remainder of the Introduction is designated. This section of the system has, alas, not yet appeared. That it will be a section of

singular interest may be inferred from the Propositions Borrowed from Canonics with which the Dogmatics is prefaced ; which propositions show that the difficult subject of Inspiration is fully treated, as is the no less difficult subject of the Criteria of Canonicity. May the learned author speedily be able to give us this missing volume ! I remember, however, the touching words, at the commencement of the last volume published, which show that the author has recently passed through a season of dire bereavement. "These mysteries of the ways of God," he tells us, "the fringes only of which we can consider here below," a beloved daughter, in her twentieth year, has within the last few months come to "understand."

Nor does our space permit expansion upon the volume which treats of Theology Special and Cosmology. Let a few points only be noted. There is, for instance, an excellent survey of the history of doctrinal study, with a careful description of modern thought under the headings of the Tendencies Liberal, Creedal, Critical, Biblical and Positivist. So too the study of the Divine Attributes is noteworthy. And probably the lengthy examination of the Doctrine of Predestination is the finest part of the volume. Under Cosmology the Doctrines of Angels and of Sin are treated.

However, it is upon Soteriology that the author concentrates his strength : for, as he says, "Soteriology is, as we have already announced in the Methodology and in the Prolegomena (to Dogmatics), the central part of Dogmatics, being the *raison d'être* of theology itself. Christianity is the religion of salvation, or it is nothing. Theology is the science of salvation, or it is nothing ; and as evil has appeared from the first upon the scene of humanity essentially as a fact and not as an error, so the remedy has equally appeared in Jesus Christ as the fact of a salvation and not essentially as an antithesis of doctrine." The passage, by the way, is a fair specimen of the author's style, lucid, readable, with an occasional telling aphorism.

Soteriology, according to Professor Gretillat, is subdivided into two sections, treating, the one of the preparation of salvation in the Old Covenant, the other, of the accomplishment of salvation in the first advent of Christ. Further, the period of preparation divides into two main sub-periods, "that of primitive *universalism*, in which the preparation of salvation is made in and regarding humanity as a whole, without effective distinction of families and races ; it extends from the Fall to the Call of Abraham, and is divided by the Noachian covenant. The other is the period of *particularism*. In this period of particularism "divine revelations and operations preparatory to salvation are restricted to the limits of one particular race, or rather of one particular people. This particularist period in its turn, which extends from the call of Abraham to

the death of Christ, comprises three principal eras, the Patriarchal, the Mosaic, and the Mosaico-prophetic." Such a division of the subject gives a tolerable insight into the author's mode of treatment, and, be it added, each period and era is most suggestively studied, the gradation especially of Messianic prophecy being very carefully outlined, and the educational value of the Law being most instructively analysed under its *constitutive* and *restitutive* and *transitional* elements. Advancing in due course to the accomplishment of salvation, this is treated under the two headings of the Person of Christ and the Work of Christ. Again, the Work of Christ is regarded from three points of view, viz., the Prophetic, the Priestly, and the Regal Work. And yet again, the Priestly work is regarded from three points of view, viz., first, the necessity of a propitiation in order to obtain favour for sinful man, or the Doctrine of Satisfaction is considered; next, the accomplishment by Christ of the work of satisfaction, or the Doctrine of Substitution, is examined; and, thirdly, the individual appropriation of Christ's work in satisfaction, or the Doctrine of Justification, is reviewed. Once more let it be added that the whole inquiry deserves close and prolonged study.

The Eschatology is the least satisfactory portion of the whole, and shows very little sense of those perplexing difficulties which, whilst they are peculiarly appreciated by present thinkers, should at the same time quicken a more earnest and minute and balanced investigation of the related statements of Scripture.

On the whole, let it be frankly acknowledged that M. Gretillat's doctrinal system is a distinct and valuable addition to systematic studies. But at the same time, let it be definitely borne in mind that M. Gretillat has only touched one part of the doctrinal task of the present. His, as has been shown, is a Biblical Theology only. But there are other sources of revelation besides the Bible; and it is the specific task of this age to examine and colligate all the facts of all varieties of revelation. The New Theology, towards which theologians are steadily thinking their way, must be a science of religion of all kinds, as well as of the Christian religion. The wider, the international Theology, must consist of two parts, each of which has larger scope than the Introduction and System of M. Gretillat. On the one hand there must be a science of foundations, a Fundamental Theology, the task of which is to determine the sources of religious knowledge available, and their relative value. On the other hand, there must be a science of superstructure, a Doctrinal Theology, the task of which is, under the guidance of the principles of Fundamental Theology, to build up the facts afforded by all forms of revelation, with due attention to relation and proportion, into one compact doctrinal structure. Towards

the Biblical section of such a doctrinal system, such a system as Gretillat's is a great assistance, but more cannot be said.

ALFRED CAVE.

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### **Revelation and the Bible ; a Popular Exposition for the Times.**

*By Rev. W. D. Thomson, M.A. Edinburgh : Macniven & Wallace.  
1890. Cr. 8vo, pp. 270. Price 3s. 6d.*

THE aim of this excellent little book, as the author tells us, is to assist in the dissemination of enlightened views in the popular mind regarding the Bible. In particular, it aims at reconciling the discrepancies and inaccuracies and other forms of imperfection found in the Bible with its Divine character and claims, and with the supernatural element in the facts of the history in which the Revelation was originally embodied. The author represents "the position of those who, while firmly believing in the Divine authority of the Bible, not only admit the existence of its human errors and imperfections, but see clearly, and maintain that the admission of these is necessary in the interests of the Bible, in view of the hostile criticism to which it is now being subjected" (p. 6). The book is intended for popular use, and is written with a clearness and fullness of statement that carries with it a convincing force. It is full of sound sense, and the sobriety of judgment and candour that characterise his treatment of the subject throughout are most admirable. There are aspects of the subject that are not treated, and there is not much that is positively new in the book. The object of the author has been simply to set forth the general conclusions on which most scholars are agreed in a style that will commend them to the acceptance of the unlearned readers, and in this object he has been eminently successful. He starts with the familiar distinction between the Revelation of God and the record of it in the Bible, claiming, indeed, inspiration for the record as well as for the truth revealed, but maintaining, for all that, the reality of the distinction, and its importance to a proper understanding of the subject. In the first half of the book he discusses the relation in which the revelation stands to the record. The object of Revelation is to give us a knowledge of God that will possess a practical value for men. This has been conveyed through facts of history and their inspired interpretation. The function of the record is to make us acquainted with these facts, and to bring us into direct contact with them. "To use the record, then, with a view to spiritual life, one needs to be careful not to use it as in itself an end. The end for which it has been

provided lies above and beyond itself. Its outlook is ever in the direction of God, of Christ, of the world, of unseen and Eternal Reality. Thither it is ever pointing us on, saying, Behold, understand, believe, and live. Nor has the Bible ever served its own end until it has led one beyond itself" (pp. 97, 98). Dealing with the discrepancies in the reports of Christ's works and miracles, &c., he shows they are not such as throw doubt on any fact that forms a vital part of the revelation. "Whether the eyes of two men were opened at Jericho, or only one, the Divine compassion was revealed all the same, and that is what the miracle, however it may have happened, teaches" (p. 191).

In the second part of his book the author enters on a study of the general character of the Bible, pointing out that owing to its double authorship we have two sets of phenomena to reckon with. It combines the results of both divine and human thinking, action, and design (p. 168). Not only does the spirit of God speak to us in it, but man speaks as well. It records many actions and words that are contrary to the truth and righteousness of God. All the contents of the Bible are not of the same absolute value. In forming an intelligent conception of the Bible we must take cognisance of both these elements that belong to it. Just as things are true of man viewed as mortal that are not true of him when viewed as immortal, and things may be predicated of Jesus as the Son of man that cannot be predicated of Him as Son of God, and yet both belong to Him in the oneness of His Personality, so things are true of the Bible as having come from God that are not true of it as having come from man. It is, for example, *perfect* as regards the revelation it contains, and in relation to its own purpose; while it is *imperfect* as far as inaccuracies are concerned that have only an incidental connection with what is vital. Again, the Bible is *sufficient* both as a revelation and as a record of that revelation, for in it we learn all that we need to know about God and salvation; while, in certain senses, it may be regarded as *insufficient*. Its inspiration is at once *Plenary* and *Partial*. The truth it contains is from the inspiration of the spirit of truth, and the inspiration is plenary with respect to everything for which inspiration was necessary. The Bible is a record of special acts of Divine self-manifestation which called for inspiration that they might be understood and recorded, and the inspiration is plenary up to the full requirements of the task (p. 225). But it is also partial: it does not extend to the whole of the human element in it: "while never absent where its absence can be proved to be hurtful to the character or to the ends of revelation," there are side regions in the Bible into which inspiration does not go. Once more, the Bible is infallible in "matters of salvation, faith, and life, but not as to all the matters dealt with in

the Scriptures, many of these being incidental to the main substance and objects of the Word of God" (p. 247). It is infallible as to its peculiar message and all it professes to be and do. There is nothing fallible in the record of any fact "in which any item of revelation is commended": but it *is* fallible as to certain circumstantial details, the accuracy or inaccuracy of which in no way affects the truth of revelation. That this is the doctrine of the Westminster Confession of Faith is evident from the fact that the persuasion of the absolute truth and Divine authority of the Word of God is hence based on the inward work of the Holy Spirit. Now as the latter can apply only to the truths that embody the Divine revelation, only those can be recognised as infallibly true, and its infallible authority cannot extend to other statements in the Bible that are only incidentally connected with revelation. "The spirit of truth does not inwardly settle for us the question whether the eyes of two blind men were opened at Jericho or the eyes of only one man. . . . Therefore all such incidental statements in the Bible are to be held as not included in any definition of the infallible truth of Scripture, when the definition expressly limits the truth defined to that order of statements alone, the truth embodied in which it is the special function of the spirit of truth to reveal in the heart and verify to the judgment and conscience" (pp. 261, 262). This brief account will convey a general idea of the scope of the argument. Most will feel, on the perusal of the book, that the conclusions which are enforced with so much reasonableness, commend themselves as true, as beyond dispute. There may be room on special points for a difference of view. It is difficult, it seems to me, to maintain an inspiration of the record as distinct from that of the truth revealed, when the old theory is abandoned which was thought to be necessary in order to secure in a supernatural way the accuracy of the narrative. The author admits that the sacred historians were left to the ordinary means for informing themselves of the truth of the matters they recorded, and that they were not supernaturally protected from error. If so, while inspiration of course remains as an element of the historical revelation of God, attested to the believer by the spirit, it is difficult either to prove the existence of, or to allege a sufficient reason for an inspiration "to secure a practically perfect record." Again, the admission of a human element in the Bible that is not inspired, and the limitation of inspiration to the truth revealed in it, suggests questions regarding the authority of the Scriptures to which the author has not adverted. It is no longer sufficient to say a thing is in the Bible in order to claim for it credence. The prior question must be answered, Is it an integral part of revelation? What is essential to the integrity of revealed truth and what is no more than accident-

ally connected with it, are matters about which different minds will form different opinions. But what becomes of the authority of Scripture if we have no common standard of belief to which we can make an appeal? In the view of the excessive subjectivity that must result from the shifting of the basis of the authority of the Bible away from the latter to the spiritual truth it contains, does it not become necessary for the Church to formulate the faith for which it claims the belief of men as resting on Divine authority? One other remark may be made as an application of the principles of this little book to which the author has not referred. The function of the record, he rightly says, is not so much to preserve the details of the history with faultless accuracy as to convey a just impression of the religious truth that the history teaches. How far is this principle to be extended? Is it a fair consequence that we may, without prejudice to the inspiration of Scripture, maintain that there is in certain parts of the Old Testament history an *ideal* element, provided it can be shown that the effect of the idealizing process is not to distort the Divine significance of the facts, but rather to make it prominent? The author has not applied his principles in this direction: it would have added to the usefulness of his book had more notice been taken of the problem that meets the student of the Old Testament. But it is easy to criticise. The author is to be thanked for what he has done. We hope his book will be widely read among those for whom it is specially intended. We know of none calculated to be more helpful.

DAVID SOMERVILLE.

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### **Natural Religion.**

*By Franz Hettinger, D.D. Edited with an Introduction on Certainty by Henry Sebastian Bowden. London: Burns & Oates. 1890. Cr. 8vo. Price 7s. 6d.*

THIS is a condensed translation for the benefit of English readers of the first of the five volumes of the late Professor Hettinger's "Apologie des Christenthums." The language is idiomatic and flowing and readily understood. With the exception of a sentence or two in the notes the whole work is perspicuous from beginning to end. But the correction of the press has not been sufficiently attended to. Several errors occur in the spelling of proper names and in the titles of German books. Whether the plan of abstracting and condensing a book of this kind is wise, is, to say the least, doubtful, seeing that its value largely depends on its affluence of quotations and illustrations. For our own part we much prefer



to have a work exactly as it left the author's pen rather than to have it adapted to the English reader. In the present case the original contributions of Dr Hettinger, and the additions by his translators, are not distinguished from one another. This is manifestly improper: the portions for which Dr Hettinger is responsible and those added by the editor should be kept separate.

Dr Hettinger's purpose is apologetic in the wide sense of the term. He seeks to expose error and to establish truth. He discusses the sources of doubt in religion; scepticism, materialism, and rationalism, as forms or kinds of doubt; the proofs for the existence of God drawn from history, nature, and mind; materialism and pantheism as the two systems opposed to theism; and then sets himself to show that man is not "soulless;" that he consists of body and soul; that he sustains certain relations to God, and that his chief end is communion with God.

The author makes no attempt to deal with the problems of theism. He ignores all modern discussions on the subject. He is satisfied with stating simply and lucidly the arguments, more especially of Aquinas, in favour of the existence of God. It is in the strictly apologetic portion of the book that his special merits are seen. The criticisms on materialism, Darwinism, and pantheism, and also of the arguments directed against the immortality of the soul are marked by sagacity, dialectical power, and wide knowledge of science. The author has read extensively and thought much on these and similar topics. He is conversant with the latest contributions to the literature of his subject, and knows how to avail himself of their facts and conclusions. He is judicious in his selection of arguments, and not disposed to press any of them unduly. The considerations on which he chiefly relies are those simple, broad, catholic principles which are the common possession of all men, and which the plainest man understands when properly put before him. It must, however, be allowed that he assigns an importance to the argument from the common consent of man which does not rightly belong to it, unless, indeed, he has only stated his position too absolutely. What all men believe is not necessarily true, may be far from true, may be false; but what all men believe on certain subjects has the strongest presumptive evidence in its favour. No competent thinker will place in the same class the scientific and the moral beliefs of any people.

The Introduction on Certainty is not equal to the rest of the book either in tone or substance. The psychology is sometimes imperfect, the facts erroneous, and the reasoning weak. Many of the assertions lack insight, knowledge of men, sobriety, reverence, discrimination. What can be thought of a writer who gravely informs us that belief in Sin has less hold to-day on man's reason and con-

science than before Christ came, and that the Reformers gagged and turned human reason out of court, and effaced all that the master minds of Paganism or Christianity had thought out, amassed, and made sure?

There are in our own and other languages more original and more thorough works on the separate questions with which Dr Hettinger deals, but there are few which form a more convenient and serviceable manual of one of the great branches of Christian Apologetics—that relating to the existence of God and the immortality of the Soul. As such this volume deserves a hearty welcome from all Christians. The garb and speech of the writer are Roman Catholic, but his spirit is simply Christian, and there are not many of Dr Hettinger's pages which can give offence even to the most exclusive of Protestants.

It should be added that the work has an excellent table of contents, and a full index.

WILLIAM PATRICK.

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### **The Church of my Baptism.**

*By Francis King. London : Burns & Oates, Ltd. 8vo. Price 2s. 6d.*

IN this volume of 113 pages the author sets forth the considerations which led him to secede from the Church of England, and to enter that of Rome. His aim is not to justify his conduct, but to induce others to follow his example. He does not find it necessary to vindicate his action, it speaks for itself. Its fruits of satisfaction, peace, and joy are great and precious, and what he has found for himself he is anxious that others should find. The inconsistency of the Anglican theory of the Church drove him into the Church of Rome, and the chief object of the writer is so to state and illustrate this inconsistency as to constrain his readers to abandon an indefensible position, and to accept what, in his judgment, is the only tenable theory of the Church, that which finds expression and embodiment in the Church of Rome. The book is written in a sincere and earnest spirit, and in a befitting temper. Its polemics are those of Christian courtesy and charity. To a theologian it is interesting in two respects as a monument of modes and tendencies of thought which are widely current in the English Church to-day, and as an argument of considerable force against the tenets of the Anglo-Catholic party. The author, even while a member of the Church of England, had a horror of the Reformation, detested Protestantism, held Sacramentarian views of the most extreme type, and was a firm believer in the external unity and catholicity of the Church. The tenor of the book is that the logical issue of such

opinions is submission to the Church of Rome. It must be granted that its pages will cause some inquietude to those members of the Church of England who share the original tenets of the author. Any man who believes that his salvation for all eternity depends on his personal connection with one Christian denomination, that the sin of schism is the sin against the Holy Ghost, that there can only be one visible Church in the world, that that Church must be capable of tracing its descent from the Apostles, and must be distinguished by unity of doctrine, will find it difficult to reconcile such views with membership of the Church of England. Where is the unity of the faith in the Church of England? Is not this very unity excluded by its boasted principle of comprehension? Do not its bishops contradict one another? Are not opposite doctrines on the most vital topics held and taught within its pale? What is to be said of the Gorham case, and of the treatment of Bishop Colenso? What is the English Church but the creation of Elizabeth? In what essential respect does it differ from the other Protestant churches of the sixteenth century? Is there not the closest resemblance between the action of Elizabeth in England and of Gustavus in Sweden? To be free from the guilt of schism; to have no responsibility for the "awful apostasy" of the founders of the Church of England; to be delivered from Erastianism; to feel the blessedness of Catholic communion; to submit to the voice of supreme authority in matters of doctrine and of morals, is only possible within the Catholic and Roman Church. Such is a rapid summary of the principal assertions and arguments in the volume. They tell with fatal effect on the Anglo-Catholic position. It ceases to be tenable. But whether many will be influenced by the vigour and fervour of the author's language is more than doubtful. His pleas are not new. They are familiar. They are even trite. If men were swayed by logic alone, many more secessions might follow that of the writer. But men are not swayed by logic alone, and this latest discussion of the "Anglican" position may accomplish as little as some of the larger, more elaborate, and more learned works which have preceded it. Possibly, too, its logic may produce a different result from what the author expects. Of all books in the world, among the least likely to have made Mr King a Roman Catholic is the Bampton Lectures of Canon Curteis. Yet he assures us that the perusal of this volume was a "prime means in converting him to Popery." It may be that the "Anglican" readers of Mr King's book may be forced to ask themselves whether the views they hold in common with Mr King are true, and may discover that they are as untenable as the Roman Catholic views which they reject. Instead of advancing to Roman Catholicism, they may recede to Protestantism.

To a Protestant, indeed, the number of facts taken for granted by the writer is extraordinary. He is not to be blamed for this, for he is expostulating and pleading with those who start from principles the same as his own. The efficacy of his reasoning would have been injured by a reference to other considerations than those to which he confines himself. But it is instructive for Protestants generally, and especially for Protestant theologians, to learn once more that in England to-day a man of education and culture, brought up in the Church of England, can speak, without the slightest hesitation, of the occupancy by Peter of the See of Rome ; can treat the testimony of the Fathers as if it were uniform ; can find nothing in the history of the Papacy to make him doubt whether the Roman Catholic Church is the only Christian Church on earth ; can regard the Reformation as a sin against God ; can accept the doctrine of "development" as put forth by some theologians of this century ; can despair of his salvation within the pale of the Church of England, but can be confident of his salvation within the pale of the Church of Rome.

WILLIAM PATRICK.

### **Supernatural Revelation : An Essay concerning the Basis of the Christian Faith.**

*By C. M. Mead, Ph.D., D.D., lately Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. Royal 8vo, pp. 480.*

PROFESSOR Mead, who has hitherto been chiefly known by a book entitled, "The Soul Here and Hereafter," published in 1879, has now ventured on the troubled sea of apologetics. The general scope of the stately volume before me will be best indicated by a brief summary of the table of contents. There are eleven chapters, which deal successively with the Origin and Grounds of the Theistic Belief ; the Question of a Primeval Revelation ; the Christian Revelation—its General Features and the Nature of Miracles ; the Evidential Value of Miracles ; the Proof of the Christian Miracles ; the Relation of Christianity to Judaism ; the Record of Revelation, specially Inspiration ; the Authority of the Scriptures ; the Conditions and Limits of Biblical Criticism. An Appendix contains eight excursuses headed, Dr Maudsley on the Validity of Consciousness ; the Cosmic Philosophy (Fiske) ; Personality and the Absolute ; Leland and Watson on the Primeval Revelation ; the Certainties of the Agnostic ; Beyschlag on the Miracle of the Loaves ; Ritschl on Miracles ; the Book of Jonah. Indexes to Topics,

names of writers mentioned, and Biblical passages touched on, add to the utility of the work.

It will be seen from this summary that Dr Mead's work covers extensive ground; but one feels throughout that one is under the guidance of a man of thoroughly adequate learning, singular acuteness and remarkable fairness; who into the bargain is master of an unusually clear style.

It is not an easy book to review; not merely because of the variety of topics which are discussed, but chiefly because it is itself very much of the nature of a review. There is a good deal of the judicial summing up, or of the stocktaking, in it. I have been often reminded of Sidgwick's "Methods of Ethics" by its method of procedure. Soberly, and with only here and there an indication of feeling in the shape of a strong word, or a satirical turn of expression, or a trenchant *reductio ad absurdum*, the author goes on his way, freely distributing yeas and nays, ifs and buts, assent and dissent. It is a satisfactory and yet in a sense an unsatisfactory book:—unsatisfactory because one is not seized hold on and carried forward by a vigorous constructive argument, and because there is so much careful weighing and balancing; satisfactory, on the other hand, because, with exceptions, one is enabled to see just where one is. For a good many, indeed, this will be anything but a source of satisfaction. They love illusions. They dislike men and books that leave them with the impression that there is something to be said on the other side; that the strong dogmatic statements in which they have found comfort are not quite so defensible as was supposed. People of this sort will not like Professor Mead, and perhaps charge him with see-sawing and consequent unsoundness. He is, however, almost throughout what a Christian advocate ought conspicuously to be, conspicuously fair.

My own impression, notwithstanding, is that Dr Mead's strength lies rather where I have just indicated, than, as a rule, in the more forcible restatement of the evidence dealt with; still less in the presentment of new lines of argument. The case of Christianity is cleared, it is true, of some obscurities and misapprehensions; the weakness of that of its opponents is at various points laid bare; perhaps, too, friends who are in danger of going over to the enemy either from a chivalrous feeling that too much has been made of certain reasons for Christianity, and too little of reasons against it, will be conciliated and calmed by the very fairness of the work; but otherwise whilst it moves on a high plane, I question whether it moves on the highest hitherto touched.

A formal criticism—yet also more than formal—which I am compelled to advance, affects the general point of view as indicated in the use of the word Revelation, and the description of the Bible

itself as "the Record of a Revelation." Dr Mead himself regards it as the "record of revelation." If he had said that it comprises or *contains* or records *revelations*, I should entirely agree with him; but the formula, "Record of Revelation" suggests the idea of the Bible being one homogeneous whole, and as such Revelation. Whereas surely there is no intelligible sense in which large and important parts of the Bible can be described as revelation, namely, supernatural or divine revelation, revelation of or from God. What is there of the nature of *revelation* proper in the genealogical lists that repeatedly occur, or in the book of Esther, or in parts, if not the whole, of Job, or in part of Ecclesiastes? But if the Bible be approached from the historical point of view, that is, be regarded as the record, reflection, and monument, of a life—individual and national—to the determination of which special divine interventions materially contributed, which was largely controlled by supernatural methods, for example, by revelations, for ends connected with the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth—then every book and every part of every book will be found to have its place and significance; the whole will increasingly appear to the spiritual mind to have come into existence under divine superintendence, for a divine purpose; and a theopneustic element, the very breath and atmosphere and light of God, will be discerned where from the point of view I am criticising one is apt to discover chiefly perplexity.<sup>1</sup>

But enough of criticism. The difficulty, however, now is to do full justice to the many admirable features of Dr Mead's discussions; indeed, it is impossible to do so in the space at my disposal. I must therefore restrict myself to giving a taste or two of his quality.

A distinction is carefully carried through in connection with the subject of *theistic belief*, which is of radical importance, namely, that between its *origin*, or the mode in which man gets his notion of God; and the reasons by which he justifies his retention of the notion. As to the former he argues on the general ground that "all knowledge is essentially the property of a human community; and that the great mass of it is purely a matter of communication" that man acquires his notion of God in the same way. This, however, needs supplementing from the section on primeval revelation, where he advocates the view that man is born with a faculty of knowing God, and an inclination thereto, and that God gratified that inclination and called that faculty into action at the very first by a manifestation of Himself. Professor Mead criticises successfully

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller exposition of the point of view thus briefly hinted at I would refer those who are interested in the subject to a little book entitled, "The Bible an Outgrowth of Theocratic Life," published by Messrs T. & T. Clark.

Principal Fairbairn's affirmation that a *primitive revelation* is "a mere assumption, incapable of proof—capable of most positive disproof."<sup>1</sup> His own position is stated as follows:—"One thing is absolutely certain: the primeval man was in an exceptional state; the analogies of present life cannot be applied to him. He had no tradition, no instruction from ancestors. If, then, one is disposed to press present analogies in judging respecting the religion of the first man, one is led to favour rather than to reject the theory of a primeval revelation. The revelation would have supplied to him what is now given by tradition." . . . "For him so to speak the supernatural method by divine revelation was the only natural method" (77). He puts the case of the evidential value of *miracles* in the following nutshell:—"The Christian religion may be accepted by one man because others have seemed to be the better for it: *but no one can be the better for it without faith in the truth of it; and this faith has always depended on belief in its supernatural attestation*" (194). As to the kernel of this I agree with him; but I should prefer a somewhat different mode of presentation.

With regard to Christ's testimony to Judaism as a divine revelation, and the supposition now often advanced that in speaking as he did he shared the erroneous notions of his countrymen, Dr Mead remarks: "If Jesus was wrong in calling Judaism a divine revelation preparatory to his own, then he was in error in respect to the very question concerning which he professed to be able to speak with infallible authority. He who calls that a revelation which is not one, is not the man to communicate a true one" (234).

Dealing in the last chapter with Old Testament criticism—for which, be it remarked, he claims the "utmost freedom and thoroughness"—and referring specially to the case of Deuteronomy, he says well: "If it first came into existence in the reign of Josiah, as the critical school in question (Kuenen-Wellhausen) holds, we have before us something quite else than a mere instance of pseudonymousness. The fiction respecting the authorship of the *book*, though bad enough, is of less account than the fiction respecting the authorship and history of the laws contained in it. If the Book of Ecclesiastes was written centuries after the time of Solomon, then even if (as is not very probable) the author could have made the people believe it to be the work of Solomon, though never heard of before, still the belief in the Solomonic authorship did not have, and was not designed to have, the effect of changing the popular notions concerning past history or of introducing a new code of laws. No one attempted on the strength of the deception to impose *legal and ceremonial obligations* on the people. Pseud-

<sup>1</sup> "Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History," pp. 13 ff.

epigraphy may be an innocent thing, if all that is done is merely the assumption of a fictitious name; but if by means of the pseudepigraphy one undertakes to levy a tax or raise an army, the thing is no longer harmless, but becomes a criminal fraud. . . . If it was a harmless thing for Dickens to ascribe his novels to the fictitious 'Boz,' would it not also (on this principle) have been proper for him to forge an Act of Parliament and the royal signature ordering the introduction of the decimal system into the English currency" (376).

I am sorry not to be able to convey a fuller impression of the many good points of Professor Mead's comprehensive work, but I can assure the readers of this Review that within the limits previously drawn they will find it more than usually instructive.

D. W. SIMON.

### **Trost und Weihe.**

*Reden und Predigten von Karl Gerok. Stuttgart: Verlag von Carl Krabbe. 1890. 8vo. Pp. 302. Geh., 3 Mark.*

### **Vor Feierabend.**

*Karl Gerok's letzte Predigten. Pp. 39. Geh., 50 Pf.*

### **Illusionen und Ideale.**

*Ein Vortrag von Karl Gerok. 5te Auflage. Pp. 32. Geh., 50 Pf.*

KARL GEROK was one of Germany's best known and best loved pastors, distinguished both as preacher and as poet. His "Palmblätter," the first of several small volumes of sacred lyrics, has reached a 59th edition, and his sermons are read all over Germany. Yielding to the oft-repeated wish of his friends, he had begun to prepare for publication a volume of casual addresses and sermons, when in January of this year, a hale old man of seventy-five, he was cut off by the dread influenza. The plan of the book with a small selection of materials was found upon his desk, and the son had no difficulty, out of the rich remains of forty years' ministry, in speedily completing the work which the father had begun. The selection has been admirably made. Even the most casual of the addresses—addresses that one marvels to think were written at all—delight one at once by the chaste beauty of their language, the wideness and warmth of their human sympathy, and the wonderful skill and tact with which the words of Scripture are chosen and applied. As a book of models, "Trost und Weihe" will be an invaluable companion to every text-book of pastoral theology.



The book is divided into three parts—For the Home, For the Congregation, For Works of Charity. The first part is equal in bulk to the other two combined. It consists of addresses delivered at baptisms, at weddings, at funerals, and at the confirmation of young communicants. The funeral addresses occupy exactly a quarter of the whole book, but they are so good that one cannot grudge it. They are spoken over all sorts and conditions of people, from the little child to the aged citizen, from the humble laundress to the famous actor, from the suicide to the patriot who fell fighting for his country. Nothing could be more beautiful or touching than an address spoken at the grave of two young nobles who fell together at Champigny in the great war of 1870. The second part of the book, For the Congregation, consists mainly of sermons on special occasions; at the consecration of churches, at the induction of pastors, in an orphan asylum, after the death of the Emperor Frederick, at the jubilee of King Charles of Württemberg, and so on. To these are added two admirable *Beicht-reden*, or, as we might call them in Scotland, pre-communion addresses. The third part of the book, For Works of Charity, is made up of addresses delivered in connection with various charitable institutions in Stuttgart and elsewhere, *e.g.*, at the opening of an almshouse, of a home for working girls, of a deaf and dumb institution, at a Christmas treat for blind children, on various occasions at the Institute of Deaconesses (in whose work Gerok took a profound and practical interest), and among the rest, at an annual missionary festival, when he preached on Aaron and Hur holding up the hands of Moses.

*Vor Feierabend.*—These discourses are three in number, and were delivered, the first, last Christmas day, the second on New Year's day, and the third on the first Sunday of the year. For their own sake they are well worth publishing; for all who knew or care to know the man, they possess a more tender interest. Gerok's sermons are ethical sermons of the best type, not dry moralisings, but morality bathed in the dew of human sympathy and springing from the soil of spiritual faith. The Christmas sermon is really a sermon on Correggio's beautiful picture of the Holy Night; and the sermon is worthy of its text.

*Illusionen und Ideale.*—This eloquent lecture on the place and value of ideals has reached a fifth edition. Every page reflects the wide culture, the broad sympathies, and the moral earnestness of the man. The motto is a couplet from Schiller: Drum, edle Seele, entreiss' dich dem Wahn, Und den himmlischen Glauben bewahre! The climax of the teaching is: "Kein Ideal ohne Glauben; der glücklichste Idealist, der gläubige Christ." "Illusions are those will-o'-the-wisp lights that lure the wanderer into the marshes, or at best they are the soap-bubbles with which the child dreams his

hours away ; Ideals are the stars which with changeless brilliance shine down upon the races of men, and as messengers from a higher world illumine the darkness that surrounds us on the earth."

R. A. LENDRUM.

### **Philosophy and Theology. Gifford Lectures.**

*By James Hutchison Stirling, LL.D. (Edin.). Edinburgh :  
T. & T. Clark. 1890. 8vo, pp. 420. Price 9s.*

Two of the four series of lectures, provided by the munificent foundations of the late Lord Gifford in the Universities of Scotland, have passed beyond the stage of oral delivery to large and interested audiences, and are made accessible to the reading public. In the handsome volume before us we have the first Edinburgh Gifford Lectures. Great expectations were formed when it was known that the metropolitan University had committed the important task of inaugurating this lectureship to the capable hands of Dr Hutchison Stirling. Everywhere, indeed, it was felt that only veterans in their respective departments should be asked to undertake so responsible a duty. The ideal lecturer whom Lord Gifford, from the tenor of his will, had evidently had in view, was one who, in addition to the requisite mental endowment and scholarship, should possess, in a pre-eminent degree, the virtue of moral courage ; and who could be credited with this quality, if not he who had ventured to interpret for the practical British mind the "Secret of Hegel" ? By his full and accurate translation of Schweglar's *Hand Book*, besides his other works, Dr Stirling had laid the philosophic world under obligation, and established a claim to go forth as a pioneer in this fresh exploration of the borderland where Philosophy and Theology meet.

Dr Stirling's lectures stand alone, so far as we are aware, in regard to the aspect of the general problem which he has selected for treatment. While the Gifford lecturers in Glasgow, Aberdeen, and St Andrews have directed attention chiefly to the bearings of Anthropology and Mythology upon Religion, the Edinburgh lectures consider the subject as a chapter in the history of Philosophy, and investigate it rather from the point of view of Reason and of the principles involved in the Theistic inference. In *Natural Theology*, we read, "the existence of God is to be established only by reference to the constitution of the universe, even as that universe exhibits itself within the bounds of space and time ; and not in anywise farther than as it is reflected also in the intellect and will of man" (pp. 19, 20). For Comparative Theology and the

philosophies of religion based upon it, the lecturer has scant respect, though he pleads guilty to a playful exaggeration in the terms which he applies to them. To him at all events they did not seem in any way helpful in the study of Natural Theology. This consists essentially in the *proofs* for the Being of a God; and in a "consideration of the known, received, tabulated, traditional proofs, *in connection with their history*," he finds at once the theme of his prelections and the very marrow of the prescribed subject; he disdains "to set the example of an episode, while it was the epic he was specially engaged for" (p. 31). The proofs of which he desires thus to set forth the historical derivation are reduced to three—the Teleological, the Cosmological, and the Ontological; and this is the order in which they are considered, by far the larger portion of the lectures being occupied with the first,—the well-known, often combated, but ever fascinating argument from the evidences of Design. It can scarcely be doubted that these proofs have often suffered unmerited neglect and depreciation just from the exaggerated expectations which had been formed regarding them, especially of their individual force and range. It is satisfactory to observe thinkers of such different schools as Professor Flint, Professor Pfeiderer, and Dr Hutchison Stirling restoring them to their old place of honour, while pointing out that they are really a formal analysis of the almost intuitive process by which the human mind first rose to the consciousness of God, "not," as Pfeiderer says, "in thought, but in anticipatory and pictorial fashion." "Begin with which we may," remarks Dr Stirling (p. 45), "and let them be separated from each other as they may be in time, the three, after all, do constitute together but the three undulations of a single wave, which wave is but a natural rise and ascent to God, on the part of man's own thought, with man's own experience and consciousness as the object before him."

Dr Stirling's treatment of the history is a discursive one; there are many "episodes" in his "epic;" much historical and bibliographical information is presented, many criticisms are offered, the bearing of which upon the main theme is, to say the least, indirect. But though this "miscellaneousness," as he himself, in reference to his exposition of Darwin, terms it, cannot be said to be of advantage to the book, it probably was an advantage to the lectures as delivered, when those who heard a man full with the fulness, which, as Bacon says, comes by reading, pour out his stores of learning often with little principle of order save that of incidental suggestion, must have been subject to continual surprises which would do much to invest with interest a subject naturally somewhat abstruse. Beginning with Anaxagoras and his doctrine of an organizing Intelligence, the development of the thought thus thrown out is traced through the leading schools of Greek philosophy. From Socrates,

who is named as the originator of the argument from Design, we pass to his great disciples, Plato and Aristotle, in whose respective philosophies, widely as they differed in many important features, the intellectual is always the interpretative principle. The lecture on Aristotle does not need the commendatory sonnet of Prof. Blackie (beautiful as this is) to stamp it as an exceedingly fine study, powerful in its exposition and eloquently expressed. If in Plato we have been accustomed to see the clearest anticipations of some aspects of the Christian revelation, it is to Aristotle Dr Stirling points us for the nearest approach to the Christian idea of God. Referring to what he terms the "wonderful hymnic inspiration of his wonderful twelfth book" of the *Metaphysics*,—"there is but one idea," he says, "in the midst of that inspiration; and for the first time to the whole pagan world, for the first time to the whole great historical world, it is the complete idea of a one, supreme, perfect, personal Deity. It is for Greece ultimate and complete monotheism" (p. 147). The ninth lecture reviews the opinions of the philosophic sects,—Skeptic, Epicurean, Stoic, and Neo-platonic,—but is mainly occupied with Cicero, who is regarded as the principal channel through which a knowledge of the ancient reasonings has been transmitted to be the guide of modern speculation. The tenth lecture touches upon the Fathers, and brings us to Anselm, with whom the Ontological Argument comes into view. As the proofs in general have fallen into disfavour, so the Ontological Argument in particular has in modern times been much discredited, and regarded merely as a scholastic subtlety dependent for its virtue upon a doctrine of Realism now universally abandoned. Though Dr Stirling's treatment of this Argument, both in this place and later in connection with the Kantian criticism of it, seems to us unnecessarily brief and less satisfactory than most of his book, he has done good service by producing evidence that Anselm was himself aware of the obvious objection to his argument in its scholastic form. The essence of the argument, however, remains. It is the thought of God. When we attempt to answer the question, What is God?—"we find that we have thought this universe into its source—we find that we have realised *to* thought, *as* a necessity *of* thought, the single necessity of a one eternal, all-enduring principle, which is the root, and the basis, and the original of all that is. . . . And with such thoughts before us, it will be found that the ontological proof will assume something of reality, and will cease to be a mere matter of words. The very *thought of God* is of that *which is, and cannot not-be.*"

The tenth lecture closes the first course, which it had been proposed to devote to the consideration of the "Affirmative" position in regard to the Proofs for the Existence of God. The second course, also of ten lectures, is occupied with the "Negative" posi-

tion,—with the objections to, the criticisms of, these proofs. As they are regarded as having been practically established by the earliest thinkers, it is in modern times that the most formidable assaults have been made upon them. This division is of course one of practical convenience; it is not meant that there was no negative influence in ancient times, or that the arguments have not received positive developments from more recent thinkers. The negative movement is described in three stages, to which the terms positive, comparative, and superlative are expressly applied; they are associated respectively with the names of Hume, Kant, and Darwin. In no part of his work perhaps is Dr Stirling more discursive, but in none are we more conscious of a pervasive inner sympathy than in his treatment of Hume. Hume's physical peculiarities, his intellectual tastes, and his literary judgments are passed in review as introductory to an explanation of his significance as regards the question at issue. And if the writer apparently has difficulty in appreciating the shrewd but not unkindly humour of Hume's answer when told that some one had chalked St David Street upon his house, "Never mind, lassie, many a better man has been made a saint of before!" it is perhaps because he discerns no little truth in the mocking canonisation. He chronicles the touching words of the high priest of scepticism in the hour of his affliction, "Though I throw out my speculations to entertain the learned and metaphysical, yet, in other things, I do not think so differently from the rest of the world as you imagine;" and he parts from him with a blessing, "Whatever his shortcomings and deficiencies, it is still with love and respect and gratitude that we ought to think always and at any time of the 'good David.'"

Space will not allow us to enter at length by way of either exposition or criticism into the arguments actually presented in the work before us. We can only refer, as specially worthy of attention, and as offering a fresh contribution to controversies of present interest, to the remarks on the meaning of necessity and contingency as applied to the physical universe (p. 111); to the distribution of the elements of Hume's argument (p. 266 *et seq.*); to the exhibition of Hume's self-confutations (pp. 253, 279); the answer to Pessimism (pp. 275-6); the sceptical issue of Kantism (p. 317); and the part played by Chance in the theories of Darwin (p. 336);—these being specified as a few instances out of many. Less satisfactory in our view is the meaning placed upon Hume's argument that the world is a "singular effect" (pp. 255, 278); the admission that the theory of "Natural Selection" is fatal to the argument from Design (p. 325); and the criticism of Darwinianism as set forth in connection with the illustration of the mud-fish (p. 356). In regard to the second of these points, Dr Stirling appears to overlook the

fact that, at the best, Evolution can only establish itself as a *modal* and not a *causal* theory of the universe, and that "chance variation" or the influence of outward conditions can only develop possibilities which were present from the first, and which, therefore, do not militate against the assumption that the range of possibility had its source in purposeful Intelligence.

This volume will make for itself many friends. There is a bracing, stimulating masterfulness about the lectures which, on a careful perusal of them, will be found to lead to many rich veins of thought. They have their faults—faults of arrangement, faults, it may be, even of diction—but in spite of them, even through them shines the light of a strong individuality. Some may think that, especially in the first lectures of each course, Dr Stirling has devoted an excessive amount of space to Lord Gifford's own views and sentiments. But in face of the fact that many have concluded, from the absolute freedom in which Lord Gifford wished the great questions of Natural Theology to be discussed, that he desired to make his lectureships a means of propagating Agnosticism, if not Atheism, Dr Stirling's statements of the evidence he has collected on this point are strictly apposite, and we feel that it was both proper and graceful in a first lecturer on the foundation to bring them forward.

We should willingly have quoted some of Dr Stirling's felicitous characterisations, such as those of *Buckle* (p. 108), *Lessing* (p. 118), and *Hume* (p. 234). His own work may be summed up as another splendid assertion of Thought, Intelligence, as after all that which is essential in the universe. "Nature must have a man to make it even nature—object must have subject to make it even object." "The universal, as the universal, is its own principle and its own basis of support. Thought, even as thought, accounts for its own self, if not in the finitude of man, then in the infinitude of God. There it is the one *ἀνάγκη*, the sole necessity, that that could not not-be!" Set that declaration, mystical as in some respects it may sound, side by side with the statement of the materialistic hypothesis with which the lectures close:—"that, out of an accidental speck of proteine, the accidental pullulation of difference (mere difference) produced—without design—mechanically, as it were—you and me, the circulation of the blood, the respiration of the lungs, the action of a brain;" and it may almost be left to the common sense of mankind to choose between them.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

**The Gospel and Modern Substitutes.**

*By Rev. A. Scott Matheson, Dumbarton. Edinburgh and London :  
Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. 319. Price 5s.*

THIS book is an earnest and praiseworthy attempt to deal with questions arising in many minds, and to which the Church of Christ must furnish the answer—whether Christianity can offer a welcome to the scientific advances, the social problems, the political changes of the new world opening up before her, and whether she can find room for the new tendencies, and thoughts, and aspirations of the present day? Is Christianity merely a religion for the past that has had its day and must now cease to be, or is it a religion as well for the present and ever-passing now? Is there a message in Christ for the coming age, for the new century? Our author answers such questions with an unhesitating affirmative, and we agree with him. But if this is so, the Church must be able to show that Christ has a new significance to give, a peculiar guidance to offer to the interests, and movements, and questions of society to-day; how all that is true and worthy in the thought and science of the age will live in the ever-living Lord, and how for the growing thought and knowledge of to-day Jesus Christ is the all-embracing truth.

Now this Mr Matheson not unsuccessfully does in what he modestly names “a popular, and, no doubt, most imperfect attempt.” In successive chapters he deals with the relation of Christianity to Agnosticism, Science, Positivism, Socialism, Pessimism, Art, showing that Christianity comprehends all that is true, and worthy, and good in these systems, while yet she is able to lead her followers in a more excellent way, and that “these rival systems have been serviceable in eliciting the perpetual novelty and freshness of the old gospel.”

In the brief compass of this volume there is room only for a popular presentation of the thought of such teachers as Comte, Darwin, Schopenhauer, &c., and a Positivist, for example, might object that his position is not fully stated; but enough is given to show that Christ, and He alone, reaches the depths of man's nature, and that without Him human hearts and lives are left sad and hungering.

In bringing forward the time-honoured “Design” argument, Mr Matheson must remember that the expression “design” is objected to as misleading, and that the better word may be “order,” “adaptation,” or “adjustment.” Perhaps he is rather unfair to Darwin in representing him as a “typical agnostic,” and as one “in whose life religion had no place.” Only under pressure, if we remember aright, by a Christian correspondent to formulate his belief,

did he use the term "agnostic" regarding himself, and it must not be forgotten that he admitted the facts regarding the power of Christianity to convert the Fuegians, that he sent a subscription to the Church Missionary Society, and allowed his name to be put on their committee.

The most interesting part of the book is that dealing with social problems, in which the author shows that Christianity is pre-eminently a gospel of socialism of the right kind, and that the Church of Christ ought to show interest in all that pertains to the social well-being, health, and happiness of the people. The religion of Christ teaches us the love of all men, the brotherhood of man, and self-sacrifice for others: Christ brings rich and poor together, and moves us in His service to seek a solution of those practical problems that so deeply stir society, and affect the interests and well-being of our brethren of mankind. Much is being done by the Church of Christ in her mission districts, and indirectly in the benevolent and charitable efforts of the day—much more will probably be done—in dealing with social questions to bring into operation the broad principles of a Christian philanthropy.

Space does not admit of anything more than a reference to Pessimism, which has been effectually condemned by the coming of Christ, and to the chapter on Art, in which Mr Matheson shows that the greatest artists in poetry, painting, sculpture, and music, have found room for their highest powers and best feelings in Christian subjects.

While we cannot accept the guidance of the author all through, his book is well fitted to stimulate reflection and action in the Church of Christ of the present day, on questions pressing upon her for solution, and which do find their solution in Jesus Christ, who is all in all, and under whose dominion all human life in every sphere must be lived out. The book is delightfully printed and bound.

GEORGE HENDERSON.

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### **The Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture.**

*By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. Revised and enlarged from "Good Words." London: Isbister. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 296. Price 3s. 6d.*

APART from Mr Gladstone's prominent position, and the fact that they appeal particularly to a class of readers with whom he has special sympathies, these papers call for notice as the utterances of one who has, from natural temperament and long experience, a special claim to be heard on the subject with which they deal. It



would be impossible in a brief review to follow the author into all the details touched upon in his survey of a very wide field. All that can be done here is to indicate his attitude, and to estimate, if possible, the significance and probable influence of the publication.

The aim of the papers must be kept in view in estimating their value. Believing that there is a foundation of fact for the impression that the operative classes have largely lost their hold upon the Christian creed, Mr Gladstone sets himself to deal particularly with one of the many causes of this estrangement, viz., "the wide, though more or less vague disparagement of the Holy Scriptures recently observable in the surface currents of prevailing opinion, as regards their title to supply in a supreme degree food for the religious thought of man, and authoritative guidance for his life" (p. 25).

It is only from this point of view that we perceive a unity in what otherwise appears a number of unconnected discussions on such subjects as the Creation story, the Office and Work of the Old Testament, the Psalms, the Mosaic Legislation, and Corroborations of Scripture from History and Natural Science. The popular mind associates religion very intimately with the book which is its record. Mr Gladstone has done something to emphasise the distinction between a religion and the documents in which it is made known. That he has not gone further in this direction will, perhaps, be the strongest objection to his book from the side of the modern historical school of criticism. He is writing, however, for a popular purpose; he knows at what points the attack on Scripture is most commonly delivered, and he has skill to present the positions which are the strength of the defence.

The papers do not profess to be "systematic or complete, but popular and partial only." Mr Gladstone disclaims all authority to speak as an expert in matters of Biblical criticism or of physical science. He urges indeed that his occupation with Homeric studies has given him some experience in the literary criticism of ancient documents (p. 3); but he has a more solid claim to be heard on the subject in hand:—

"Any man whose labour and duty for several scores of years has included as their central point the study of the means of making himself intelligible to the mass of men, is *pro tanto* perhaps in a better position to judge what would be the forms and methods of speech proper for the Mosaic writers to adopt, than the most perfect Hebraist as such, or the most consummate votary of natural sciences as such" (p. 56).

Again, in the conclusion he tells us the papers

"Form the testimony of an old man in the closing period of his life. It is rendered with no special qualification, but possibly this one. Few persons of our British race have lived through a longer period of incessant argumentative contention, or have had a more diversified experience in trying to ascertain, for purposes immediately practical, the difference between tenable and

untenable positions. Such experience is directly conversant with the nature of man and his varied relations; and I own my inclination to suppose that it is more germane to the treatment of subjects that lie directly between collective man and the Author of his being, more calculated to neutralize deficiencies, though not to impart capacity, than a familiarity with those physical sciences which have supplied an arena for, perhaps, the most splendid triumphs of the century now far advanced in its decline" (p. 254).

In these words we have more than a pathetic review of a long and active life; we have the vindication of the competency of intelligent common sense and experience to pronounce an opinion on matters of the higher criticism. The most advanced school will have to submit ultimately to the verdict of men who, as Mr Gladstone describes them, "are not experts, but are supposed to be endowed with ordinary intelligence" (p. 170). The more a theory is well grounded, no matter how deep the foundations may lie, the more surely will its solidity be acknowledged by the general intelligence; if the foundations be insecure, the more rapidly will it sink under the strain of experience. For, after all, the matters really in dispute, in so far as they are of vital practical concern, fall within the range of experience; or, as Mr Gladstone expresses it; "the only specialism which can be of the smallest value here, is that of the close observer of human nature; of the student of human action, and of the methods which Divine providence employs in the conduct of its dealings with men" (p. 55).

Mr Gladstone's experience as a controversialist stands him in good stead. He shows a positive delight in crossing swords with Mr Huxley; and in dealing with advanced critics he cannot be pronounced unreasonable in asking for "some element of stability" in their conclusions (p. 16), nor guilty of exaggeration when he says:—

"There is such a thing as a warping of the mind in favour of disintegration. Often does a critic bring to the book he examines the conclusion which he believes that he has drawn from it. . . . And often, even when he has attained his conclusion without prejudice, he will after adopting defend it against objectors, not with argument only, but with all the pride and pain of wounded self-love" (pp. 19, 20.)

This skill in detecting the weak points of an opponent's argument is seen particularly in the paper on the Mosaic Legislation. What he says of the extreme phases of critical theories might be illustrated by reference to such writers as Daumer and Ghillany at an earlier period, and Maurice Vernes in our own day:—

"The result of this negative criticism ought to be viewed in its extreme form, and this for several reasons: such as, that, with the lapse of time, it continually adopts new negations; that the more conservative of the latest schools exhibit to us no principle, which separates them in the mass from the bolder disintegration; and that what is now the *ultima thule* of the system may, a short time hence, appear only to have been a stage on the way to positions as yet undreamt of" (p. 196).

In regard to the prevailing modern theory of the Pentateuch, though he does not come to close quarters with the Grafian hypothesis, and though he may be pronounced to be not up to date in details, he observes very pertinently "that the hypothesis is one reaching far beyond the province of specialism, and requiring to be tested at a number of points by considerations more broadly historical" (p. 176). It may be added that when he offers to "yield, as matter of course, to the conclusions of linguists in their own domain, not only respectful attention, but provisional assent" (p. 178), reserving the right to judge for himself on "the matter as opposed to the form," he does not sufficiently recognise the fact that the conclusions arrived at, partly in regard to the separation of the "sources," and, in a greater degree, in regard to their order and dates, are based largely upon considerations of the matter, not of the linguistic form.

Mr Gladstone claims for his essay on the Creation story the statement of what seems to him "a distinct and specific argument in proof of a Divine Revelation" (p. 253). The argument is: If the account of the creation is neither poetry, nor science, nor theory, but a statement of what the writer believed to be fact, and if it is in accordance with what science teaches as to the origin of the earth and the universe: then the account, relating as it does to things not within the cognisance of man, must have been made known to him by God (p. 37). Much that occurs in this paper is well put, especially when the educative character of the story is dwelt upon. Most persons will at least accept the dictum of Dillmann, that, of all the ancient cosmogonies, the Mosaic comes nearest to modern science. Some may even be disposed to say that it is more akin to the discoveries of science than to the ancient cosmogonies, not excepting the Chaldean. If so much be admitted, then Mr Gladstone's enquiry as to the source from which it is derived is quite pertinent, whether the story is regarded as having been communicated to "primitive man," as he is fond of repeating (p. 43, &c.), or composed even comparatively late in the nation's history. At the same time, when all is said that can be said, it would perhaps be better to rest satisfied with such a position as that of Prof. Pritchard (p. 40), or, at most, with Mr Gladstone's own general statement "that the 'days' of the Mosaic are more properly to be described as chapters in the history of creation" . . . that "the periods of time assigned to each chapter are longer or shorter . . . and that "in point of chronology, his chapters often overlap" (p. 50). In view of the considerations brought forward by Mr Gladstone himself, he seems to minimise too much the points of difference in regard to the third and fourth "days." Driver puts the case fairly enough when he says that the Biblical writer, had he been ac-

quainted with the actual past of the earth, would, while still using language equally simple, equally popular, have expressed himself in different terms.<sup>1</sup>

A true instinct has led Mr Gladstone to devote a paper to the Psalms. It is one of the weak points of the modern criticism that it attempts to reconstruct the pre-exilian religion of Israel with little reference to these compositions. Their bearing on the subject of religion, as distinguished from religious observances, has not been sufficiently estimated; nor can it be set aside by a summary relegating of so many of them to post-exilian times. In his remarks on the Psalms, however, Mr Gladstone would have strengthened his position, and done a good service to those for whom specially he writes, if he had given more consideration to the historical conditions which led to the expression of national and patriotic sentiment in language which, to a Christian reader, always presents difficulties apart from such considerations.

Not the least valuable part of the book is the concluding paper, and, in particular, as coming from an octogenarian, the retrospect over the phases of religious thought which he has seen in his time. In his own earlier days, "say in the second quarter of the present century, there was a great revival, both of the dogmatic sense and of the religious life in England." "But as the third quarter proceeded, the sceptical movement set in with a wide and subtle power." And he comes to the conclusion, from a comparison of other times, "that these negative movements are subject not only to a hazard, but even to a law of mutation; and that every one of them, when it has done its work, may cease to be" (p. 258). There are not wanting indications that, even on the Continent, men are coming to the conviction that destructive criticism may be carried out till there is nothing left on which to begin the work of reconstruction.

The papers may not be described as a contribution to Biblical science, nor need it be claimed for them that their publication will "settle" any controversy. They will have done good service, however, if they assure the minds of the readers to whom they are addressed, that much of the negation so confidently advanced is not to be taken at its own valuation. They will do still better service if they induce others, following the author's example, to apply their own common sense to problems of Biblical science, the solution of which is too much left to the mere specialist.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

<sup>1</sup> "Expositor," Third Ser., vol. iii., p. 37.

**Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.***Drittes Heft. 1890.*

THIS is a fairly interesting number, containing six articles. The first (by Prof. Jacobsen, Berlin) is ostensibly a contribution to the criticism of the Gospels, but really an advertisement of two books by himself. 1. *On the relation between Matthew and Luke*.—He shows (as against Volkmar, Schulze, and Pffeiderer) the dependence of Luke on Matthew. Against Pffeiderer's position that Matthew combined Mark and Luke, both in speeches and in facts, Jacobsen adduces detailed proofs of Luke's dependence on Matthew, *e.g.* (a) the "Great Interpolation" (Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14), where, led by association of ideas, Luke collects words of Christ from different parts of Matthew; (b) that elsewhere Luke follows Matthew step by step; (c) Luke iv., which is hopelessly out of place, presupposing (vv. 38 f.) an event which is narrated in ch. v.; and other minor proofs. 2. *On the Fourth Gospel*.—Here the aim is to show that "John" followed Luke not only in individual points, but in the general arrangement of the matter. The three divisions of John correspond to those of the third Gospel. The writer doubts the Johannine authorship, upon the usual ground of theological and literary characteristics, apparent geographical errors and ignorance of Jewish matters, the opposition to the Jews, and the Greek philosophical education of the author.

The second is the most interesting article in the list—a contribution to the Exposition of Romans i.-iv., by C. Willing. The writer lays it down as a general principle that *all* the senses which a word may have in Greek usage are to be kept in view in the interpretation, and holds that if this were really done, many difficult passages in Rom. i.-iv. would be made plain. A few examples must suffice. (1) Rom. i. 17, *πίστις* may mean, besides faith, (a) promise, and (b) faithfulness. Translate therefore: For a righteousness is in it revealed upon the ground of a faithfulness (of God) towards a promise; it is written, namely, &c." (2) Ch. ii. 1-3, *κρίνειν* has the meanings "to approve" and "to occasion," as well as "to judge." Translate therefore: v. 1, Therefore, O man, thou art . . . who approvest. In that thou approvest thy neighbour, thou, &c. V. 2, Of course we know that the Judgment of God is directed only against those who do such things. V. 3, Thinkest thou who approvest him who does evil and (thereby) dost occasion the same, &c.? (3) Ch. iii. 21, *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ* does not mean a quality either of God or man, but the divine way of obtaining that righteousness demanded by God (*θεοῦ*=gen. auctoris). (4) iii. 30, *ἐκ πίστεως* and *διὰ τῆς πίστεως*. Both lines of interpretation (*ἐκ* and *διὰ* as synonymous and as of different meaning) are wrong.

The solution is in the varied meanings of *πίστις*. Translate: Who will justify the circumcised on the ground of faithfulness (to his promise), and the uncircumcised through faith. (5) iv. 2, The true meaning here is got by putting a mark of interrogation after *ἐδικαιώθη*. "What then, &c.? If namely it (should appear that) Abraham was justified by works (what becomes of my assertion?). He may boast but not before God. For, &c." The summary given of the teaching of these chapters, thus interpreted, is interesting.

The third article, by Hilgenfeld, is on the constitution of the Christian community in the formative period of the Catholic Church. It is in form a discussion of Löning's work, "The Constitution of Primitive Christianity." Here the period after 135 is treated, and, of course, the evergreen "Bishop and Presbyter" question is thrashed out again. Löning's view is as follows:—Monarchical Episcopacy was all but universal at the middle of the second century. Hence there must have been a change of constitution between 100 and 150. This was really brought about by the inner relations of the community (increase in numbers, the relations between Jerusalem and Antioch, Gnosticism). Episcopacy was modelled neither on the heathen organisations nor on the Jewish synagogue, but arose from the *inner needs* of the Church. Hilgenfeld regards this as not proven, and derives the Episcopacy from the rising spirit of Catholicism, having its roots in Jewish Christianity, which gave birth to the idea both of Apostolical succession and of the Bishop as a representative of Christ. In Ignatius he sees really an ideal constitution with a basis in reality, modelled on the Jerusalem community, which formed the ground-work of the heathen-Christian constitution.

Among other articles the one of most interest is that on "The Gospel-Book of Juvencus in its relation to the Biblical Text," by K. Marold. The Book is a poetic Gospel-harmony, of date 332. Matthew is the basis, but the other accounts are interwoven with it. The Biblical accounts are frequently embellished and "improved" in amusing fashion. Additions, too, are sometimes made, and these are often interesting as showing the method of interpretation at the time. The author proves that Juvencus was closely dependent on existing copies of the Itala, and holds that his book is of great value as a witness to the text of the Bible in use before Jerome. The text of Juvencus approaches most nearly to (a), (f'), and (h).

The remaining papers are one on some historical problems in the history of Diocletian and Constantine, the other a short note of defiance and contempt addressed by Hilgenfeld to one of his critics. There are also some valuable notices of books (*e.g.*, that on Vatke's "Philosophy of Religion" and Lindemann's "Genuineness of the chief Pauline Letters").

FREDERICK J. RAE.

## Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie.

XVI. Jahrgang. October 1890.

NITZSCH's article on The Ethical Idea, if slight, is at least interesting. The spring of ethic is freewill, not the necessity which determinism asserts, whether the determinism be materialistic, resolving everything into nerves, or spiritual, believing in the self-existence of spirit generally, but looking on will as entirely ruled by "the total of present representations within the soul."

After stating a few of the outstanding ways of conceiving the nature of the ethical, Nitzsch offers a word of criticism on each. Hobbes and Hegel, each in his way, represent the ethical as the juridical. But law is an external standard, ethics an inner principle; and immorality may exist alongside of legality. Nor may the ethical be resolved into the theoretical, as is sometimes virtually done by Schleiermacher. Scientific knowledge is not wisdom in the ethical sense. Aristotle's identification of ἀρετή and ἐπιστήμη may not be pressed. The ethical must be such as can be conceived by the simplest mind. The identification of the ethical with the aesthetic accentuates a truth. Thus Schiller hails art as the unification of the moral and the intellectual, and represents "die schöne Seele" as "das höchste Ideal;" while Goethe allows Tasso to say "Erlaubt ist was gefällt." Certainly the aesthetic embodies truth, and is even capable of universal appeal; but it cannot be substituted for the morally good. After Rousseau, poetry sought to find the true ethic in a return to nature. No doubt, in a sense, to be moral is *ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν*, but if *empirical* nature be taken as the standard, the result will be a letting-go of self, which will issue in materialistic determinism. According to Kant, religion is only a part of ethic. Religion, however, may outrage morality, although the higher religions embody the ethical. Religion is a channel for the bestowal of divine good, and this good is ethical. Nor can morality succeed, as Kant and Fichte rightly assert, without a religious faith in the moral government of the world. Nitzsch's conclusion is that ethical doctrine is the science of the normal formation of human life, which indeed is partly determined by involuntary forces, but which, at the same time, is in large degree capable of self-determination by means of that inherent, inalienable element, freewill, which remains over and above all extraneous motives.

The second article, a translation from the Hungarian, gives an account of the Nazarean sect in Hungary. It recalls the Montanistic movement, and the author calls on the Reformed Churches to check its progress by means of a more vigorous spiritual life.

Ludwig Paul's article on "The Logos-doctrine in Justin Martyr" is of interest as touching the date of the Fourth Gospel. Paul asserts that what is true of the relation of Justin to the author of that Gospel, with respect to the doctrine of the logos, is also true of their literary relations, although what these relations are does not fully appear in the present article. With the characteristic arbitrariness of his school, Paul makes a good many statements which he does little to substantiate. The history given us in the New Testament records was (it needs hardly be said!) made to suit theologoumena. Justin's exegetical method shows how easily the highly developed representation of Christ in the Fourth Gospel could be reached. Justin allows that many Christians believe Jesus to be the Christ yet "man-born." This, says Paul, shows that history had not been quite forgotten when Justin wrote. Again, the mythical process as to Christ's miraculous deeds is as follows. If Jesus is Christ, He must come again. One who can come again must be a being of supernatural power. What man needs in faith he makes. So Christ was made a "wundermann;" and the doctrine of the immaculate conception followed as a consequence of the logos-idea. Justin's *γέννημα ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς* approaches nearly to that of the Fourth Gospel, but is not so completely developed. John is not indeed indebted directly to Justin, but both are witnesses of the same time because of the same thought.

Professor Krüger writes on the date of the composition of Justin's Apologies. Overbeck's date (c. 150) has come to be called the usual one, but Krüger contends for 138. Harnack has endeavoured to show that the first and second Apologies are one work, and is in favour of the date 152. Krüger, however, is convinced that the question of the unity or separateness of the two works does not bear at all on the dispute about the date. All that he can find to be at once germane to the matter and well-assured is the following:—

1. Justin died a martyr, 163-167.
2. The second Apology deals with a process instituted between 144 and 160, but it does not follow that the first Apology is of so late a date.
3. Eusebius's statement that the second work was written under Marcus Aurelius is contradicted in the document itself.
4. The Apologies were published separately.
5. The Preface of the greater work contributes to the settlement of the date.
6. The Preface points to the year 138 as the probable date of composition.

Dr Görres continues his new researches in the history of Church and State from Decius to Diocletian. He urges that the Gallus persecution, if not very considerable, is undervalued. The Roman



bishops, Cornelius and Lucius, were not martyrs but confessors. The Valerian storm was really due to the emperor's favourite, Macrianus. The rescripts prove that Valerian came to hope for the overthrow of the Christian religion through annihilation of the hierarchy. The charge against the Christians was sacrilege and hostility to the national gods; and the whole persecution was inopportune and not encouraged by the heathen masses. Gallienus's favourable attitude towards Christianity was due to his personal inertia and indifference to the old Roman religion and polity. The Claudian storm, Krüger declares unauthenticated. Aurelius till shortly before his death maintained a policy of *laissez faire*. Ruinart's statement that the Aurelian persecution took place in the emperor's name during a six months' interregnum after his death is unfounded. Accounts of persecutions under Probus and Carus are untrustworthy. Aubé's recommendation to substitute Valerian's name for Numerian's in accounts of persecutions associated with the reign of the latter, Krüger describes as audacious.

R. M. ADAMSON.

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### Editorial Summary.

THE most important of recent contributions to English Theology is the volume of Hibbert Lectures,<sup>1</sup> by the late Dr Hatch. It is a book full of ideas, and opening up new ways of looking at old problems. We can only mention it now, and reserve it for more particular examination than space at present permits. We welcome the completion of the English translation of the late Dr Delitzsch's Commentary on Isaiah,<sup>2</sup> a book full of learning and spiritual insight, conservative without being narrow, liberal without being rationalistic, and in this revised edition more useful than ever. Along with it we are glad to receive a new edition of Dillmann's Commentary on the same prophet.<sup>3</sup> The value of

<sup>1</sup> The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church. By the late Edwin Hatch, D.D., &c. Edited by A. M. Fairbairn, D.D., &c. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. x., 359. 10s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah. By Franz Delitzsch, D.D. Translated from the Fourth Edition. With an Introduction by Professor S. R. Driver, D.D., Oxford. Vol. II. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 473. 10s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament. Fünfte Lieferung, Der Prophet Jesaja. Erklärt von Dr August Dillmann, &c.

Dillmann's Isaiah is known to every student of the Old Testament. We have no better Old Testament exegete among the Germans, no Old Testament critic with more of the note of sanity, whether among German or English scholars, and no better Commentary than this. It is indispensable to the student of Isaiah. The Commentary on the *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*,<sup>1</sup> in Meyer's series, appears in its seventh edition. It is a revision of Meyer's work by Professor Heinrici of Marburg. In several respects it is a very thorough revision, in matters of Textual Criticism almost a drastic revision. Much of the polemical discussion of the exegesis of Billroth, Rückert, and Hofmann, which was so abundant in Meyer, is omitted, and space has been gained for working in the results of more recent books, especially those dealing with questions of Biblical Theology, Gunkel's treatise on the Holy Spirit, Everling's on the Pauline Angelology and Demonology, &c. These add largely to the value of the Commentary. An interesting contribution to the study of the Theology of the New Testament is made by F. Spitta in his short treatise on 1 Peter iii. 19, &c.<sup>2</sup> He elaborates an ingenious interpretation, into the details of which we cannot enter. His main points, however, are that the *spirits* are fallen angels, that the *preaching* belongs to the pre-existence of Christ, and to the time before the Flood, and that the relative passage in ch. iv. 6 has no reference to Christ's descent to Hades, or His ministry to the spirits. Principal Cave's Congregational Union Lecture<sup>3</sup> has been well received. It is now in its second and cheaper edition. It deals with such questions

Fünfte Auflage. Leipzig : Hirzel. Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 544. M. 8.

<sup>1</sup> H. A. W. Meyer's Kritisch exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament. Sechste Abtheilung, Der Zweite Brief an die Korinther. Siebente Auflage, bearbeitet von Dr C. F. Georg Heinrici, &c. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 417. M. 5.40.

<sup>2</sup> Christi Predigt an die Geister, &c. Ein Beitrag zur Neutestamentlichen Theologie, von Friedrich Spitta. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 68. M. 1.50.

<sup>3</sup> The Inspiration of the Old Testament inductively considered, &c. By Alfred Cave, D.D., Principal of Hackney College. London : Congregational Union of England and Wales. Second Edition. 6s.

as the relations in which the Book of Genesis stands to ethnic tradition on the one hand and to science on the other, the Authorship of the Law, the Divine Origin of Law and Prophecy, and the general Old Testament doctrine of Inspiration. The author's distinctions between Hagiographic, Prophetic, Transcriptive, and Canonic Inspiration will not be readily accepted. But the book contains much matter, gathered carefully from different sources, which has to be considered in connection with the main question to which it addresses itself. The volume of the *Biblical Illustrator*<sup>1</sup> on *Philippians* is one of the best in the series. Where we have tested it, we have found it furnish extracts and digests which are really helpful to the understanding of the texts and to the preacher's purpose. The editor shows perception as well as diligence in the collection of thoughts and illustrative matter from so many different quarters. The *Sunday School Teacher*<sup>2</sup> has reached the fourth volume of the new series. This volume provides rich store of explanation, illustration, sample-lesson, and similar aids. Those engaged in the religious instruction of the young will find in it much to help and direct them in their work. An unknown author<sup>3</sup> gives us a book in which, borrowing from the methods of physical science, he applies three tests to the Christian life. These are the *germ* test, the *colour* test, and the *brotherhood* test. The volume is very tasteful in form. The argument is somewhat strained, and there is a curious mixture of matter, yet it contains some interesting and ingenious remarks on morality and religion, on love as the "crimson" of Christianity, &c. Of a different order is the publication entitled *Read and Others v. The Lord Bishop of London*,<sup>4</sup> which gives the Judgment pronounced in the Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury in a case of vital moment to the Church of England. This Judgment, which is now be-

<sup>1</sup> *The Biblical Illustrator*, &c. By Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A. *Philippians*. London : James Nisbet & Co. 8vo, pp. 316. 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> *The Sunday School Teacher : a Biblical and Educational Magazine*, &c., Vol. IV. New Series. London : Sunday School Union. 8vo, pp. 572. (Price not stated.)

<sup>3</sup> *Three Christian Tests*. London : Batsford. 8vo, pp. 97. 1s.

<sup>4</sup> *Read, &c. Judgment*, Nov. 21, 1890. London : Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. 122. 1s. 6d.

fore us in handy form, is likely to be one of historical interest. It is in many respects a masterly statement, which Bishop Stubbs has had much to do with, and which deserves every student's attention. The ninth volume of the *Theologischer Jahresbericht*<sup>1</sup> is now completed. It furnishes a *conspectus* of the literature of 1889. No department of Theology is overlooked, nor is any publication of any real importance, great or small, left unmentioned. The editor, Dr R. A. Lipsius, with the help of his large staff of *collaborateurs*, practically exhausts the field, and provides an invaluable book of reference. Much as has been done for our youth of late years in the matter of their religious instruction, a place remained for a volume such as we owe to a layman<sup>2</sup> who prefers to write anonymously. It is an attempt to reproduce the Gospel story in a series of short, realistic pictures, so that our Lord's life on earth may stand out in the power of its own simplicity and grace, and make its own impression of a Divine Manhood. The author has succeeded to a large extent in the discharge of his difficult but laudable task. The narrative is given in terms which are vivid, reverent, free from all artificiality and familiarity, in natural harmony with the subject, wisely addressed to the intelligence and imagination of young readers, and fitted to make real to them the beauty of Christ's life among men, and the power of His Spirit. It is, as the author hopes it may be, a book for mothers of all creeds to read to their children, and for children of later years to read for themselves. We have also a most welcome addition<sup>3</sup> to the excellent "Story of the Nations" series. The author of the "History of Civilisation in Scotland" was the man to turn to for work of this kind, and he has justified the choice. His sketch of Scottish history is

<sup>1</sup> *Theologischer Jahresbericht*. Unter Mitwirkung von Baur, Benrath, &c., herausgegeben von R. A. Lipsius. Neunter Band, &c. Braunschweig: Schwetschke und Sohn. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. x., 608. M. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Jesus the Carpenter of Nazareth*. By a Layman. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 8vo, pp. vi., 458. 7s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> *Scotland from the Earliest Times to the Present Century*. By John Mackintosh, LL.D. London: T. Fisher Unwin. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Large cr. 8vo, pp. 328. Price 5s.

not free indeed from certain faults, such as an occasional roughness and baldness of style and a lack of proportion in the several parts. But it more than compensates for these by the solid qualities of knowledge, compact statement, and sympathy with the national life. It does not concern us to pronounce any opinion on the account which he gives of the secular story of Scotland, the action of political parties, or the long tale of battle. But as regards the history of religion in our country, we are glad to see that Dr Mackintosh allows it adequate space, and deals with it in a way worthy of the large part it has played in the development of that "distinct and intense nationality," the capacity of which he describes. He throws his whole heart into the story of the Reformation and into that of the great religious movements of later date—the Covenanting Struggle and the Disruption of the Church of Scotland. He has very definite views on these movements, on the prominent actors in them, and on their issues. They are views which have been matured by prolonged study of the times and the events, and they are expressed with frank decision. They will not be accepted by all. They will be strongly contested by some. We are ourselves in hearty agreement with them in the main matters. Even those who may differ from Dr Mackintosh in some of his estimates will see that he is always on the side of liberty and the Evangel. We have also before us Hoskier's important *Full Account and Collation of the Cursive Codex Evangelium 604* (London, Nutt), three volumes of the late Bishop Lightfoot's Sermons, published by Messrs Macmillan, and worthy of his name, &c., &c.

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**Record of Select Literature.**

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## Dean Church.

THE GIFTS OF CIVILISATION, AND OTHER SERMONS AND LECTURES DELIVERED AT OXFORD AND ST PAUL'S. *By the late R. W. Church, M.A., D.C.L., Dean of St Paul's, Honorary Fellow of Oriel. (New Edition.)* London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix., 379. Price 7s. 6d.

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT. TWELVE YEARS. 1833-1845. *By R. W. Church, M.A., D.C.L., sometime Dean of St Paul's, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.* London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. x., 358. Price 12s. 6d. nett. X

MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS. *Collected Edition.* London: Macmillan & Co. 5 vols., Globe 8vo. 5s. each.

WITH the late Dean of St Paul's there passed away an eminently characteristic figure—a figure characteristic of England, of the English Church, of the University of Oxford of which he was one of the truest sons.

When I speak of England I mean it not only in the wider sense of the British Islands as contrasted with the Continent, but also in the narrower sense of one of the three kingdoms as contrasted with the other two. The distinctness in spirit of this narrower England is rather pointedly illustrated in the late Dean's posthumous volume on *The Oxford Movement*. He is quoting from some contemporary impressions of Newman's preaching. One of the extracts is from Principal Shairp of St Andrews, who knew both Newman and his own countrymen.

"When he began to preach, a stranger was not likely to be much struck. Here was no vehemence, no declamation, no show of elaborated argument, so that one who came prepared to hear 'a great intellectual effort' was almost sure to go away disappointed. Indeed we believe that if he had preached one of his St Mary's sermons before a Scotch town congregation, they would have thought the preacher a 'silly body.'"

The other is a quotation from the Irish historian, Mr Justin McCarthy, which is referred to in his "Reminiscences"

by Sir F. Doyle. Mr McCarthy is evidently speaking of Newman as he knew him at Dublin, after his secession.

"In all the arts that make a great preacher or orator, Cardinal Newman was deficient. His manner was constrained and ungraceful, and even awkward; his voice was thin and weak, his bearing was not at first impressive in any way—a gaunt emaciated figure, a sharp eagle face, and a cold meditative eye, rather repelled than attracted those who saw him for the first time."

In the previous extract Principal Shairp had spoken of "the beauty, the silver intonation of Mr Newman's voice as he read the lessons." And Sir Francis Doyle goes on to compare Mr McCarthy's disparaging remarks with his own impressions of Newman at Oxford.

"His manner, it is true, may have been self-repressed, constrained it was not. His bearing was neither awkward nor ungraceful; it was simply quiet and calm, because under strict control; but beneath that calmness, intense feeling, I think, was obvious to those who had any instinct of sympathy with him."

Something, no doubt, may be allowed for the transference of the preacher to a different and less congenial atmosphere; but something must also have been lacking to the eye of the observer. His sympathy with the subject of his description must have been imperfect. Let me recall, too, the admirable comments of Dr Fairbairn in the last number of this *Review*.

"What is curious is that in spite of his changes, and the invincible logic by which they were worked, his power remained specifically Anglican, never became distinctively Roman. . . . He was happy in the home he had made for himself, but he was so potent as to be a real and effectual presence only in the home he had left."

Now Cardinal Newman and the late Dean of St Paul's were cast in a similar mould. I hope in a moment to speak of the individual differences between them; but beneath those differences they had much in common. And if we look up and take a wider glance, I think we shall see that that common element was distinctive of the Church to which they both belonged, and the school in which they had their nurture.

How deeply attached the Dean was to his University, and

how closely he identified it with the Movement of which he was one of the brightest ornaments, will appear from more places than one of the volume on which I have just been drawing. That "short scene of religious earnestness and aspiration, with all that there was in it of self-devotion, affectionateness, and high and refined and varied character," was the picture in large of him who has told its story with the insight and the tenderness of one who is on his own hearth and speaking of his own.

The impression which an outside reader will probably draw from Dean Church's book, is that the strength of the Movement which he thus represents, lay not so much in the system of thought to which it gave expression, as in the moral impulse which gave it birth, and which it reflects with so much intensity. As a system of thought it is the Anglican tradition proper, as transmitted through the Caroline divines and the Non-jurors, defined and deepened, though with the sharpness of its definition in part obscured by the tendency which developed in some of its leaders to break away Rome-wards. The type of character which it produced is one of great beauty. There is a subdued tone about it, even in the Hotspurs or Ruperts of the party, like Hurrell Froude, which is singularly attractive. "I refrain my soul and keep it low," might have been taken for the motto of the whole Movement—at least in its earlier stages. The fire was there, the motive force, the passionate devotion, but it was strictly controlled and chastened. How significant is it that Dean Church should write the history of events in which he was a prominent actor, and never once mention his own name! He does not avoid the first person singular, for it appears in the Preface and also in the body of the book—but for the first time, if I mistake not, on the last page\*! May I be forgiven for asking if a Scotsman or an Irishman ever performed a feat like this, or an Englishman, for that matter, outside this charmed circle? I can believe that there may be examples—*bene latere* is an English virtue—but I should like to know of them.

\* It occurs in two notes, but not, I believe, in the text, by the author speaking in his own person.

The characteristic which distinguished Dean Church among his fellows, was his wide general culture. If the word had not been so often profaned, we might have been tempted to call him in a special sense the "theologian of culture." The range of his reading and knowledge was extremely wide. The Merovings and Carlings (in the "Epochs of History" volume), St Anselm, Dante, the Early Ottomans, Spenser, Hooker, Bacon, Browning's Sordello, all figure in his gallery. And his touch was before all things that of the man of letters. We feel that he is always trying to seize and portray the sentiment of the situation, its pathos, its poetry, the characters in the drama. I confess that for myself I have sometimes wished, not that this element were away—far from it—but that it were rather more sparingly interspersed, that it bore not quite so large a proportion to plain narrative. I do not, however, mean this to apply to *The Oxford Movement*, the form of which seems to me appropriate to the matter.

When one compares Dean Church with a professed historian like Döllinger, one feels the difference. In range they were not so very unequal. The Dean begins with Clovis and comes down to our own day. There was no part of this wide field with which he was not more or less acquainted. And he too conducted his studies at first hand. He was familiar with the original documents. And yet after all, is it not the work of a highly gifted amateur? What historical problem is there that the Dean of St Paul's can be said to have solved? On what critical question has he thrown new light? A mind like Dr Döllinger's, one can see, was always on the watch for new problems, never resting in its criticism, working more below ground than above. That is what one means by science as applied to history. And the Tractarian Movement was not seen at its best on the side of science. I do not mean that the Dean of St Paul's was unscientific or uncritical; but these were not the prominent interests with him. Only one member of the party can I think of with whom they were a prominent interest—Arthur West Haddan. In the joint-editor with Dr Stubbs of the *Councils and Ecclesiastical documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, in the author of that very solid and strongly argumentative

work on the *Apostolical Succession*, and of the series of articles collected after his death in the volume of *Remains*, we are in the presence of a really critical mind—a mind of tough fibre, which did not shrink, and had no reason to shrink, from the work of probing and laying foundations. In A. W. Haddan the Church of England, and the Tractarian party in particular, lost an intellect that it could ill spare, all too soon.

With the Dean of St Paul's the human interest overshadowed everything else. History with him did not deal with abstractions. For him it was full of life and colour. Not of life in the sense of stir and movement and dramatic action, still less in that of an indiscriminate realism, but in the sense in which

“The meanest flower that blows can give  
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears.”

The wine, one feels, is strained off from the lees; but how pure and fragrant is the quality of the vintage which remains! How lovingly does the thought dwell and play round the objects of its selection!

There is a wisdom, which is not science and not exactly philosophy, but which comes from ripe experience, from reading, from native sympathy with all things high and noble. Such wisdom catches a thousand traits which escape the common observer; and the Dean of St Paul's possessed it in a conspicuous degree.

If I am not misled by freshness of perusal, the best of all his books and the one most likely to live is his last. I do not think that Dollinger could have written such a book. His mind was of too dry a light. His pen would have been chilled by the sense of wider outside issues. No doubt, to be fully appreciated, the author must have his standpoint granted him. It is the history of a party written from an avowedly party point of view. The wealth of tender and affectionate remembrance which the book discloses is reserved for a limited circle. There are not, as it happens, many kind words for those without. I say, “as it happens,” because it is well known that the Dean of St Paul's had points of contact,



and warm contact, with many who differed from himself in political or ecclesiastical colour. The book is a tale of combat by one who was himself a combatant, and who does not disguise on which side he fought. But I doubt if any of the books which have been recently written—and there have been several good ones—will convey the impression that the men who fought with him were really of such heroic or saintly mould.

I have spoken of the Dean of St Paul's in connection with Newman; and it is natural to compare the two men. In the Dean the element of what is usually called genius—the subtle erratic visionary or undisciplined element was wanting. It would have been impossible for the Dean to write the *Grammar of Assent*. His reading was wider, and far more evenly distributed over subjects and periods. His judgment was sounder and more balanced. Newman, one cannot help feeling, with all his amazing fertility of ideas, was not on the main lines of things. The Dean of St Paul's, some of us may think, was not altogether on the main lines—that must be as it may—but, at any rate, he was nearer to them, and he saw what he saw of them more justly and more comprehensively.

In style, of course, Newman is inimitable. Such idiomatic ease, simplicity, and grace, such lightness and delicacy of touch, so keen an edge wielded so surely, is not given to another. His style is best in preaching, in the fence of argument, on personal ground like the *Apologia*, not in history. Newman's greatest power was in searching the heart, by turning on it the lamp of severe and high-toned religion.

And yet the Dean of St Paul's too drew a bow of strength. His writings are full of fine and elevated passages. With him too, the awe of the unseen was ever present, and gives his words a loftier flight and aim. In his style there is nothing common or conventional. He has an ample and rich command of diction. His warmth of sympathy, his many-sided observation, his sensitiveness to all that is pathetic or beautiful, his singleness of motive and essential purity of soul, invest his writing with the qualities which were inherent in the man. I doubt if he has ever surpassed some of the character-sketches in the latest volume to which I have referred so

often. In this the familiarity of the theme seems to give just that ease and freedom which his hand sometimes wanted.

For it must be confessed that he has not as a rule the flexibility of the leader whom he first followed and then lost. His sermons, excellent as they are in their way, are not so perfect, and can hardly have had the same effect. There is a little too much of the lecture about them. The periods are rather monotonous in construction. They are overcharged with matter. There is not that delightful sense of measure, the sure avoidance of the "too much," which we get in Newman. They are the sermons of a scholar who is deeply in earnest about religion, and who himself breathes its most "empyrean air;" but they do not so touch the common heart of humanity; they do not so pierce "to the dividing asunder of joints and marrow."

The Dean of St Paul's stayed with us long, and he rendered many services to his Church and nation, besides those which he did by his writings. But of all his services there is none greater than the stimulus which he has left to all whom his influence reaches, to be as like him as they can.

W. SANDAY.

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### **Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften des Alten Testaments.**

*Entworfen von Ed. Reuss, zweite Ausgabe, Braunschweig, Schwetschke. 1890. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 780 pp. 15s.*

THE veteran author calls his work a History of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, or, according to nomenclature common in this country, an Introduction; it is, in fact, an Encyclopedia. It embraces the public and domestic history of Israel and all the prominent men who had part in it, the literature and thought, the art and archæology, and the general life of the people in all its forms, from the dawn of history or earlier till the fall of Jerusalem before Titus. There is nothing that escapes the writer or is left untouched; what he does not know is not knowledge. In such circumstances criticism can do little but signify the appearance of

the book. For where is the good of telling the author that readers will differ from him? his answer is already given—if he had said the opposite things from those he has said, readers would differ from him. The subjects treated are of such a kind that agreement upon them, for some time to come at least, is not to be expected.

The author's general critical position is well known. It would not be fair to call him an adherent of the theory associated in this country more with other names, as those of Graf and Wellhausen; he claims to be the author of it. Nearly sixty years ago, in 1834, before Vatke's memorable *Old Testament Theology* or *George's Feasts* had appeared, when Reuss was a young, unknown lecturer, propounding with some hesitation his theory of the literature of Israel, the "unforgettable Graf" was a student in his lecture-room. That theory, which stood before Reuss's mind in those years more as an intuition than a reasoned thesis, was to the effect that "the Prophets are earlier than the Law, and the Psalms are later than both." With the necessary additions in details, the formula expresses the present phase of Old Testament criticism. The present volume is furnished with two very interesting prefaces, that to the first and that to the second edition; the latter is an amusing piece of raillery of the author's critics, in which their incompetence and want of conscientious knowledge are mercilessly exposed. Though the author be, as he tells us, in the middle of his ninth decade, the edge of his wit has not lost its keenness. The other preface is an interesting fragment of autobiography, which takes us back to a time when currents of thought were running very different from those now prevailing. In the early years of the second quarter of the century it was the "miracles" that disturbed men's minds, and the world was engrossed in the pursuit of fantastic naturalistic explanations of them. It was miracles of another kind that occupied the attention of Reuss. One miracle which he could not get over was how a system of artificial and elaborate details, like the Levitical ritual, could stand at the head of Israel's religious development. And another was, how five or six dozen psalms should be written about Saul and Absalom without the faintest allusion to the names of these

persons appearing in them. Such questions as these occupied the author's mind ; it seemed to him that making the Law earlier than the Prophets was like putting the Roman Mass before the Sermon on the Mount. Though he had convictions, however, he had not the courage of them. He believed the world had something else to do than listen to him. Vatke's book, which might have shown him that other minds were moving in the same direction as his own, he left unread, deterred by the thorn-hedge of Hegelian formulas which barred the way to it. Meanwhile time wore on, and while he procrastinated others were active. The citadel which he had captured, in idea at least, by dropping into it as upon wings, was being gradually approached by one elaborate earthwork after another, and when at last it fell, it fell into other hands than his.

The author's work consists of three elements throughout : positive statement, critical support of it, and illustrative literature. First he presents a historical paragraph containing the outline and main facts of the particular matter as he conceives it ; each of the points contained in this paragraph is then supported and illustrated by historical and critical notes ; and intermixed with these are lists of relative books. The literature referred to is enormous, though the author assures us that the title of no book is given which he has not actually in his own possession. Naturally he abstains from any criticism of this literature. At this time of day three-fourths of it must be worthless, though to an antiquarian it may have some interest as marking how one position after another has been gained. The whole time covered by his book the author divides into four periods : the heroic age—from the conquest to David ; the prophetic age—from David to the exile (586) ; the age of the priests, as far down as the Maccabees (c. 150) ; and finally, the age of the Scribes. Though the author differs from other representatives of the newest school in many points of detail, his system as a reconstruction of the history of Hebrew Literature is in substantial agreement with theirs. The Law, for example, is to be referred to the third of the periods just mentioned, and the Psalter to the last. To the first age belongs the song of Deborah, though not written by her. The

contribution of Moses lay rather in the spirit which he breathed into the people, though he may have organised some civil institutions, probably also sanctioned some ritual observances, for it may not be without meaning that he and the Levites belonged to one tribe. The decalogue in either of the forms in which it appears (Exod. xx., Deut. v.) can hardly be from him. These forms, however, are in all likelihood expansions of the original cast; the ten words may all at first have been as brief as the sixth, seventh, and eighth, and in this form there is less objection to their Mosaic origin, though the prohibition of graven images can hardly go so far back. There was a ritual tradition and practice very early, certainly in the time of the early monarchy, but that is a very different thing from saying that laws regulating the priestly actions were so early written down.

In regard to the literature of the prophetic period, Reuss is again in general agreement with the newest school. As to David, it is certain that he was a poet; that he wrote some religious hymns is possible, but if so it is altogether impossible to say which if any of those that exist. The Jehovist, as he is called, is assigned by the author to the second half of the ninth century, earlier than others place him, on the ground that the oldest prophets, Amos and Hosea, are familiar with his writing. Reuss makes no pretension to disentangle the elements of his work from those of another writer, the minor Elohist; but considers that the history of Paradise and the Fall, usually attributed to him, cannot have been written by him, though possibly assumed into his work. As to some matters on which opinions differ, Reuss continues to regard Joel as the oldest of the written prophecies; some writers, he allows, find the prophet's book confused, but that only shows that the critics could have done it better; the only thing that awakens doubt in his mind is the smoothness of the style and the literary polish of the book—the characteristic, by the way, which mainly induces Ewald to assign a high antiquity to the book. Some scholars have found an occasion of stumbling in the Book of Micah, detecting interpolations in chaps. iv., v., and feeling obliged to assign chaps. vi., vii., to a later time. Reuss professes that he is not sensible of the difficulties.

The confession is honest, but also suggestive. The author's critical feeling is not characterized by sensitiveness. He is sagacious, and gauges with judgment a large situation, but in delicate matters he is less at home. The reader of his commentaries has not seldom an unpleasant feeling of inadequacy. Real difficulties are apt to be overlooked, and when observed hurried out of sight with a pauper's funeral. The author's healthy sense gives weight to his positive conclusions, he is never foolish nor the victim of his critical nerves, but a greater delicacy of touch might reveal some things which escape him. The absence of all linguistic criticism from the present work is a curious feature.

It is needless to refer to the author's views regarding the Law, which are well known. The Ritual Law, he holds, belongs to the time of Ezra, though the last touches were not put to it till after his day. His judgment also upon the historical setting of the laws should not be concealed. This setting he affirms is not history, it is *schema*, a religious ideal thrown back into the Mosaic age. The Tabernacle, the arrangement of the tribes in camp and its parade day by day in the wilderness, is "baare Fiction." In regard to the Psalter the author, of course, admits that some psalms may date from the monarchy, and others from the exile, but his contention is that the bulk of them (*die Psalmen der Mehrzahl nach*) belong to the Maccabean age, when the people of Israel were oppressed and their religion persecuted by the rulers of the Syro-Greek dynasty. His main argument is the tone that pervades so many of the psalms, those who speak are the persecuted "poor" and "meek," their persecutors are the "wicked," the "violent man," that is the heathen. The complainant in the psalms is naturally an individual, what he expresses is his own feeling and his own trouble, but these are common to him with the community, and his voice may be held that of the congregation. The question is scarcely so simple a one as the author thinks. Ps. xviii., which some regard as the sole extant utterance of David's muse, already speaks of the "meek people" (v. 27; the distinction between *ani* and *anav* is a Massoretic fiction). The linguistic question, already complicated enough, will receive new com-

plications. In contrast with Ecclesiastes some of these supposed very late psalms might be regarded as models of Hebrew composition. How, too, account for the fact that the musical headings of such compositions became with so little interval of time completely unintelligible to the Septuagint translators?

The above remarks indicate the author's main positions. Any attempt to criticise them would have been to open up questions of interminable dimensions. It may be remarked in conclusion that if the author's method of conjoining the history and the literature has advantages, it is also attended with serious drawbacks. No subject is fully discussed in any one place; in order to discover the author's views, on such a topic as the Psalter, the reader has to turn to half a dozen sections scattered over the whole 800 pages of the book.

[Since the above was printed, news has come of the death of Prof. Reuss, at the age of eighty-seven.]

A. B. DAVIDSON.

### **The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Churches.**

*By the late Edwin Hatch, D.D. Edited by A. M. Fairbairn, D.D.  
Second Edition. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Nor-  
gate. 8vo, pp. xxiii., 353. Price 10s. 6d.*

THE late Dr Hatch's Hibbert Lectures have been very carefully and successfully edited by Dr Fairbairn and Mr Vernon Bartlet. They have enriched the volume with additional notes and references. It is difficult to imagine it would have been much, if any, superior to what it is, if the learned author had lived to see it through the press. Yet all must deplore his untimely death, not only because what he did raised large hopes of still higher work, but also because these Lectures themselves are confessedly incomplete in range and treatment. Sometimes they suggest doubts which he could have set at rest, and sometimes leave previous questions unanswered. Throughout the volume we are reminded of the Editor's warning, and feel its necessity, that the book ought to be

judged within the limits the author himself has drawn. But this only increases our profound regret that Dr Hatch's constructive intellect had not full opportunity to co-ordinate the results of his analysis, and erect a statelier structure on the ruins of what he has with unsparing hand demolished. The lecturer himself saw that his work only cleared the ground. Near the close of the volume he observes: "The question which forces itself upon our attention as the phenomena pass before us in review, is the question of the relation of these Greek elements in Christianity to the nature of Christianity itself." This question he has left unanswered. Regarded in itself the volume is largely destructive. It is but justice to bear in mind that the author considered he was only doing preliminary work. What the new superstructure would have been, probably no one outside the circle of his most intimate friends can form any notion. Some may be disposed to think that the task of erecting it would not have been so successfully achieved. To say the least, it would have been a work worthy of his great powers and learning.

The Lectures appear to have had at once a wider and a narrower aim. The larger scope is the influence of Greece upon Christianity; the smaller subject is the change in the centre of gravity from conduct to belief, or, as it is aptly put, the transition from the Sermon on the Mount to the Nicene Creed. The influence of Greece on the Christian Church is a subject too vast in its ramifications to be satisfactorily discussed within the compass of these twelve lectures. Much interesting, often new matter is introduced, which it would be a decided loss to omit. Light is thrown again and again on side issues and subordinate points. But the subject itself is perhaps too difficult to attack with present materials and appliances. Dr Hatch truly says that, "the evidence as to the mode in which the causes operated within the Christian sphere before the final effects were produced is singularly imperfect." Few, if any, will deny that the attempts hitherto made to trace the influence of Greece on the Church have met with but questionable success.

Our author does wisely in pursuing the plainer, if humbler, path of considering only how far certain facts in the life of



Greece are *adequate* to produce certain phenomena in the history of early Christianity. He prosecutes his enquiry in the true spirit of scientific history; he culls fresh flowers at almost every step; he brings to light indubitable traces of influences in directions little dreamt of, and he gathers together a mass of most interesting and pertinent knowledge for the use of the possible constructive historian that is yet to come. But more than this cannot be said. The general question of Greek influence on Christianity is still an unsolved problem.

On the narrower subject of the Lectures, the transition from morals to dogmatics, a considerable amount of very interesting matter contained in the volume bears only indirectly. Such are the Lectures on Greek education, rhetoric, ethics, and the mysteries. It must also be admitted that these subjects have been investigated by other scholars with more or less result. But nowhere else will the student find the field cultivated with more success, not by Harnack even, and point after point stated with greater lucidity than in Dr Hatch's eloquent words. We wrote "eloquent" almost spontaneously, and we will not withdraw the expression, notwithstanding the hard things he has said about the great Christian preachers of the early church. In his Lecture on Rhetoric he tells us "that rhetoric killed philosophy," and "that Christianity purchased conquest at the price of reality" when the race of eloquent talkers persuaded it to assimilate its language to their own. When we call to mind that this is intended to apply to such men as Chrysostom, Basil, and Gregory of Nazianzum, we can only reply that their lives would be the best proof of their sincerity and of the "reality" of their preaching. Dr Hatch has confounded oratory and sophistry. We do not believe that the disappearance of the sophistical element from Christian preaching means the survival only of impromptu addresses and sudden inspirations. Our author's own Lectures are specimens of true eloquence, but they are neither the utterances of a prophet nor the rhetoric of a religionist.

What appears to the present writer as the most serious defect in Dr Hatch's Lectures is his persistent ignoring of the

theological element in the New Testament itself. Admitting, provisionally, that the theological conceptions which underlie the Sermon on the Mount belong to the ethical rather than the speculative side of theology, and supposing, further, for the sake of argument, that the Apostle Paul wrote only four of the Epistles usually ascribed to him (for Romans, Galatians, and First and Second Corinthians are confessedly his), it is beyond a doubt that these Epistles are metaphysical to the core. They develop a peculiar form of theology, and the theological system which they set forth is based on certain metaphysical conceptions concerning God, Jesus Christ, sin, redemption, law, faith, and the connection between faith, righteousness, and sanctification. It used to be the fashion to distinguish widely between the moralist of Nazareth and the theological thinker who spoilt the proverbial ethics of his Master by converting Christianity into a theology. At any rate, that St Paul had theological conceptions of a very abstract and speculative character, no one, we presume, would think of denying. It happens that the group of epistles now generally admitted to have been written by him are the nearest approach to a complete theological system of any of the so-called Pauline epistles. If this is true, we have to explain, first and foremost, the transition from the Sermon on the Mount to St Paul's epistles, and then, secondarily, to the Nicene Creed. Before we are justified in tracing the Creed to Greek influences, we have to show, either that there are conceptions in the Creed which do not underlie the Apostle's theology, or else that he himself derived these conceptions from the Greek philosophers. Dr Hatch, unfortunately, makes no attempt to handle either of these alternative suppositions. On the contrary, he leaves on the reader's mind an impression that the theology of the Creed is not a foreign importation into the circle of Greek thought, but an absorption of the ethical teaching of our Lord into pre-existing Greek ideas, resulting in a theology. Our author actually asserts that "the Greek Christianity of the fourth century was rooted in Hellenism." We readily admit Hellenic influence. But study of St Paul was infinitely more influential. To determine the comparative extent of the one influence and the

other, a perusal of such writers as Origen and Athanasius is sufficient. We think the result would be more truly stated in this form,—“the Greek Christianity of the fourth century was rooted in Paulinism, but it assimilated Hellenic elements and assumed in consequence a more logical shape.” We should be glad to know how Dr Hatch would have answered the questions, How far was St Paul’s theological system original? and, Are there any theological ideas in the Nicene Creed which cannot be traced back to St Paul? Our author is careful to notice the *usages* of the Church in the apostolic age. But this only renders it the more unaccountable that he should have almost completely ignored the Pauline theology.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings, the Lectures are admirable, full of fresh and unexpected inferences, containing a vast collection of proofs from sources new to most students, placing in their hands the very latest conclusions of Harnack, who is credited with knowing more about the second century than any man living, and written with a glow of earnest eloquence, which, however, is not allowed to affect the author’s scientific method and historical truthfulness.

T. C. EDWARDS.

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### Hiob.

*Nach J. G. E. Hoffmann. Kiel: Haeseler. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo. Pp. 106. Price M. 2.*

OF essays on that masterpiece of Hebrew poetry, the Book of Job, we have no lack; it is not primarily with the Hebrew poet, but with his latest commentator that I have to do. My business is to report concerning a small tractate of 106 pages, costing two shillings, the value of which to the student, in spite of serious drawbacks, is out of all proportion to its size and market price. If in the course of my report I introduce too much of my own speculation, the reader must pardon me, because since the year 1887 I have not expressed an opinion on problems not yet solved to my satisfaction. Dr George Hoffmann, whose early Oxford friends have not forgotten him,

professes the Semitic languages in the most northerly German university (Kiel), like Nöldeke before him. From time to time he has offered strikingly original explanations of difficult passages in the Old Testament, and now he presents us with a continuous version of Job which has been tested and re-tested by himself and to a certain extent by his pupils, to whom he has lent it in manuscript, to illustrate his lectures on the Book of Job. Professor Hoffmann is above all things a philologist, and it is this which gives special value to his work. I wish indeed that he could have been somewhat less original, and that received ideas of Hebrew idiom and exegesis could have been less frequently shocked. But the reader shall form his own opinion upon this presently. First of all, something must be said on the author's view of the connexion of thought in the Book, and in relation to this, on the results of his critical analysis. For there is no denying it; critical analysis there must be. As Messrs Vigfusson and York Powell have said of the Eddic poems, "The great books of old time are accretions, our Psalter is such a one, Homer is such a one, the Sagas are such." Without a distinction of parts in such books a faithful exegesis is often impossible, and the chief historical lessons which they teach are missed. Professor Hoffmann feels this, and so he opens the book with the following table, which I copy in all its obscurity:—

- Job . . . i.—xxiv. 12.  
     Bildad xxv., xxiv. 13-25.  
         xxvi.—xxvii. 2-6.  
     Zophar xxvii. 7—xxviii. 28.  
         xxix. 2—xxxi. 34, 38-40*b*, 35-37.  
         xxxviii. 1-13*a*, 14*a*, 16-22, 24—xxxix. 30.  
         xl. 15—xli. 5-26.  
         xl. 2-14.  
         xlii.  
     Elihu xxxii. 1, 6—xxxiv. 1-22, 24-28, 23, 29-37.  
     The Disturber xxvii. 1, xxix. 1, xxxi. 40*c*, xxxii. 2-5, xxxviii.  
         13*b*, 14*b*, 15, 23, xl. 1, xli. 1-4.

The obscurity is simply due to the fact that the names of Bildad and Zophar are only mentioned once. From iii. 1 to xxiv. 12, Professor Hoffmann follows the revised text in the arrangement of the speeches. He differs from it, however, as

to the third speech of Bildad and Zophar respectively, and as to the replies made to these by Job, and, again, as to the arrangement of that splendid speech of Yahvé which, as he thinks, closes the original book. But he agrees with it as to most of the Elihu portion (he has accidentally omitted to put down chaps. xxxv. and xxxvi.), which he rightly describes, not as an interpolation, but as a well-meaning supplement. Still this beautiful work has not wholly escaped the destructive hand of an orthodox zealot, who has marred the symmetry of the poem by his dislocations and interpolations. Upon this violent "disturber" of the peace, this "son of the twilight" (*cf.* Job xxiv. 16), the author pours out the vials of his indignation.

I have not space to discuss this new arrangement. It has its weak side; chap. xxviii., for instance, is not happily placed in a speech of Zophar. But the chief result is altogether satisfactory, viz., that this fresh and original scholar, who, as his note on p. 27 shows, is independent to a fault, recognises the necessity of a partial re-arrangement of the contents of the Book. He is, no doubt, more at ease in his mind on some questions than I am myself. To me it seems at any rate doubtful whether, when chaps. i. and ii. were written, the author had any thought of following them up by the discussion which follows, and even whether he wrote them at all—whether, in short, chaps. i. and ii. may not once have formed part of a narrative Book of Job, analogous to that of Tobit (*Job and Solomon*, p. 66). Professor Hoffmann, however, makes one remark of great interest which bears upon this question. The mention of Job in Ezek. xiv. 14 implies, in his opinion, that Ezekiel knew an earlier Book of Job upon which our present book is to some extent modelled, and which had for its theme a more complete proof of Job's righteousness, and for its *dénouement* a still more miraculous healing of Job, parallel to the deliverance of Daniel from the lions' den. This may or may not be the best reason for postulating an earlier Book of Job; enough that this candid student finds nothing strange in the hypothesis that there was one. Accepting his view, it becomes easier to understand the very singular description of the ideal righteous sufferer, in Isa. liii. 4, 5, as a leper; the

motive of the passage is suggested by the old folk-tale. In justice to myself, I should add that I fully grant that the author of the Colloquies prefixed, not only chap. iii., but also chaps. i. and ii. to the speeches of Job and his friends. I have, therefore, no interest in explaining away points of contact between the Prologue and the Colloquies. I certainly cannot find one in xvi. 7 (where point 'תָּיִל), and I hesitate to accept those suggested by Professor Hoffmann in v. 21, xv. 4, xviii. 14. Still, not to speak of the references to Job's illness in the speeches, viii. 4 and xxix. 5 do contain undeniable allusions to the death of his children, and dramatic consistency was not a point likely to preoccupy the author of Job.

I can admit, therefore, that the Prologue, by whomsoever written, is to all intents and purposes a portion of the true Book of Job. So, too, according to Professor Hoffmann, is the Epilogue. I am much more doubtful about this (*cf. Job and Solomon*, pp. 38, 59, 69).<sup>\*</sup> Minor inconsistencies between the Epilogue on the one hand, and the Prologue and the Colloquies on the other, may, perhaps, be got over. But great inconsistency remains—a passionately-earnest teacher returning at the close of his work to the very doctrine which he has attacked and refuted. It may be replied that Job in the Epilogue is a type of the people of Israel, and that the object of the writer in this part of his work is to keep alive the hope of national restoration (*cf. Davidson, The Book of Job*, Intro., p. xxxv.). But the Job of the Colloquies at any rate is a type, sometimes of the class of righteous sufferers, sometimes of suffering humanity in general, nowhere of the people of Israel. The poem is not a drama, but a poetical discussion of an insoluble problem. It has, indeed, a plot, but a plot which makes and can make no progress, because the suffering of humanity, apart from revelation, is irremediable. The only possible close of the poem, if the writer is not untrue to his deepest convictions, is that the Satan should confess before Yahvé and the court of heaven that there are “perfect and upright” men who serve God without interested motives.

<sup>\*</sup> I cannot see why the book of Job (like Koheleth) may not have been left in an unfinished state by the author. Nägelsbach makes a similar remark respecting the author (?) of Isaiah xl.-lxvi.

These are, as it were, the flowers of humanity, whose existence might reconcile a sympathetic angel to the sight of so many tears which he cannot wipe away. Professor Hoffmann, however, does not appear to see that Job is a typical person. The advance which the Book of Job makes as compared with the Second Isaiah consists, according to him, in the liberation of the ideal embodied in the servant of Yahvé from its national dress and its typical significance, though he also says that the Job of the Colloquies is more obviously invented to serve a theory than his model, the servant of Yahvé, and he uses language respecting the rhetoric of the poet which may seem to some scarcely justified. I cannot, therefore, expect him to agree with me as to the Epilogue.

And what is our author's view of the date? As I have just indicated, he makes the Book of Job later (on general theoretic grounds) than the Second Isaiah, and later also than the Book of Zechariah, the unity of which he boldly and ingeniously defends. Not only is the Satan of Job i. and ii. modelled on passages in Zech. i. and iii., but Job xxxi. 36 is, according to him, dependent on Zech. vi. 11, and Job xlii. 10 on Zech. ix. 12 (where he reads מִן 'fruit,' *Aramaicè*). More questionable, we are told, is the influence of Zech. xiv. 6, 7, on Job iii. 4. Now, I am not one of those who would abolish the argument from parallel passages altogether, but it would take a great deal to persuade me that any of the greater writers of Job (I pass by the Epilogue) were dependent on a book like Zechariah. It is noteworthy that our author mentions no parallelisms of expression between Job and the Second Isaiah. No doubt there are but few which have the highest degree of probability. Prof. Strack will only hear of two (Job xii. 24, 25, Isa. xix. 11-14; and Job xiv. 11, Isa. xix. 5), and declares that the author of Job cannot have known a complete collection of 'Isaianic discourses' (*Einleitung in das A. T.*, pp. 60, 61). But most will at any rate add Job xvi. 17, Isa. liii. 9b, and maintain that either the poet of Job borrowed from the author of Isa. lii. 13—liii. 12 (or some form of this half-threnody, half-encomium), or *vice versâ*. Passing next to the argument from ideas, can we say that Prof. Hoffmann materially strengthens the argument of his

predecessors? He repeats the argument of Vatke that, being equally monotheistic with the Second Isaiah, without his theocratic limitations, the writer or writers of Job must be later than that great prophet. Like Vatke again, he is struck by the indications which Job has been thought to present of contact with the religion of Ahura Mazda. Whether he has investigated this point afresh, I do not know. He ought, however, to have said that if the poet of Job has been influenced by Mazdaism, he has well disguised his doubt. The argument of de Harlez on the other side (*Les origines du Zoroastrisme*, 1879, pp. 301-307) requires some rectification, but it shows a knowledge of facts which were hardly realised by Vatke. Nor do I believe that Prof. Hoffmann's view of Job xxiv., xxv. (see p. 33), is capable of proof. Certainly Job xxv. 4, 5 is not in the spirit of the Avesta, and Job xxvi. reveals affinities to Babylonian mythology. But let me not be misunderstood. If on other grounds the early post-Exilic origin of Job and Prov. i.—ix. be accepted, an incipient influence of Persian religion on both books will at once become probable. The Jews had (and still have) a wonderful capacity of assimilation, of which there seem to be instances enough in the post-Exilic period.

If Prof. Hoffmann has added anything to the argument for a date in this period, it is on the linguistic side. He draws this distinction between the poet of Job and the author of Zech. ix.-xiv. (who also, he believes, wrote Zech. i.-viii.), that, while both are rhetoricians or literary craftsmen, the former makes no attempt to rise above the Aramaizing style of his own time. Certainly this is to a certain extent what we might expect. If the Colloquies are a specimen (highly idealised, of course) of the discussions of Jewish wise men, it will be natural that they should indicate this by the cast of their language, though on the other hand this tendency would be checked by a pious regard for ancient models. The reader will find several new suggestions of Aramaic forms or meanings, of which he must judge for himself, not forgetting, however, the weight which, on such a point, belongs to the opinion of the author. I shall not however confine myself to these in the following list, but note down many other interesting but



often daring suggestions.—iii. 16. בְּעוֹלָם לֹא ‘like (those who) never . . .’ The old reading gives a better parallelism.—v. 7. ‘For man is born to trouble, while the race of flame has higher flight.’ בְּנֵי רָשָׁף are the angels, whose connexion with the stars is hinted at in xxv. 5, xxviii. 7, not to mention the Talmudic story (*Chagiga*, 14a). According to this view of the passage, what Eliphaz says is this, “It is of no use to turn to the ‘holy ones’ or angels (v. 1); they are far above human misery, and are mere instruments of the divine purposes. Rather have recourse to God.” This view of the angels, however, is opposed not only to the later Jewish belief (see *Enoch*, *passim*), but to a passage in an early appendix to Job (xxxiii. 23). I can hardly believe that it was that of the original poet, especially if he believes (see next note) in harmful demons. For my own explanation, see Stade’s *Zeitschrift*, 1891, Heft i.—v. 21. ‘When the slanderer (בִּשְׂטָן לֹאֲשֵׁן, ὁ διάβολος) goeth about, thou shalt remain hidden; thou shalt not be afraid, when a demon (שֵׁט) cometh’ Comp. i. 7, ii. 2. שֵׁטִים occurs but twice in the Old Testament, viz., Deut. xxxii. 17, Ps. cvi. 37, nor is there any evidence in the Hebrew Scriptures of the existence of the later Jewish superstition about the *shēdīm*. Prof. Hoffmann may, of course, be right in supposing a belief in demoniacal possession to have existed in the early Persian period, but he should not have appealed to Ps. xci., where (see, however, the Targum) the only supernatural beings mentioned are friendly angels. There is no proper name anywhere like the Phœnician Gadshed (de Vogué, *Mélanges*, p. 77). Prof. Hoffmann will, however, reply that שֵׁט does exist (*e.g.*, Gen. xlix. 25), on which ingenious but daring hypothesis, see his tractate *Ueb. ein. Phön. Inschr.* p. 53, &c.

v. 26. בְּבָלָהּ, “with wrinkles;” *i.e.*, at an advanced age. Cf. Ar. *kalaha*, “to contract the brow.” Fleischer’s explanation, “in unbroken strength” (note in Delitzsch) is arbitrary.—vi. 14. לֹאֲמַם לִפְנֵי; “Since one refuseth sympathy to his friend, and forsaketh,” &c.—viii. 17. יִהְיֶה, cohortative from יָהָה. For other instances in Job of cohort. 3rd pers. sing.

see xi. 17, xxii. 21, (this last passage, however, is emended by the author).—ix. 9b. “Hdr and the Twins,” = חדר ותאמן.—ix. 23. לְמִסָּאֵת=לְמִסָּפֶת “at the weight”; cf. Job’s longing, vi. 1. —ix. 30; כְּמַרְשֶׁלֶן; “If I am to wash myself (white) as snow.” —x. 22, end; “Which remaineth dark, even when Thou (O God) shinest. But see Ps. cxxxix. 12.—xi. 12, “Whereas man is of hollow understanding, and as a wild ass is man born;” *i.e.*, he is incapable of distinguishing right and wrong in a case like Job’s.—xii. 5. A proverb. לֶפֶיד, “a torch.”—xii. 18. וַיִּסֶר, “and taketh away.”—xii. 21. מִיָּח=מִיָּחִית, “dam.” See Lagarde on Isa. xxxiii. 10; *Mittheilungen*, iii. 218.—xiii. 4b. “Idol-vampers are ye all;” *i.e.*, the God ye imagine is not the true God. Prof. Hoffmann explains the name Elihu, “my God is the right one.”—xiii. 26. “Thou writest (=art in the habit of writing) against me from (past) generations,” מְדַרֵּשׁ, visiting, that is, on Job the sins of the fathers. The sufferer is trying to understand God’s unkindness. Can it be that he bears the punishment due to the sins of past generations (Job being a symbol of humanity)? This is in accordance with the inference drawn by Eliphaz from the fate of Job’s children, at least if our author’s view of xv. 35 be correct, though not so with Bildad’s words in viii. 4 (Bildad seems to hold the doctrine of individual responsibility). Prof. Hoffmann’s interpretation of xiii. 26 must, therefore, be taken in connection with his view of xv. 35, and, I should add, of xiv. 22, which he explains as a reference to the present passage. It is perhaps my interest to support his view of xiii. 26, for it may be held to support my own view of Ps. xxv. 7 (see my commentary). For that reason I leave the decision to the unprejudiced reader.—xiv. 4. מִי יִתֶּן מִהֵר מִטְמֵא לֹא אֶחָר, “oh that thou wouldest pronounce me clean rather than unclean at once.” Very strange Hebrew for so eminent a “rhetorician!” (p. 30). The value of the suggestion lies in its protest against the received view. The text of xiv. 4 as it stands is, according to my feeling, very far from worthy of the great poet of Job, and the reference which it contains to the “unclean” origin of man entirely out of place. Are there any inter-

polated passages in the Old Testament? If so, surely this must be one (see Bickell *ad loc.*, and my *Job and Solomon*, p. 28).—xiv. 1. This verse is attached by Prof. Hoffmann to ver. 28 as its subject. It belongs rather, in my opinion, to xiv. 2, though it remains true that xiii. 28 is a transitional verse.—xiv. 22. "Only on his own account his flesh hath pain, and on his own account his soul mourneth." This is different from Schlottmann's and Hirzel's view of עָלָיו, "he himself alone is the object of his pain and his mourning," to which there is a well-grounded objection (see Dillmann). It involves an emphatic denial that a man can be held responsible for the sins of his ancestors (see Prof. Hoffmann on xiii. 26, above). I still prefer Dillmann's explanation; עָלָיו = inwardly, cf. Ps. xlii. 5. Such consciousness as remains to soul and body, or rather to the soul in the body (according to the Egyptian doctrine), is utterly out of connection with the experiences of living men.—xv. 24. כְּמַלְאֲךָ (מַלְאָךְ) עֲתִיד, i.e., "like the angel of lightning," one of the "slayers" spoken of in xxxiii. 22 (but see below); a fresh point of contact with the Prologue (i. 16). Such Hebrew might pass in a gloss (עֲתִיד = Aram. מַעְתִּיד), but hardly in this great poem. Plague-demon (v. 21) and lightning-angel must, I fear, be set aside for later writers.—xv. 27. פִּימָה = פִּימָה, an Aramaic form, wrongly vocalised. Prof. Hoffmann thinks that there are also other places in which the ending הָ is due to a misunderstanding of the Aram. *status determinativus*. But is "made a mouth for self-confidence" idiomatic Hebrew?—xv. 29. מְלָכִים; cf. נִטָּה לָלֶךְ, Jer. xiv. 8.—xvi. 7. עֲדָתִי or עֲדָתִי ("Zu-gegenschaft"). Bickell's felicitous restoration is overlooked.—xvi. 20. מְלִיצִי רָעִי, "my interpreter (cf. xxxiii. 20) is my Shepherd." So in next verse, לְרֹעִי. If so, Philo had a predecessor in his universalistic interpretation of Ps. xxiii. 1; this is a hard view!—xviii. 3. נִטְפָּנוּ for נִטְפָּנוּ, Arabic. —xviii. 14b. "Terrors shall bring him by steps (cf. Job i.) to destruction." מְלָכִים; cf. the Aram. infinitives מְקַטֵּל, הָקֵל, "to perish," xiv. 20, xix. 10.—xix. 3. תְּהַבְרִי, Aram. Hafêl =

Heb. תִּנְבֵּר.—xix. 20b, "And I am overspread with a second skin," reading שֵׁנִי אֶחָד, *Aramaic*.—xix. 23-29 is read and explained in a very strange manner. Suffice it to say that the words to be written in a book are those of ver. 24. In ver. 26 נִקְפוּ or נִקְפוּ is read. Isaiah speaks of "the striking of an olive-tree," when only two or three berries very high up are left (Isa. xvii. 6). The avenger of blood (God) in heaven is like such berries; the inscription will, as it were, strike the high tree and bring God down.—xxi. 13. וַיִּבְרַע, "and gently . . ."—xxi. 21. הִצִּין, denom. from הִצֵּץ, "calculus," "to calculate strictly"; cf. Arabic *aḥṣā'* from *ḥaṣan*, "gravel, small pebbles."—xxii. 27. "Since thou," &c.—xxiii. 7. נִצַּח, "unassailably."—xxiv. 5. מְרַבֵּר, bed-covering.—xxiv. 11. שׁוֹרָתָם, "their cows"; cf. Aram. תּוֹרְתָא, "cow." יִצְהִירוּ, "stand in the noon-tide sun."—xxiv. 16. חָתְמוּ *Aramaic*, "shut themselves in."—xxviii. 1. כִּי, concessive, "certainly." See ver. 12.—xxx. 2. בְּלִיָּה, "from the weakness of old age" (?).—xxx. 5. נֵי, *Aramaic*="the community."—xxx. 7. מְאֻמָּה for מְאֻמָּה.—xxxiii. 22. לִמְתִּים.—xxxiii. 23. The angel, a man's personified conscience.—xxxiv. 36, end, "In the manner of idolaters."—xxxvi. 2. לְאֵלִהוּ, "to Elihu."—xxxvi. 33. מְקַנֵּה אַף (מְקַנֵּה) עַל עוֹלָה; "when he is angrily jealous against iniquity."—xxxvi. 4. עֲקֵב, "to follow the track of," *Aramaic*.—xxxix. 30. הָרָא, "he rushes down," *Arabic*; cf. xxxvii. 6.—Note also the remarkable version of xxxviii. 36.

It seemed only just to give the reader abundant specimens of Prof. Hoffmann's philological novelties. Should only a few of them commend themselves as probable, the book will have done good service by impressing upon us the extreme difficulty of this unique Hebrew poem, and by calling fresh attention to the Aramaic and Arabic element in its vocabulary. I still think, however, that the date of the original part of the poem must be discussed, in the first place, on grounds unconnected with language. The choice can, it would seem, only lie between an exilic and an early post-exilic date.

T. K. CHEYNE.

## Die Evangeliencitate Justins des Märtyrers in ihrem Wert für die Evangelienkritik.

*Von neuem untersucht von Lic theol. Willh. Bousset. Göttingen :  
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Williams & Norgate. 8vo. pp. 127. Price M.2. 80.*

It will perhaps be a little surprising to believers in "Supernatural Religion"—if any such eccentrics still exist—to find that the latest German investigator of Justin's evangelic citations does not consider it worth while to prove his use of our Synoptic Gospels. The writer cannot be branded as an "apologist," and we are left to assume that common sense has finally established in Germany the view which no sane man would ever have questioned if any other book than the Gospels had been on its trial.

The present work is designed to prove that, besides our Synoptic Gospels, Justin used an older evangelic narrative, now lost. The theory of course does not pretend to be new, but the writer thinks we can now enter on the enquiry with new material. There is a great advance since Credner's time in the three fields of primitive Church history, *Evangeliienkritik*, and textual criticism. Indirectly, moreover, there is much new light cast on the question by the investigations of Resch, in his "*Agrapha*," a work to which the writer is largely indebted. It is almost unnecessary to observe that English work on the subject is entirely ignored, though Westcott & Hort's Greek Testament is familiar. Dr Schürer tells that the *Critical Review* is to remove this ancient grievance. It would seem that a weekly issue will be needed for a long time to come, if books like Westcott's *Canon*—to say nothing of Sanday's *Gospels in the Second Century*—still require a first introduction to the world of German learning.

Bousset's introductory section is mainly historical. After sketching the successive positions of Credner, Semisch, Hilgenfeld and Zahn, he takes up Resch's contribution, which he summarises and examines. The two leading propositions are: (1) the 74 "genuine" Logia Agrapha show many points of contact with Pauline phraseology; (2) their variations of form suggest that they are independently translated from a Hebrew <sup>1</sup> original. This *Urevangelium*, on which Mark immediately depends, was quoted as *γραφή* by St. Paul, known to the N.T. writers generally <sup>2</sup>, and appears often in

<sup>1</sup> Resch argues for Hebrew, not Aramaic, as the original language.

<sup>2</sup> To the list of Logia traceable in the N. T. I would add one suggested by Mark xiv. 58. It was apparently a contrast drawn between the *σκηνη* or *ναὸς χειροποιήτος* and the *οἰκία ἀχειροποιήτος*, applied to the body of flesh and the body of glory. Besides quoting it in its original sense (2 Cor.

writers of the second century, leaving its last traces in Origen, Hippolytus, and the Didascalia. To the same source belong the variants of the "Western" recension, which come from a harmonising process applied to the canonical text. The document contained narratives connecting the Logia, and a short history of the Passion, Resurrection and Ascension. Bousset cites the last word with "1" Without committing himself to these results *en bloc*, our writer proposes to treat Justin's citations on much the same lines. His own view of the Synoptic problem (p. 51) is that there were two original sources, one mainly narrative, preponderating in our Mark, the other Logia, with the necessary historical framework.

A short space suffices for the general treatment of Justin and his works. The Apologies are regarded as one work, and may be dated, with Harnack, 152 A.D., the Dialogue being later. No other works are accepted, the spuriousness of the fragment *de Resurrectione*, which Resch thinks genuine, being demonstrated in an appendix. The attempt to decide whether Justin belongs to Jewish or to Gentile Christianity is pronounced an anachronism: in his age Judaising tendencies survive only in Gnosticism.

We have next a discussion of the title ἀπομνημονεύματα, leading mainly to negative results. The well-known sentence in Dial. 103, attributing the "Memoirs" to Christ's Apostles and those who followed them, encourages us to infer that they were a collection of separate works, but proves nothing for their identity with our Four Gospels. The word εὐαγγέλιον, Bousset observes, was perfectly familiar to Justin, for he makes the Jew Trypho use it; but it is abstract, not concrete,—unless indeed the clause ἡ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια, Apol. I. 66, should after all be genuine.

The heading "Old Testament Quotations" introduces us to the most disappointing part of the book. No one who has seen the case stated can fail to be struck by the argument drawn from the extraordinary freedom with which Justin can quote the venerated Scriptures of the Old Testament, especially in short passages, where he naturally trusts to his memory. Our author does not attempt to face this argument, but airily flings it aside with the remark that

v. 1), St Paul twice applies the figure to circumcision (see Eph. ii. 11 and Col. ii. 11), but in the second passage recalls the original by the words ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός. It reappears in Hebr. ix. 11 and 24, where the exposition of the word χειροποίητος forcibly suggests that it is a quotation. Finally, Stephen and Paul use the words in the speeches recorded Acts vii. 48 and xvii. 24. The words were probably spoken during Passion week, and, combined with reminiscences of the earlier saying of John ii. 19, produced the testimony of the false witnesses. It is *à priori* most probable that the Epistles should contain numerous words of Jesus which we can no longer recognise.

the principles of Justin's Old Testament citation prove nothing for his method of citing the Apomnemoneumata! After thus breaking up the whole fabric in advance, he proceeds to the rather superfluous task of whittling it away at the corners, by showing that in many places internal evidence reveals corrections by copyists. Twelve pages are devoted to an elaborate proof that the quotations from the Prophets have been harmonised with Lucian's recension of the LXX. In the historical books, it seems, the traces of this revision are much more thinly scattered. But that it exists is proved by Gen. xviii. 22 as quoted in Dial. 56. Here there are three variants agreeing with Lucian's recension, viz. (1) οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκείθεν for ἐκείθεν οἱ ἄνδρες, (2) ἔτι omitted, (3) ἐναντι for ἐναντίον. After which the writer naïvely repeats that the revision is less marked here. Truly it is!

Dealing next with the passages where Justin deserts the LXX. in favour of Matthew's rendering, Bousset consistently ascribes the phenomenon to the copyists. But is he not bound to explain why these scribes were indifferent to Justin's deviations from the Synoptic reports of our Lord's words? The temptation to harmonise was immeasurably stronger here.

We come at length (p. 54) to the discussion of selected evangelic citations. First comes a long examination of the Baptism narrative. The *Urevangelium* claims the "Western" reading, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε, the sentence καὶ πῦρ ἀνήφθη ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ, and the trivial variant τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐπέπτη ἐπ' αὐτόν. Bousset argues ingeniously to prove that the first of these is more original than the canonical text, which he thinks was assimilated to Matt. xvii. 5. This may be, though, perhaps, most will prefer Resch's view, that we have here an Ebionite gloss. The πῦρ ἀνήφθη, according to Usener, was dropped from the evangelic tradition because of the Gnostics' misuse of it. If this was a common practice we may well be thankful that the orthodox expurgators left us any Gospel at all. But are the Gnostics above suspicion of having invented the clause themselves? The lost Gospel is next credited with the passage in which Justin so strikingly coincides with John, οὐκ εἰμι ὁ Χριστός, ἀλλὰ φωνὴ βοῶντος κ.τ.λ. (Dial. 88). We ought to be told why the Triple Tradition diverges so remarkably, in a place where the disturbing influence of the Logia cannot possibly be admitted.

Space compels us to neglect many points which follow, but it must be remarked that most of them are much too minute to prove anything. The startling variant ἦξει for ἔρχεται is a fair specimen. In the long section upon the Sermon on the Mount we meet first with Justin's corroboration of James v. 12, in reporting the Logion about oaths. Here neither Bousset nor Professor Sanday (p. 122) takes into account the alternative translation — adopted by the

Revisers in their margin, and strongly recommended by the context—which at once makes the meaning identical with Matt. v. 37. Quotations from the *Urevangelium* are next traced, with varying degrees of probability, in Apol. I. 16 *init.*; do. 15 and Dial. 133 compared with Matt. v. 44; do. 15 and Dial. 96, γίνεσθε χρηστοὶ καὶ οἰκτίρμονες κ.τ.λ.; Dial. 93, ὁ τὸν πλησίον ὡς ἑαυτὸν ἀγαπῶν, ἅπερ αὐτῷ βούλεται ἀγαθὰ κακεῖνῳ βουλήσεται, the claim for which seems reasonable; Apol. 16 and 63, ὃς γὰρ ἀκούει μου κ.τ.λ.; sundry trifles from Apol. 15; Dial. 76 and Apol. 16, πολλοὶ ἐρούσί μοι κ.τ.λ., a rather important variant. The section on the eschatological discourse is linked with the last by the transference of the saying about wolves in sheep's clothing. Here, too, come the predictions about false prophets, apostles, and Messiahs; here Justin's two uncanonical Logia, ἔσονται σχίσματα καὶ αἰρέσεις, and ἐν οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς καταλάβω ἐν τούτοις καὶ κρινῶ; also the variant form of Matt. xxv. 41 (Dial. 76=Clem. Hom. xix. 2). Next come some miscellaneous citations. Θέλει ὁ Π. ὁ οὐρ. τὴν μετάνοιαν τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ ἢ τὴν κόλασιν αὐτοῦ (Apol. 15) may be equally well referred, with Otto, to Ezek. xxxiii. 2. In Dial. 51, the apparent combination of Matt. xi. 12-14 and Luke xvi. 16 is put down to the now familiar lost document, which here has a palpably better text. That it is easier is indisputable, but this rather indicates a paraphrase from memory—unless, indeed, we like to believe that the “Judaist redactor of Matthew” has made his text unintelligible! The remarkable inversion of Matt. xi. 27, three times repeated (Dial. 107 and Apol. 63 *bis.*), is fairly counted on the writer's side, but we may doubt whether it greatly improves the canonical reading. The “sign of Jonah,” Dial. 107, gives us some risky inferences from Justin's statement that the hearers failed to understand it as a prediction of the resurrection. This is declared inconsistent with Matt. xii. 40, which very inconvenient passage is promptly expelled as a gloss. But are we not told that much clearer predictions were repeatedly “hid” from the Apostles themselves? The quotation of Matt. xvii. 11-13 is treated with a curious lack of perspective. The trifling variant ἐλεύσεται is duly noted, and the apparent agreement with the Western text in the last clause of ver. 12. But the really remarkable phrase,<sup>1</sup> καὶ γέγραπται ὅτι τότε συνῆκαν κ.τ.λ., is entirely ignored. Then, after a discussion of the “Good Master” episode, which the writer tries with Justin's help to divide into two, the section ends with a small point from Luke xii. 48 (Apol. 17).

<sup>1</sup> Credner's conclusion that the form of the sentence fixes the reference to Matt. xvii. 13 seems irresistible. To assign the comment to the Triple Tradition—as the author of “Supernatural Religion” does, with the too generous assent of Professor Sanday—surely requires us to show why Mark and Luke both dropped it.



Sundry microscopic peculiarities, which even our courageous investigator can only admit as corroborative evidence, are massed together before we enter the concluding section, on the Passion history. Here very few gleanings are left from the fulness of the Synoptic accounts. The only plausible "find" is evidenced by the close agreement of the last seven lines of Apol. I. 50 with passages in Dial. 53 and 106. Readers are not likely to be much impressed by the argument that the Pauline stamp on the words, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood," forbids their acceptance as genuine words of Jesus! Summing up, Bousset claims to have proved that Justin used, besides our Synoptic Gospels, an older and more original evangelic tradition, with which he was so much more familiar that in trying to quote the former from memory he generally betrays himself by reminiscences of the latter. Against such a theory none need feel prejudice. But the foregoing summary will, I think, have made it clear that its claims stand or fall with the credibility of a relatively small proportion of the witnesses produced.

Two appendices discuss Thoma's investigations<sup>1</sup> as to Justin's knowledge of Pauline and Johannine writings. Bousset thinks the traces of Pauline phraseology are not more than would be left by a single reading. As to the Fourth Gospel, he agrees with Thoma that it was not included in the *Apomnemoneumata*, but is very shy in allowing his proofs that Justin was penetrated with its characteristic teaching. Thus in discussing John iii. 3, he insists (without any proof) that *ἀνωθεν* must mean "from above," thereby producing disagreement with Justin's *ἀναγεννηθῆτε*, while he absolutely ignores the extremely strong argument based on the repetition of Nicodemus's peculiar objection. Again, while quoting those of Thoma's parallels which he hesitatingly allows, he should not pass by the quite conclusive reference to 1 John iii. 1, in the clause *θεοῦ τέκνα ἀληθινὰ καλούμεθα καὶ ἐσμεν* (Dial. 123)—unless indeed he has the courage to separate the Gospel and the Epistle. He is surprised that in Dial. 102 Justin proves Christ's sinlessness from Isa. liii. instead of John viii. 46, though surely the prophetic witness was indefinitely more cogent in argument with a Jew. The Logos doctrine and other features of Johannine Christology were now the common property of the Church, and "perhaps are traceable to John, but cannot establish Justin's direct dependence upon John."

We may, perhaps, trace this rather irritating timidity to the feeling that the Gospel is used much less than we should expect. But if we draw out the consequences of our author's position we shall see that he should be the last to feel the difficulty. Two documents, fully a century old, had been admitted to the jealously guarded circle of Scripture, simply because they recorded the words and

<sup>1</sup> In the *Zeitschrift f. wiss. Theol.*, 1875.

works of the Lord. Three later and fuller works were gradually superseding these documents, from which they were mainly derived, but though recognised as authoritative were still by comparison unfamiliar. Meanwhile unquestioned letters of the Apostle Paul were still so far from being "Scripture" that the Christian apologist shows only scattered traces of having read them. Is it not then to be expected that a much later Gospel, not sixty years older than the Apology, and consisting so largely, like Paul's letters, of an Apostle's thoughts about Christ, should still lag behind the other Gospels in authority, suggesting doctrines and sometimes even historical statements, but, as a whole, yielding to the instinct which says, "The old is good," especially in sacred things?

We must not part from our author without acknowledging the thoroughness, accuracy, and candour with which his work is done. It has been necessary to complain of instances where he has shown timidity as marked as his temerity elsewhere. But he always gives us the material to form our own judgment, and it is just as well that the case for our Gospels should be shown no favour, but left to stand upon the irreducible minimum of critical support. No "apologist" need ask for more.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

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### A Christian Apology.

*By Paul Schanz, D.D., D.Ph. Translated from German into English.  
Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. Demy 8vo, pp. 439. Price 10s.*

THIS is a book on Apologetics by a Catholic and for Catholics. Dr Schanz is Professor of Theology in the University of Tübingen, and his work is done into English for the benefit of British readers by Rev. Michael F. Glancey, Inspector of Schools in the Diocese of Birmingham, and Rev. Victor J. Schobel, D.D., Professor of Dogmatic Theology at St Mary's, Oscott. The volume before us is only the first instalment of a work in three volumes, in which, when complete, to quote the translators' preface, "the Catholic student will have to hand a complete manual up to date, of the *Demonstratio Christiana* and the *Demonstratio Catholica*." The subject of this volume is *God and Nature*. The second, which is promised for April, is to deal with the comparative science of religion, and with the main issues raised by Bible criticism. The final volume will be an apologetic treatise on the Church, showing that the Catholic Church is the true Church founded by Christ, and guided and quickened by the Holy Spirit, and that the truths revealed by Christ and preached by the apostles have been preserved in the Catholic Church intact and free from adulteration.

Dr Schanz is a writer with whom we have had no previous acquaintance, and we may add that in the pages of this work he introduces to our notice the names of not a few authors of whom we are ignorant, a fact which makes one conscious that Catholics and Protestants live in two different worlds. But his English translator assures us that the name of the writer "is an ample guarantee that this work is at once Catholic in tone, and fully abreast of the learning of the day." Dr Schanz, we are informed, is one of the most distinguished savants of Catholic Germany, and with Funk and Kepler, his colleagues in the Catholic Faculty of Tübingen, may be justly regarded as sustaining the renown of their predecessors Möhler, Kuhn, and Hefele, of whom all the world has heard.

For any one who carefully reads this book such testimonies are superfluous. The work itself is a sufficient certificate of the learning and ability of its author. Dr Schanz is fully acquainted with the science and theological literature of his time, not to speak of the Fathers of the Church, with whose writings it is a matter of course that a Catholic theologian should be familiar. The pages of his book are so crowded with allusions to scientific facts and laws that one might naturally infer that a writer who knows so much of the physical world must be not merely a theologian but a scientist by profession. While adding to the weight and value of the work, the amount of knowledge exhibited tends to make perusal of it a rather laborious affair to such readers as are comparatively ignorant of science, and care only for the outline of apologetic argument.

One familiar with apologetic literature knows what to expect in a work on *God and Nature*. The topics are the commonplaces of the subject, though they are sometimes expressed in fresh terms. Most interesting is the method in which the writer deals with the cosmological argument. He divides it into four stages. The first is that which ordinarily passes by the name, that, viz., which infers the existence of God "from motion, and from things conditional, possible, and imperfect." This head of the argument is ably discussed in a chapter entitled *Beginning and End*. The second stage is that which from the phenomenon of *life* argues to a living life-giving Creator. The writer holds that not otherwise than through the direct causality of God can the origin of life be accounted for. "If we would steer our barque safely to land, we must avoid the shoals and quicksands, and confess that the beginning of life is to be sought not in the sphere of ordinary causes, but in the unfathomable ocean of Almighty power." The third stage finds the material of argument in the *various forms of life*. At this point the author has to grapple with Darwin's theory. His attitude towards it is critical and dubious. He admits that were it proved Catholics

could accept it without changing a dogma of their faith, and is, of course, aware that not a few Catholics have accepted and even enthusiastically advocated it. But his own view is not quite so favourable to the theological tendency of Darwinism. He thinks it would exclude a first cause if it could. And judged by scientific canons, he thinks it by no means unassailable. "The lower, imperfect animals, with which the graduated scale begins, fit very badly into the theory of selection." "All botany is up in arms against the doctrine of descent. The vegetable kingdom, both past and present, is equally stubborn and unyielding in its resistance." "If the theory of natural selection was hatched in the dovecot and the stable, that of sexual selection may be said to have been excogitated in the family parlour. It applies human ideas to animals, with the important difference that mankind regard the female as the sex of beauty and the object of selection." The conclusion is that in the world of animal life must be found the evidence of a creative mind. "The presence of a new force must be recognised in the animal. Thus the First Cause is shown to be spiritual as well as living, for it must be higher than the conscious animal. . . . This result joined with the preceding may be set down as the third stage of the cosmological argument, the transcendent importance of which is not commonly appreciated."

The crowning stage of the argument finds its logical basis in MAN. The author does not believe that man, at least on the rational and moral side of his nature, is the result of evolution. "Historically it is not probable that man, intellectually and morally, is a psychical evolution from the brute. Ethnography has blown to atoms Rousseau's ideal child of nature. But the Darwinian substitute, namely, speechless primitive man, the brutal savage, has also been mercilessly battered and mangled." Neither does he believe that man has been steadily progressing upwards. "Faith and science both declare that man's condition in the beginning was purer and nobler than at present." The conclusion is that man is a direct creature of God, and in this conclusion the cosmological argument culminates, giving a First Cause, who, like man, is possessed of intelligence, liberty, and personality.

In the last four chapters of his work the author treats of *the System of the World, the Unity of the Human Race, the Age of the Human Race, and the Deluge*, the aim being to bring science on these topics into harmony with Scripture and the creed of the Church. In the course of his discussion he comes upon some rather hard problems, one of them being the attitude of the Church towards the Copernican theory as advanced by Galileo. It must be confessed in all fairness that he gets through his task with considerable dexterity. He tells the story of the Church's action in connection

with the great heresy that the earth moves round the sun and round its own axis, in a straightforward way. Of course he admits that the ecclesiastical authorities were wrong and Galileo right. But he does his best to apologise for the Church. The apology amounts to this: The authorities treated Galileo on the whole with mildness and consideration; though they erred they are not to be blamed in view of the state of exegesis, philosophy, and natural science at the time; and they were no worse than their neighbours, even as late as the eighteenth century the number of Protestant theologians who combated the new system on Scriptural grounds being not small. It is unfortunately too true that there are at all times many in Protestant churches who are "Catholic" in spirit, and Protestant only in name.

Notwithstanding its Catholic colouring, discernible on every page, genuine enlightened Protestants may read Dr Schanz's book with interest and profit.

A. B. BRUCE.

### **Natural Theology and Modern Thought.**

*The Donellan Lectures for 1888-9, by James Houghton Kennedy, B.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 8vo, pp. 276. Price 5s.*

In these Lectures Mr Kennedy makes a valuable contribution to the contemporary literature of Apologetics. By the nature of the case they do not deal systematically or exhaustively with the wide subject; but they do most satisfactorily fulfil the purpose of the writer "to examine some points in which the results of modern research and the development of modern thought are supposed to have seriously affected the proofs of Natural Theology." The first point examined is *The Veto of Positivism*, which "claims the right to prohibit all belief in a Personal God as an attempt to travel beyond the limits of experience." This arrogant claim is disposed of by pointing out that not only theists but scientists transgress the limits of experience as defined by Positivists; for example, in their researches into the theory of light. The luminiferous ether is beyond the reach of observation, it is simply an inference from the phenomena of light, which are best accounted for by the assumption of an undulatory medium. In like manner God, though beyond experience, may be a necessary postulate to explain the facts of experience. "Before such phrases as 'The limits of experience' can give to Positivists or to Agnostics the slightest assistance in making good their prohibition of all theology, they must first succeed in so defining experience as to exclude from its

field the inferences of what Kant calls the Physico-Theological argument, while their definition will enable them, at the same time, to include all the results of science."

The second lecture deals at great length with the question of Materialism. A prominent place in the discussion is given to the two tracts of Du Bois-Reymond on *The Limits of Physical Science*, and *The Seven Enigmas of the World*, which are well entitled to the prominence given to them, both on account of the scientific fame of their author, and because they bring out with scientific impartiality the insuperable difficulties of the Materialistic theory. Among the insurmountable limits of science Du Bois-Reymond places these two: the origin of motion and the origin of consciousness. To explain either something more is wanted than a universe of atoms and mechanical causation. Given atoms in motion it may be possible, on the principles of evolution, to account for the world up to the point where consciousness comes in. But in the homogeneous universe from which the evolutionary process must start motion seems impossible except through a supernatural impulse. And as the supernatural must be introduced at the beginning of the world process, so it must be resorted to at the end to explain the phenomena of mind. Materialists have tried hard to obviate this unwelcome consequence by ascribing to matter the properties of mind, and describing it as a two-sided substance, with two sets of properties,—on the lower side those of motion, on the upper those of thought. This is a reversion to the Spinozan conception. Mr Kennedy offers some very acute criticisms on this device of modern materialism to make an insoluble problem appear soluble.

Among the most valuable things in this important lecture is the parallel drawn between the relation of the human will to mechanical causation, and the relation of a Divine Will to the physical order of the universe. The causality of the human will is real, yet it seems impossible to reconcile it with physical causation everywhere prevailing. Hence the apparent impossibility of finding room for a Divine agency in the physical order of the universe is no conclusive argument against the reality of that agency. "If the chain of physical causation pervades the human body as much as it does any part of the universe, and yet cannot exclude the agency of Design there; the inference will be irresistible, that there must be room everywhere else for Design to work, and the only question will be, 'Have we evidence for the existence of Design?'"

This question naturally introduces the subject of *Design and Natural Selection*, which is considered in the third lecture. The result of the discussion is to leave it an open question on which of two hypotheses the phenomena of adaptation are to be explained: Design or Natural Selection. Helmholtz and Darwin are cited as

admitting, each in his own sphere of inquiry, that the adaptations are such as would characterise the work of the highest Wisdom, while both contending that they are really due to Natural Selection. To settle the question as between the two rival hypotheses, appeal is made to the sphere of the Beautiful and Sublime,—the phenomena in which, it is held, cannot be accounted for otherwise than by Design consciously investing the universe with features that appeal to our æsthetic faculties. This subject is discussed with much eloquence and force in the fourth lecture. Mr Kennedy points out that Darwin's explanation of the beauty of flowers, birds, and butterflies, is a departure from the theory of the Survival of the Fittest. The Survival of the Fittest has become the Survival of the Fittest *to please*. "A new element has come into action, the element of consciousness, and also of a rudimentary form of choice and will; and without this element the theory will not work. Though it be the choice and will of very tiny beings, it is none the less by the exercise of will and choice that the selection here spoken of operates. The insects are attracted by exquisite flowers—the birds by the fair forms or beautiful songs of their mates; and through their being thus attracted to some rather than to others, it is practically determined that that which is most beautiful shall be perpetuated." This fact the author uses as a stepping-stone to rise to God as the author of the beauty of mountains and valleys, of forest, sea, and shore, of sunrise and sunset, and the midnight sky. "How can the doctrine of the survival of the fittest among a number of fortuitous combinations be made to work here? We saw that its author was obliged to have recourse to the hypothesis of choice and selection made by living beings in order to explain the minuter beauties of nature. But no being but One can work on the tremendous scale that we have to do with now."

The two last lectures deal with the important topics of *Determinism and the Will*, and *Kant and the moral proof*. In the former of the two, the author insists with much effect on the difference between two kinds of Determinism which are apt to be confounded—that which consists in asserting that our actions are determined by the strongest motive, and materialistic Determinism which denies to the mind all power of influencing action. The one theory so far from being a modification of the other, is a contradiction of it. The one sort of Determinism, while denying that the will is *free*, admits the will to be a real cause. The other sort reduces the will as a cause to a nullity.

We have nothing but praise for this book. Readers will find both pleasure and profit in its perusal.

A. B. BRUCE.

### Introduction to the Johannine Writings.

*By Paton J. Gloag, D.D., Author of "An Introduction to the Pauline Epistles," &c., &c. London: Nisbet & Co. Demy 8vo. Pp. xvii., 440. Price 10s. 6d.*

THE Johannine Writings continue to offer an absorbing theme of contemplation. The problems of their authenticity, of their oneness of authorship, of their real import and motive, and of the place they occupy in the New Testament, still provoke eager controversy, and excite almost passionate enthusiasm. Dr Gloag admits that notwithstanding the great names to be reckoned among the defenders of the Johannine origin of the Fourth Gospel both in this country, in America, and on the Continent, yet the question cannot be regarded as settled, while scholars of the calibre of Drs. Davidson, Schürer, Harnack, Pfleiderer, Weizsäcker, and Hilgenfeld,—he might have added Martineau, A. Thoma, Reuss, and Holtzmann—rank among those that deny the Apostolic origin of this priceless treasure-trove of the Church of Christ.

One peculiarity of the contest has not been sufficiently noticed. The ordinary methods of modern historical criticism in discussing the claim of the traditional authorship of an ancient document are apt to emphasise the various layers of deposition, to discover a mosaic made up by different authors in successive generations, to discern contrarieties of style, incongruities of purpose, and numerous redactions, and thus the whole is broken up into separate parts. Now, though the Apocalypse is beginning to suffer from this method of disintegration, the Gospel still stands forth in a sublime completeness. In fact, hostile criticism in this particular instance rests its case upon the fact that one mighty spirit breathes through the entire document, and that from the first verse to the close of chapter xx. at least, with one exception, no suspicion is suggested that we have to deal with more than one luminous, highly idiosyncratic mind, one master hand. The unity of the Gospel is assured. Even the manner in which the writer occasionally comments upon the words of the Lord Jesus, or possibly adds to them some kindred reflections of his own, partakes of the same character, and shows how far he fell from the lofty level of the teaching he professes to record.

We must not be surprised that the opponents of supranaturalism should resist and resent the verisimilitude and veracity of the Johannine record, because if the final conclusion of the campaign should leave the apostolic origin unscathed, a momentous support is given to the fact of the supranatural *per se* and to the entirely



unique self-consciousness, and transcendent life of the Eternal Son of God in human flesh.

Dr Paton J. Gloag has been long known and appreciated as a diligent worker in this department of criticism, and the present volume is a worthy companion to his interesting and scholarly Introductions to the Pauline and General Epistles. We value this contribution to the Johannine question, if for no other reason than for this, that it endeavours to grapple with every part of the controversy, and gives equal attention to the external and to the internal evidence for the Johannine origin of the Gospel, Epistles, and Apocalypse.

No department of the subject is overlooked, though we must express our surprise at the cursory way in which some evidence is advanced, and some serious objections are handled, *e.g.*, the quotations supposed to be made by Justin Martyr from the Gospel are accepted without reference to certain formidable assaults upon the position, and the gist of the controversy as to the citations which were made by *Basileides* is hardly touched upon. The whole value of the evidence derivable from the newly recovered Diatessaron of Tatian is insufficiently set forth, and a thoroughgoing examination of the differences, harmonies, and mutual omissions of the Synoptical and Fourth Gospels is still a desideratum to the discussion. On the other hand, we call special attention to two sections of great merit—one is the compendious view of the legendary life of St John, and the other on the affinities between the Apocalypse and other apocalyptic literature. Dr Gloag treats with scrupulous fairness the numerous writers whose opinions he controverts, and does not assume that either himself or any other has resolved the apparent contradiction between the Synoptist's solitary reference to the day of the last supper, and the long series of detailed allusions in the Fourth Gospel to the synchronism of the day of the crucifixion with the passover sacrifice. We are of opinion that the question is much nearer final solution than he suggests.

Numerous important discussions are introduced, *e.g.*, on the theology of St John, appended to the Introduction to the first Epistle, on the Logos of Philo, on the relation of the Logos to the Old Testament as well as to the Targums and the Gnostic writers. We thankfully accept and commend the dissertations on the systems of interpretation to which the Apocalypse has been submitted. Dr Gloag does not decide between these, though his preference appears to fall upon the spiritual exposition of the symbols. The volume will be valued as a lucid handbook of a many-sided controversy, and will doubtless bring nearer the day when the truth about these incomparable writings will be placed beyond all reasonable doubt.

H. R. REYNOLDS.

**Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte.**

Von Dr Adolf Harnack, ord. Professor der Kirchengeschichte, &c., in Berlin. Band III. Freiburg i. B., J. C. B. Mohr. Large 8vo. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. viii., 789. Price M. 17.

DR HARNACK'S "History of Dogmas," of which this is the third and last volume, is a large and important work, with many striking excellences, and a very distinct character of its own. Most books of doctrine-history give us very much more of doctrine than of history, and sometimes we are apt to feel that the doctrines of successive ages and theologians are treated in so abstract a manner that the history becomes a mere chronological skeleton, or a process of logical evolution. This cannot be said of the work before us. While it does not lack full expositions and criticisms of the systems of doctrine that have prevailed at different times in the Church, and acute elucidations of the logical relations of one doctrine or system to another; it constantly views them all in close connection with the actual history of the Christian religion and Church, and even with the external events and general history of the times. It is, therefore, an eminently readable book, one that is not merely useful for reference about particular facts or dates, but that can be read continuously with interest and profit. It is, indeed, in many places, stiff reading, from the abstract nature of some of the expositions; but it represents the living process of development through which Christian doctrine has passed in successive stages, and shows the influence of the personal character and life of the great Christian teachers on the doctrine of the Church.

According to Harnack's conception of dogma, its history is more limited than has been generally thought; for it does not comprehend the whole intellectual treatment of Christianity, but only a particular form of it, namely, the formulated expressions of belief, regarded as having the authority of Divine revelation, and necessary to be recognised in order to salvation. This is not doctrine in the general sense in which we use the word to translate the German *Lehre*; it is dogma in the sense of a proposition which is, as the Roman Catholics say, "of faith" (*de fide*); and in this sense dogma is not so old as Christianity, and its historian has first to trace its origination, and then to describe its career. Accordingly, the first part of our author's history is entitled "The Origination of the Ecclesiastical Dogma," and embraces the period up to the end of the third century: the second part is entitled "The Development of the Ecclesiastical Dogma," and is divided into three Books. "I. The development of Dogma as a doctrine of the God-man on the

ground of natural Theology. II. The enlargement and new coining of Dogma as a doctrine of sin and grace, and the means of grace on the ground of the Church. III. The three-fold issue of the history of Dogma." The first of these books traces the theology of the Eastern Church, as far as it has any real history at all, that is, to the ninth century : the second follows the theology of the Western Church from its beginning down to the Reformation : and the third traces Roman Catholic Dogma down to the Vatican Council, and then describes Socinianism and Protestantism as the two other issues of the history of Dogma. The third volume, which is the subject of this notice, includes the second and third Books of the second part of the whole work ; but thus much needed to be said of the contents of the earlier volumes to make an account of this one intelligible.

Harnack's general conception of the history of Dogma in the Western Church is that the dogmatic theology of the Greek Church, which consisted simply of the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, was taken over as authoritative, but that by the teaching of Augustine there was added to that a series of doctrines about sin and grace, by which the character of the system as a whole was materially altered, as it was also by the influence of specially Roman ideas of the Church and its ordinances. In the ages after Augustine, his theology was considerably modified, and was received as orthodox only in a form weakened to suit the ecclesiastical tendencies of the times ; and the history of medieval and of modern Roman Catholic Theology is, to a large extent, a history of the gradual breaking down, bit by bit, of the Augustinian doctrines of sin and grace, under the influence of the hierarchical, sacramental, and scholastic tendencies of the times. The representation of the theology of Augustine is very full and enlightening, occupying 160 pages of thoughtful and clear writing ; and ample justice is done to the religious spirit as well as to the intellectual power of his teaching. It is very refreshing, in these days when Augustinian theology is so often misunderstood and decried, to read such a fair exposition of it, and such a sympathetic appreciation of its roots in genuine Christian experience, and of its salutary influence on the teaching of later ages. Harnack shows, with great feeling, as well as clearness, that Augustine's doctrines of original sin, of efficacious grace, and of predestination, were the result and expression of his religious experience and piety, a kind of piety that was deeper and more healthful than that which had come to be common in Christians before his time, which, however, has never been lost in the Church since, but has been the ground of the religion of all the men and women who have been remarkable for true godliness in succeeding ages. At the same time he points out the other elements in Augustine's teaching, which did not perfectly harmonise with his

religious conception of sin and grace, his doctrine of the Church and the sacraments as indispensable means of grace, and an element of neo-Platonic metaphysics, which, Harnack thinks, to some extent confused his conception of God, in the main a purely religious one. These various constituent parts in Augustine's teaching are exhibited in separate chapters with great acuteness and abundant references to illustrative passages in his writings; and the reader obtains a good idea of the intellectual and spiritual greatness of the man and of his distinctive and individual character.

Then, after a brief but clear account of the semi-Pelagian controversy, it is shown that Gregory the Great, whom Harnack regards as related to Augustine as Cyprian was to Tertullian, modified the Augustinian doctrine so as to suit the ecclesiastical and sacerdotal ideas and tendencies of the time, and thus formed the bridge between Augustine and the Middle Ages. The history of doctrine that follows is in his view mainly a gradual process of breaking down the theology of Augustine by the continual increase of external and sacramental ideas. Meanwhile, in describing the Adoptian controversy, he shows how the notion of grace, which Augustine had made the leading one in the theology of the West, tended to lead men away from, or at least beyond, the dogma of the hypostatic union, in which the orthodoxy of the East largely consisted. Then the decay of Augustinianism is illustrated by the history and fate of Gottschalk, to whom justice is done as a faithful adherent of, and sufferer for, that doctrine.

Our author, however, is far from thinking that all the influences that modified theology in the middle ages were superstitious or worldly and operated only for evil. On the contrary, he devotes large space to a sympathetic description of the revival of piety in the tenth century, through the influence of the convent of Clugny, St Bernard, and later St Francis and the mendicant orders. During the whole medieval period the influences moulding doctrines were, he conceives, mainly three: the living, practical piety of the age in its various forms, the development of the Canon law and the Papal claims, and the revival of science under the influence of Aristotle. Anselm, perhaps, receives from Harnack the scantiest justice of any of the great dogma-makers. His doctrine of satisfaction is very fully and elaborately expounded, but not with much apparent sympathy; and the extremely acute criticism upon it is rather overdone as applied to what was practically the first attempt at a scientific explanation of the mystery of our redemption, which Christians have always believed as a fact; an attempt, too, which though not entirely successful, pointed on the whole in the true direction.

In the history of the later middle ages there is a full account of the doctrine of the sacraments as worked out by the great schoolmen;

and it is also shown how the Augustinian theology was further modified by the notions of merit that had come to be generally entertained, and how the nominalistic theology tended to efface it altogether, though there was a revival of Augustinianism by Bradwardine, Wiclif, Huss, and others.

The title which Harnack has given to the third book of his history, "The Threefold Issue of the History of Dogma," is explained by the fact that he considers that dogma, in the sense in which it began in Christendom about the beginning of the fourth century, has come to an end, but in three different ways in different parts of the Christian community of the West. One was that the growing claims of Papal authority in the sphere of doctrine, as well as of government and discipline, should swamp the dogmas hitherto regarded as principles of revealed truth, by levelling up every Papal decision to equal authority, and reducing the mass of the Church to the exercise of mere implicit faith, on the authority of the Church or the Pope. This is the course that affairs actually took in the Roman Catholic Church, but it needed three centuries to come to its goal in the Vatican Council of 1870. Hence the history of dogma is carried down to that point, including a very clear description of the ambiguous decisions of the Council of Trent, and an account of the final struggles of Augustinianism as represented by the Jansenists, and the gradual victory of the Jesuits, culminating in the decree of the infallibility of the Pope, which virtually made the idea of any other dogma, in the old sense, meaningless.

A second course of development was that of the Anti-Trinitarians and Socinians of the sixteenth century, which following the tendencies to pantheistic mysticism, to rationalising criticism of the old doctrines, and to a humanistic view of the world, brought about a transformation of dogmatic Christianity into a mere system of morality. In this part of Christendom certainly there was an end of the old doctrines, not only as to their form, but as to their substance, and its history is not traced further than the exposition of the Socinian system in the Racovian Catechism, which is very fully described and fairly estimated.

The third line of development was the Protestant Reformation, which Harnack takes to have been, in its genuine character, as exhibited in the teaching of Luther, an end of dogma not less really, though in a more true and Christian way than either of the two former. Accordingly he gives no more here than a very full and appreciative account of the Christianity of Luther, explaining why he holds that the history of dogma should end here, and not be carried any farther in the case of the Protestant Churches. He admits that many of the theologians of these Churches, especially of the Lutheran, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, retained or reasserted the old idea of

certain dogmas having absolute authority, and being essential marks of the Church ; but he thinks that in doing so they fell back from the fundamental principles of the Reformation, and that in spite of their dogmatism, the principles of Luther and the first Reformers really continued to guide and animate the thoughts of the Protestant Churches, as is seen in the movements of theology in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Harnack is indeed far from the opinion of those who regarded the Reformers as merely the champions of free inquiry. He considers the essence of Luther's Christianity to be the assertion of the direct religious relation of the soul to God, and of the exclusive value and authority of what is truly religious in the doctrines and ordinances of the Church. Luther attached vital importance to the articles of the œcumenical creeds, not because of their antiquity, or their universal acceptance by the Church, but because he found in them the expressions of that grace of God in Christ by faith in which the soul lives, and so they were not to him any longer dogmas, *i.e.*, either intellectual first principles or ecclesiastical depositions, but direct expressions of religious faith. When this position is maintained, dogma in the proper sense is no more, and its history should come to an end. This does not mean that the progress of thought and variations of opinion in the Protestant Churches are unimportant, but merely that they should be studied in the form of a history of Protestant theology, not of a history of dogma.

This view of the limits of the history of dogma is new and somewhat startling at first sight, but it is quite consistent with the author's conception of the meaning of dogma given at the outset of his work, and with his view that dogma in that sense was not an original part of Christianity, but that the historian has first to trace its formation and then to follow its history. The history of dogma therefore is not co-extensive with the history of Christian theology, but only a long episode in it. There were theologians before any dogmas had been formed, and there have been also theologians who have left all dogmas behind them. Further, this conception of dogma is not a merely arbitrary one, but one that really existed for ages in the Christian Church ; nay more, it is not peculiar to Christianity, nor did it originate from it, for it was received in the Greek and Roman schools of philosophy, and is mentioned by Cicero and Seneca altogether apart from Christianity. Dogma, therefore, is a reality in the history of human thought, and the recognition of it in the development of Christian thought is a valuable contribution to a correct understanding of the various phases through which that has passed. Harnack's view as to the threefold end of dogma in Christendom is, I think, correct and enlightening ; and it is better to close the history, as he does, with the Reformation, than to carry it on, as some prefer, to the Formula Concordiæ in the Lutheran

Church (1580) and the Synod of Dort in the Reformed. If it be carried so far, why not, as he pertinently asks, include also the Westminster Assembly? Indeed the Arminian, the Anglican, and more modern forms of theology would also have claims to be recognised.

No one can blame a historian for the point at which he begins or ends his narrative, if only he does what he proposes and professes to do; and as Harnack has undertaken a history of dogma in the strict sense of the term, it must be acknowledged that he has fulfilled his task. We may also say that the subject, as he conceives it, has a unity and an importance that make it well worthy of being treated in a single work specially devoted to it. Whether the history of dogma in this sense ought to be a distinct department of historical theology is a different question, which I think must be answered in the negative. It forms but an episode in the more general history of Christian thought, or of doctrine in the sense of the German *Lehre* and the Latin *doctrina*, as distinguished from *dogma*, *decretum*, or *placitum*. But that general history may be better understood by means of the separate treatment of so important a section of it as the history of dogma in the narrower sense.

It need hardly be added that Dr Harnack's work is characterised by abundant learning, fine critical acumen, and great accuracy and fairness in the statement of various theological views, as also by sympathy with all that is best and most Christian in spirit and tendency. It is a contribution of great value to theology, and fitted to be useful and suggestive, not only to the student of Church history, but to the systematic theologian as well. One of the tasks that the progress of modern knowledge sets before the student of Christian doctrine is to determine how far the old formulas and creeds represent truly the substance of New Testament teaching, and the essence of the religion of Jesus Christ, and how far they merely reflect the intellectual forms of past ages which were largely due to influences outside of Christianity altogether. Many are endeavouring to form a theology free from metaphysics, though it still remains to be seen whether and how such a result can be attained. The study of the formation of dogma as a historical fact must be an indispensable means of rightly deciding these questions, and for that purpose the earlier part of this work is very valuable. Its later portion, again, may be useful in making clear to Protestant theologians, that if they are true to the principles of the Reformation, they must allow no dogma or form of belief to have authority simply because it is ancient, or has been universally received, but be open to prove all things and hold fast only that which is the genuine expression of the religious teaching of the Word of God, and above all of Jesus Christ.

JAS. S. CANDLISH.

### Die Heilsbedeutung des Todes Christi.

*Biblisch-Theologische Untersuchung, von Lic. Dr Ernst Kühl. Berlin: Hertz. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo. Pp. 230, M. 4.*

As a specimen of acute exegesis, and clear, flowing exposition, Dr Kühl's essay deserves the highest praise. It is marked by all the German thoroughness, and more than the average German lucidity. In another respect also the essay has considerable value for English students, namely, as a statement of the Scriptural argument for the theory of atonement favoured by Ritschl's disciples. The best that can be said, on Scriptural grounds, for the exclusively "subjective" theory, is here said in the best way. In going through the work we have been struck with the way in which the author traverses every point and detail of the "objective" or "objectivo-subjective" theory current in all the Reformed Churches. We are far from suggesting that the author sets out with the purpose of doing this; but if he had so set out, he could not have done it more thoroughly. Every exposition leads up to the denial of some part or other of the ordinary doctrine. The spaced type used in the printing seems intended to call attention to these denials. "The phrase, 'God's righteousness,' never means in Scripture a righteousness coming from God. Scripture traces the value of Christ's suffering to the human, not to the divine, element in Him. The only reconciliation is on man's side"—these are examples of what we mean.

But Dr Kühl's chief quarrel is with the idea of satisfaction to judicial or penal righteousness. He admits, indeed, the existence of the latter in God, as he admits the existence of anger, in this respect approaching much nearer to orthodox teaching than Ritschl. While he seems to lower the significance both of penal justice and anger, he still concedes their existence. But he finds no trace or suggestion in Scripture of satisfaction to justice being a ground of the necessity of the atonement. This position is asserted again and again with great emphasis; and it is supported by the old argument that, if justice did receive satisfaction, there is no room for repentance or forgiveness. God *must* then forgive. Of course the theory of satisfaction is never put forward as matter of express Biblical teaching, but only as an inference from Scripture, and as necessary to explain and justify it. To reject the idea because not found in Scripture is not unlike the rejection by a doctor of the idea of a soul because his dissecting-knife has never touched it.

The author feels as strongly as the "Church Dogmatic," that some necessity must be shown for Christ's death; and he devotes the last chapter to this question. The only necessity he can find is



a historical one, the necessity stated by F. W. Robertson in a blunter way, "Christ approached the whirling wheel, and was torn in pieces."

Another weak point in the author's positive teaching is the following. We are told that God annexed forgiveness to the death of Christ, or to faith in that death, because He foresaw that the preaching of His death would prove the most effectual means of leading men to repentance. But why should the thought of Christ's death have this effect on man? The author has shown no benefit which the death, as such, procures for us. The sole feature giving value to Christ's death in God's sight, and therefore in man's, is that it attested the sufferer's fidelity in His calling. That is, Christ was the greatest of martyrs. His death can therefore only influence us as the death of any other martyr does. Dr Kühl expends great ingenuity and enters into considerable discussion on these two last points. We do not think that the reasons given will commend themselves to the unprejudiced as strong or adequate.

We should do injustice to the author if we did not add that, while keeping in the main to Ritschl's lines, in several important respects he approaches nearer the "Church Dogmatic" which he so strenuously contests. He does so in his definition of righteousness and atonement. In our author's opinion Ritschl virtually confounds the latter with repentance (p. 162). Again, God's "holiness" is assigned as a reason why God can only forgive the penitent (pp. 218, 220). This holiness evidently includes more than Ritschl's definition of righteousness or justice.

J. S. BANKS.

### **The Philosophical Basis of Evolution.**

*By James Croll, LL.D., F.R.S., author of "Climate and Time," &c.  
London: Edward Stanford. Large Post 8vo. Pp. 202. Price 7s. 6d.*

SINCE this work has been published, the death of the able and learned author has been announced. His was a remarkable career. Almost self-taught, he yet was able so to train himself, as to occupy a foremost place in science and philosophy. His scientific treatises are of the highest order, and his contribution to the "philosophy of Theism" proves him to be a clear and fruitful thinker in the sphere which belongs equally to philosophy and theology. He was in all respects well qualified to take an influential part in the vexed question of the present hour. He was equally at home in science and in philosophy. He could discuss with clearness and incisiveness questions relating to the freedom of the will, and he could also write on topics which involved the highest mathematical calculus. We feel

how great a loss science and philosophy and theology have sustained in the death of this great and fruitful thinker.

The present work is worthy of his high reputation. To discuss the great question of "the philosophical basis of evolution," is a task which must strain to the uttermost every faculty a man possesses. We need not enumerate the indispensable qualifications for such work. But Dr Croll was a man who brought to it many qualities of the highest order. He had patient labour, insight, knowledge. He also could state the problem accurately, as the following quotation shows. "Evolution regards the world as a succession of events—as a process in time, a gradual transition from the simple to the complex, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, from the indefinite to the definite, a change from the general to the particular. Evolution looks on every change as conditioned by its antecedent or efficient cause. Everything is regarded as under the domain of causality. Nothing happens without a cause, and the same causes acting under the same conditions will always produce the same effects. All events are considered to be the products of continuously operating causes, and no breaks or stoppages in the sequences of phenomena are recognised. An all-pervading uniformity in nature is assumed. The modern biological doctrine of evolution regards the higher and more complex forms of life as gradually arising out of the lower and more simple. Every kind of being is regarded as a product of modifications wrought by insensible gradations on a pre-existing kind of living thing" (pp. 1, 2).

This statement of the meaning of evolution will be universally accepted. In some sense of the word every one now-a-days is an evolutionist. But in what sense? Dr Croll is an evolutionist in a different sense from, for example, Dr Romanes. He does not hold that the process of evolution is purely mechanical or physical, or that it is the result of matter, motion, and force alone. He holds that evolution can neither be stated nor explained, in terms of these elements. Mere evolutionists hold that evolution is a mechanical process. Dr Croll shows that such it cannot be. The main argument on which he relies is not precisely new; we have seen similar arguments in various books which deal with the Theistic argument. Dr Chalmers was wont to point out that the laws of matter cannot account for the collocations of matter. But we have nowhere seen the argument set forth so lucidly, with such knowledge and with such varied illustration and application to the particular sciences, as we have it set forth in this book. The *exertion* of force does not explain the direction, mode, and measure of the force. Given that force is exerted, we need still to explain why it acts in this way rather than in that. Nor does motion explain the determination of motion. The clear demonstration of the difference

between the exertion of force and the determination of force is one of the most valuable features of the book. Force may be exerted in any way; what needs to be explained is the precise way in which it is exerted. Dr Croll proves that what is true of force is true also of matter and motion. Neither matter, force, nor motion can determine matter, force, or motion. Out of many illustrations of this statement we select one. "The determinations which take place in nature occur not at random but according to a plan—an objective idea. Thus the question is not simply, what causes a body to take some direction, but what causes it to take, among the infinite number of possible directions, the proper direction in relation to the idea. In the formation of, say, the leaf of a tree, no two molecules move in identically the same direction or take identically the same path. But each molecule must move in relation to the objective idea of the leaf, or no leaf would be formed. The grand question is, what is it that selects from among the infinite number of possible directions the proper one in relation to the idea?" (p. 53). Every change must take place in some determinate manner. It is not enough to say that force is persistent, or that matter and motion and force persist. It is not enough to say with Spencer, "that organic growth takes place in the line of least resistance." For it must be shown what determines the lines of least resistance in relation to the organism. Mechanical principles will not explain the adaptation of means to ends in any organism. All the Spencerian notions set forth in the "First Principles" are examined by Dr Croll, and it is shown that Spencer has not been true to his own principles. The attempt made by him to pass from the indefinite to the definite is shown to involve principles which cannot be stated in terms of force, matter, or motion. Force may persist, but if the force is not constrained to act in definite ways, and under definite conditions, we may never pass beyond chaos.

Dr Croll deals in a similar manner with Darwinism, and has no difficulty in showing that the phenomena with which Darwin has dealt, needs more factors for their production than he has recognised. There is needed a "directing agency." Readers of Darwin's life will remember how much he resented the suggestion of Sir Charles Lyell to this effect. But Dr Croll makes the same suggestion, and shows that it is indispensable. After some chapters dealing with molecular motion in relation to unity of plan and to unity of purpose, he proceeds to speak of Evolution in relation to Teleology, and proves that the old argument from final causes is still vital. He expresses surprise that the discovery of the methods of nature should have led many to the abandonment of teleology. He might well be surprised when men have held that the discovery of unity of plan, of the adaptation of means to ends, and of the method by

which ends have been accomplished, showed the absence of a governing intelligence. Finally he shows that matter and motion cannot account for a succession of events with a plan and purpose running through them, and that "the theory of an eternal God gives a rational explanation of the order and intelligence which manifestly run through this succession of events." And no other theory can do so. The work is of great value in itself, and of special value as the work of a man at home with the methods of scientific thought and work, and versed in the exact thinking which science prescribes.

JAMES IVERACH.

### **The Religious Aspects of Evolution.**

*By James M'Cosh, D.D., LL.D., Ex-President of Princeton College.  
London: James Nisbet & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 130. Price 5s.*

THE venerable ex-President of Princeton College has been constrained to write on this subject because all along he has had "a sensitive apprehension that the indiscriminating denunciation of evolution from so many pulpits, periodicals, and seminaries might drive some of our thoughtful young men to infidelity, as they clearly saw development everywhere in nature, and were at the same time told by their advisers that they could not believe in evolution and yet be Christians." For many years Dr M'Cosh has maintained that a man may believe in evolution and yet be a Christian. In the little work published in 1876—"The Development Hypothesis"—Dr M'Cosh has written thus:—"I have ever stood up for a doctrine of Development. There is a development of one form of matter from another, of one force from another. There is, as everyone allows, a development of the plant and animal from the parent. I see nothing irreligious in holding that the bird may have been evolved by numerous transitions from the reptile, and the living horse from the old horse of the Eocene period. An accumulation of powers, new conditions and surroundings, may, it is acknowledged, produce a variety, which may become hereditary." It is easier now to make such statements than it was when Dr M'Cosh first made them. Both then and now Dr M'Cosh has done good work in recognising the greatness of Darwin, and in admitting the fruitfulness of his theory, and his powers as a scientific observer. Granting, however, all this, admitting that Darwin has pointed out real causes and discovered the true methods of Creation, neither then nor now does Dr M'Cosh admit that evolution explains everything.

It would be well both for theologians and for scientific men to remember the profound saying of Bishop Butler, that "what is natural requires and presupposes an intelligent agent to make it so, *i.e.*, to effect it continuously and at stated times." For men of science, and Darwin in particular, seem to think that when they have found the law and method of operation in evolution they have done all that is necessary. But the inquiry has still to be made, what is the cause of that which is "fixed, stated, settled," to use again the language of Butler. Granted evolution and its method, it really makes no more difference to the problems of Theism, than was made by the discovery of the law of gravitation, or any other law. Religion is as compatible with the reign of law everywhere, as it is with the reign of law anywhere.

Dr M'Cosh's little book is valuable for many reasons. His high authority and his elevated character, as well as his reputation as a conservative thinker, will have a calming influence on the minds of men and may induce them to look without alarm on Evolution, and its methods. The book is valuable because of the information it conveys. The first business of Dr M'Cosh is to state the question. "The question is said to be whether the origin of species and descent of living creatures are by supernatural power or natural law, by Creator or creative action, by design or by mechanism, by contrivance or by chance, by purpose or without purpose." But this is misleading. It ought to be stated otherwise. "Mr Darwin, followed by Dr Romanes and many others, is constantly drawing the distinction in this form: between 'natural selection' and 'supernatural design,' between 'natural law and special creation.' Now the difference between the two opposing theories is misleading, and this whether put by disbelief or by belief. The supernatural power is to be recognised in the natural law. The Creator's power is executed by creative action. The design is seen in the mechanism. Chance is obliged to vanish because we see contrivance. There is purpose where we see a beneficent end accomplished. Supernatural design produces natural selection. Special creation is included in universal creation." This paragraph really contains the gist of the book. All that is in it is illustration and setting forth of this thesis, "The design is seen in the mechanism." We thank Mr Darwin and Dr Romanes when they show us the mechanism, we can draw for ourselves the inference as to the design. When they discover for us the order and method of nature, we can supply what they omit, and say that order implies intelligence.

JAMES IVERACH.

**The Apostolic Fathers. Part I. S. Clement of Rome.**

*A Revised Text, with Introductions, Notes, Dissertations, and Translations. By the late J. B. Lightfoot, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., Lord Bishop of Durham. London: Macmillan and Co. 1890. 2 vols. 8vo. Pp. 496 and 532. Price 32s.*

THE appearance of this work completes the late Bishop of Durham's edition of "The Apostolic Fathers," as he had designed it more than thirty years ago. His final judgments on the epistles of Ignatius and Polycarp we already had; and now in these two volumes he has left us his completed views on the writings connected with the name of Clement of Rome. To the study of those writings he had for many years brought not only ripe scholarship and the results of a reading as remarkable for its range as for its retention of details, but also an ardour and enthusiasm that were extinguished only with his life, and which chained him to his task until he fell into a half-unconscious state three days before his death.

The present volumes are an attempt to weld together the materials contained in the Bishop's earlier works. In 1869 he published a "revised text," based on the only MS. then known—the uncial Codex Alexandrinus (A); in this one leaf of the *Epistle* and the end of the *Homily* were wanting. In 1875 Bryennios gave us the first complete text, from a cursive MS. (C) which he had discovered; and in the following year a complete Syriac version (S) was found and purchased for Cambridge University. Dr Lightfoot at once (1877) published an Appendix volume, in which he recorded and discussed the readings of C and S, comparing them with those of A. All this matter is embodied in the edition now issued, along with several lengthy dissertations more or less connected with the subject under review. Besides a fragmentary essay on "St Peter in Rome," which death interrupted, and another on Barnabas, we find almost the half of these two volumes occupied with elaborate essays on "Clement the Doctor," the "Early Roman Succession," and Hippolytus. The first of these supports Lightfoot's former identification of Clement as a Jewish freedman of the household of the consul Flavius Clemens with some stronger arguments. The second essay probably, in Dr Westcott's words, "finally settles the problem of the order of the first five bishops of Rome." Bishop Lightfoot adopts the order of Epiphanius, who, he contends, has preserved the list contained in the lost Memoirs of Hegesippus. As to Hippolytus we have, except for some sections that were never written, a really exhaustive treatise. Some parts, however, have appeared already, and the portion of it which will mainly attract the attention of scholars is that on the Muratorian Fragment. In a letter to the *Academy* last year the Bishop indicated his belief that

this document had been written originally in Greek iambics ; and he now gives fuller reasons, as well as possible retranslations of the fragment, and ascribes it (probably) to Hippolytus.

Much of this is no doubt of permanent value, even if it should happen that the Bishop's views upon the Epistle to the Corinthians should turn out to be wrong : there was once a Bishop Clement, whether the Epistle known to us is or is not that Epistle which was known to the ancients. But when we turn to his treatment of what is surely the *raison d'être* of his book, the Greek text itself, we find what appear serious reasons for questioning several of his principal results. I am anxious to put these as clearly as possible, and to adduce some evidence in support of every piece of hostile criticism I may have to advance ; and, therefore, owing to the limits necessarily placed on this paper, I must confine the reader's attention to one or two vital points.

And in the first place—although I have hesitated and deliberated long before committing myself to the statement—I feel compelled to say plainly that, substantial as are the proofs here of the Bishop's wide learning, and of his skilful use of that learning, there are also, unfortunately, only too many indications of failing ability. Such an assertion, I am fully aware, will almost certainly shock as well as surprise the reader, but I can only beg him to examine patiently and fairly the evidence that follows. In one instance, at any rate, it seems impossible to account in any other way for the remarkable confusion into which Dr Lightfoot has fallen. I shall try to state this case, which occurs in vol. i., pp. 410-411, as briefly as possible. The Bishop there says, speaking of Jerome, " We must suppose that he first became acquainted with the Epistles to Virgins in the not very long interval between the publication of the Catalogue and of the work against Jovinianus." This remark is repeated from the old edition ; but in the meantime the author of " Modern Criticism and Clement's Epistles to Virgins " (Edin. 1884) has happened to assert that the " Letter to Eustochium " on virginity was written before the Catalogue, and now in an amazing foot-note nearly two columns long the Bishop takes him to task. He begins by quoting (p. 410) the author's statement that the Letter was written *before* the Catalogue, but in replying (p. 411) he alters the *before* into *after*, and then proceeds :—

" The Letter to Eustochium is assigned by Vallarsi on excellent grounds to the year A.D. 384 ; the *Catalogus* was certainly circulated some years before this (the date assigned is A.D. 378 ; see above, p. 173), and is referred to by Jerome himself at an earlier date (e.g., *adv. Jovinian.* ii. 26, II. p. 279). But the last chapter (§ 135), to which Mr Cotterill refers, was as certainly added to the *Catalogus* at some later revision or republication, as Jerome gives

the date . . . [A.D. 392], in the beginning of the same chapter about ten lines before the mention of the *Epistle to Eustochium*."

The italics are the Bishop's. Now, if we follow his reference back to p. 173, we first of all find that the only date he gives for the Catalogue is 392; it is another work altogether (the *Chronicon*) to which he there assigns the date 378. In the next place, the work *adv. Jovinian.*, is not of "an earlier date;" he himself assigns it to 393. Moreover, where would be "the not very long interval between the publication of the Catalogue and of the work against Jovinianus," if the one appeared in 378 and the other in 393? This "interval," the Bishop says in his text, was spent at Bethlehem; yet we know that the years 379-382 were passed in Constantinople, and 382-385 at Rome. And not only are the dates all mixed and confused, but the Bishop has actually, as will be seen, gone to all these pains to prove his opponent's case. This instance suggests that due caution should be exercised in accepting the conclusions at which he arrives from time to time. The failure of power shows itself in many ways. It was certainly no easy task to bring together into one consistent whole what he had written in 1869 and 1877, and the matter now first published. Still, it might have been done; and from this point of view the work cannot be considered a success. Great attention has been bestowed upon the addition of fresh matter, and far too little upon the recasting and revising of the old materials. The work is consequently marred in many instances by inconsistencies,<sup>1</sup> by the repetition of old mistakes<sup>2</sup> and omissions,<sup>3</sup> and by incompleteness and inaccuracy<sup>4</sup> in forming afresh the *apparatus criticus*.

<sup>1</sup> For example, in a note to *Ep.* 46 (ii. p. 140) he speaks of a quotation by Basil as "not found in our MS., and probably belonging to the lacuna from § 58," yet refers directly and in the same note to the Syriac MS., where, of course, the lacuna is supplied. Again, in ii. p. 208 *sq.*, he gives a summary of the contents of the *Homily*, and adds on to the summary made in 1869 the contents of those sections which were then unknown; but he retains the old prefatory remark, "The following is an analysis of the fragment."

<sup>2</sup> Thus, in *Hom.* 12 (ii. p. 238) he says that one of our Lord's sayings quoted by the writer of the *Homily* in § 9 "bears a close resemblance to the words as given in the *Excerpta Theodoti*." But at § 9 the Bishop cites the saying from "*Clem. Alex. Ecl. Proph.* 20 (p. 994)." He made the former statement in 1869, and drew an inference from it on p. 180, which he repeated in 1877 (p. 311), and yet again in the present work (ii. p. 202).

<sup>3</sup> Dr Lightfoot fails to compare *Hom.* 9 with the context in *Ecl. Proph.* 20 and 21 just spoken of. Then, besides other passages which *Clem. Alex.* has in common with the *Epistle*, to which no reference is given in his commentary, the Bishop has omitted both in the *apparatus criticus* and in his notes to § 50 a reference to a passage first cited by Bernard. See *Cotel. Patr. Apost.*, ed. Clericus, i. p. 175. Bernard gave a wrong page, but the passage occurs in *Strom.* ii. 15, p. 463. This was pointed out in *Mod. Crit.*, p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> See the last note. As inaccuracies the following, purposely taken from



The first thought should have been to make the text of the *Epistle*, and all that concerns it, as complete as possible, and to supply, for its better illustration, whatever had been defective in the edition of 1869. That edition was specially weak in that no effort was made in it to show the real relations subsisting between the Alexandrian Clement and his Roman namesake. Little more has been done in the present edition; for, though he says that Clem. Alex.'s writings are "steeped through and through with the influence of the Roman Clement" (i. p. 371), Dr Lightfoot has neglected to point out that the Alexandrian's total indebtedness to the language of the writer of the *Epistle* (apart from his quotations) amounts to *no more than about twelve lines*, except in one place—*Strom.* iv. 17 sq., p. 609 sq. There, as is supposed, he makes his way through the *Epistle* from beginning to end, borrowing, altering, and transposing as he goes. But Irenæus, Origen, Basil, Jerome, Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Peter of Alexandria, the writers of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and other authors made use less or more of the *Epistle*; Clement himself had used it previously, and he used it again in later writings. "Is it not, then, a striking fact" (*cf.* i., p. 413), that not only the passages in the *Epistle* which had been and were going to be used by him, but also the passages which had been and *were going to be* used by the authors named above, are absolutely untouched by him in these excerpts?<sup>1</sup> How could the Alexandrian have avoided all these passages, stopping dead short as he comes to passages required one day by Basil, Jerome, &c., and returning again when those passages are concluded? Space is wanting for the

within only 8 pages, may be noted: ii. p. 217 l. 18 ". . . δὲ] γὰρ AS; om. C;" AC have λέγει δὲ καὶ. 219 l. 12 ". . . παροιμῶν] AC; παροιμίαν S;" C also has παροιμίαν. 219 l. 19 ". . . ἀποκρέντας C"; C has ἀποκτένοντας. 220. l. 6. ". . . Χριστοῦ] C; Κυρίου S"; A also has Χριστοῦ. 222 l. 2. ". . . ἀγαθὰ καὶ] ἀγαθὰ τὰ AC; om. S"; A has ἀγαθὰ καὶ. 223 l. 15; in text, ἐν χερσὶν ὁ ἀγών; in the commentary Dr Lightfoot says, "The reading ἀγών for αἰών is doubtless correct"; A has αἰών, C ἀγών, but there is no mention of this in the *apparatus criticus*, and, as there is no note of this in the Appendix volume (1877), the reading of S is unrecorded. 224 l. 5 ". . . ἀγωνισώμεθα] AS; ἀγνισώμεθα C"; C reads with A; there is a confusion here with l. 1 of § 7, p. 223, where C has ἀγνισώμεθα for ἀγωνισώμεθα, a mistake of which no notice is taken. To these examples, which are tolerably glaring, I may add 234 l. 1 ". . . προφημένοι] προαιρούμεθα AC," where A has προφημένοι. This was correctly stated in 1877, and is one of the instances in which the inaccuracy belongs to the present edition.

<sup>1</sup> A passage in Polycarp is remarkable as the solitary exception, and in this case there is a simple explanation, for which those interested may be referred to an article on Polycarp, by Mr Cotterill, which is shortly to appear in the *Philological Journal*, and of which I have just seen the proof sheets.

working out of this argument, but it is well worth the consideration which it is clear that the Bishop never bestowed upon it.

There is another serious point on which it seems to me that the Bishop's arguments break down. One of the most important subjects in vol. i. is the discussion on the "Manuscripts and Versions," which is found on pp. 116-147. Dr Lightfoot first proves to his own satisfaction that C and S were independent of A, and then, finding himself with a number of errors which the three MSS. have in common, is driven to the theory that they derived these errors from an archetypal MS. written at about the close of the second century. This theory, however, will not stand serious examination. At the date mentioned the real *Epistle* of Clement was commonly read in the Churches, and MSS. must have been many in number; and the odds against the only three MSS. we possess being all derived from the same one of those many MSS. are so tremendous that one must needs believe that the Bishop's interpretation of the facts observable when A, C, and S are compared must be in some way at fault. It is impossible to go through his treatment of the question point by point, but it is quite possible, and indeed easy, to see how he goes astray. In the first place, the scribes of CS were in his view at one time virtually editors, making changes in the text before them for "harmonistic," "dogmatic," "grammatical," or "rhetorical" reasons; but at another time, when supplying readings acceptable to him, docile scribes, copying faithfully what they saw before them. Criticism of this subjective kind is purely arbitrary, and must lead the critic to false conclusions. In the next place, while he constantly draws attention to the differences in the texts supplied by the editors prior to the discovery of C and S, and while he often points out that C and S differ in the same places and in the same ways as the editors, he fails to see that the natural inference is that the same simple explanation which accounts for the differences of readings in the printed texts accounts also for the differences in the MSS. C and S. The fact that the editors had A in their hands, and exercised their judgment in filling in the lacunæ and correcting errors, explains everything in their case; and it is only reasonable to argue that a like explanation will account for differences of readings in CS in parallel passages, since MSS. will not fail again and again in the same places. The Bishop did not see this. He not only groups together a number of examples, almost every one of which suggests that A was the MS. used by the scribes of C and S, but on one occasion he actually speaks exultingly of having, in company with C, escaped a "trap" into which the other editors, in company with S, had fallen. And in the third place, though he speaks often of A, yet in his treatment of the subject A means only the readings of A, and not the MS. A

itself. Thus he never once allows his readers to know what the scribes of C and S would actually see, supposing they had A in their hands, though he had in his possession the photograph of A published in 1856. However, the autotype of C is now given at the end of vol. i., for the purpose, as the Bishop himself says, of testing his own labours and those of other critics. It only remains to show that the theory I have propounded of the relations of C, at least, to A is altogether confirmed when the autotypes are compared.

When the autotype of C is patiently examined, there are found instances in which the scribe, by his own marks upon the MS., has pointed out some peculiarity in A, or some variation from A. These instances of the use of marks are so numerous—I could supply a list of more than fifty—and often so precise, that the theory of accident is altogether precluded, and one is compelled to conclude that the scribe intended to record in some way in his own MS. the eccentricities, so to call them, of A, and his own departure from its text. I am conscious that many will consider that we are now treading on dangerous ground, and of course the strength of the evidence consists mainly in its cumulative force, while I have space here only for a very few examples. But at least some can be given, and possibly those who are really interested in the question will search out and try the others for themselves. On p. 464, l. 6, there is a false reading—ἀπέστιν for ἄπεστιν. The *η* comes immediately under the *ο* of *ο* λαός in the line above. Now in A that *ο* is written *δ* (i.e., *ον*), where the remains of the mark of contraction resemble two dots rather than a line; this error the scribe of C corrects, but he cannot resist the temptation to leave behind some sly hint, some mute indication, of the slip he has detected. How otherwise account for such a deliberate error as ἀπέστιν? On p. 428 διὰ ζῆλον occurs in lines 8 and 9, as well as in five other places: in lines 8 and 9, and in none of the other cases, the *δ* has a dot below it. Why? In line 8 C supplies a διὰ wanting in A, and in line 9 makes the same mistake as A by adding διὰ. Again, on p. 465, l. 7, C has αὐτὰ, with a mark under τὰ; over it is ἀλλότ. (The word is ἀλλότρια, but the *ο* is jammed close up against the λ, and a space left between it and the τ which readily catches the eye.) The editors may be supposed to have adopted the hint, for they print ταῦτα, the reading of A. And here it may not be out of place to remind the reader that, as the scribe of C was in the habit of using two lines in writing, so also he must have been in the habit of seeing two lines.

But I pass to two examples of a more remarkable kind, which I submit to the judgment of the unbiassed student. C often uses an uncial *δ*, and always as a capital, though never where a capital is

fitting; that is to say, it is used to call special attention to something that the scribe is doing. Such a  $\delta$  will be found in  $\delta\alpha\alpha$  at the end of the last line but one on p. 429. Below it in the next line is a very large  $\epsilon$ ; to the left is a dotted  $\tau$ , and presently the dotted  $o$  of  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{o}\tau\eta\varsigma$ . Under the  $\delta$  of this word, at some distance below the bottom line, is a very small  $o$ , with a tiny dot at the side, and a mark above pointing to the  $\delta$ . No other such phenomenon as a spare letter dropped on the margin below the text occurs in the MS.; why is it here? The mystery is at once explained by A, in which not only is the  $\delta$  of  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{o}\tau\eta\varsigma$  missing, but, also, within the gap thus left an  $o$  from the opposite side of the leaf faintly peeps through. This  $o$  is easily found, and the line below it is  $\pi\rho\omicron\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu\ \pi\omicron\iota\omicron\nu\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \omicron\iota\ \tau\iota\ .\ .\ .$ ! Finally, in § 57, in the course of a quotation from  $\Sigma\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha$ , as the writer calls Proverbs, there is another curious coincidence in A. This MS. is in that leaf in a terrible condition: at the top is a hole through the leaf, while the right-hand margin is throughout broken and defaced—so much so that at the lower part of the leaf the words  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\phi\eta\ \omicron\mu\omicron\iota\alpha$  with  $\kappa$  occupy all that is left of a line. A “catastrophe like” to this broken parchment, we can hardly help thinking. At any rate, Leo, the scribe of C, appears to have taken it so, for on p. 457 that word  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\phi\acute{\eta}$  is seen straddling across a veritable catastrophe. The  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$  stands on one side and the  $\sigma\tau\rho\phi\acute{\eta}$  on the other at the top of a dirty-looking place in the parchment, which has been scraped and scraped until a hole has been made closely resembling in size and form the hole just mentioned as in A; and the scribe has heightened the effect by foisting into the text the words  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\omicron\chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$ . And it must be observed that the catastrophe happened not after but before this and the preceding page were written, for on both pages the Greek runs on correctly on either side of the hole. In the autotype the lines indeed run straight on; but the letters are some of them letters belonging to the opposite page and quite legible, the others being letters dimly seen through the semi-transparent parchment where it has been scraped. In the MS., though not in the autotype, the pages 456 and 457 stand back to back; and it is perhaps enough to add that a conspicuous mark has been put on the lower margin of p. 456, just where the letters from p. 458 show through the hole, and again a mark at the bottom of p. 458 to point out what it is that is seen from p. 456.

If C used A, then no small part of the Bishop's conclusions falls to the ground—all his many pages on the MSS. and versions—not to mention that the text would require reconstruction. In a word, if what has been here advanced is sound, the book is hit in quite its most vital part. I cannot hope that the evidence just led will appear conclusive, but it may surely form grounds on which to demand

a fresh and more searching examination of these MSS. than has hitherto been made. At any rate, I submit it as fair and reasonable criticism.

W. DUNDAS WALKER.

**The Christian Ministry : its Origin, Constitution, Nature, and Work. A Contribution to Pastoral Theology.**

*By William Lefroy, D.D., Dean of Norwich. London : Hodder & Stoughton. Pp. 578. Price 14s.*

**The Framework of the Church : A Treatise on Church Government.**

*By W. D. Killen, D.D. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 350. Price 9s.*

HERE are two works written from much the same theological standpoint, but giving what one of them calls "Prelacy" the highest and lowest place respectively. This makes one wish for the day when the historic method, in all its severity, may have complete sway within its own sphere. But what is its sphere? Dean Lefroy has at least felt the problem, though without solving it. He falls foul of Dr Hatch on the ground that he ignores the Spirit's agency in the Christian Church. To reply that the Dean ignores His presence in the world at large, and that, as De Pressensé confesses in his "*Siècle Apostolique*" (1888), God's gradual immanent development of His plan in the world needs franker recognition, would be just but inadequate. For a confusion still lurks, though hardly a justifiable one after Dr Hatch's explanations, especially in the weighty pages with which his Bampton Lectures end. Pentecost, no doubt, represents a special divine illumination, but not as to organization, rather as to the faith or life which called for a fresh organization. Of this faith Dr Hatch warns all that he cannot then and there speak, but it is assumed as the new vital impulse assimilating and moulding all existing elements and forces in society. If, then, the Dean would only read "Holy Catholic organization-forms" for "Holy Catholic Church" in his pages, much offence would be avoided. For such forms are empirical, not transcendental; and to regard them as relatively human and so completely within the historic sphere, is surely not to ignore the Holy Spirit.

Still, differences do remain. Pre-eminently that caused by the Dean's assumption that among "the things pertaining to the kingdom of God" (Acts i. 3), communicated by the risen Christ, were the organization and constitution of the Church. But if he would

patiently conform his notion of "the Church" to the Apostolic consciousness at that period (Acts i. 6) and as subsequently revealed in the early speeches in the Acts, he would feel that such an idea is a part of the old leaven of traditional hypotheses. Further, his remarks on Judaism are hardly correct when he asks, "Can a tribal cult evolve a universal creed?" For surely Judaism as a proselytizing legal Monotheism was as universal as the Messianic Monotheism of the Judæo-Christian Gospel, whose centre of gravity was still "the kingdom to be restored to Israel," while their watchword was "through circumcision to Christ;" although we recognise that the Messianic element to which the elder apostles gave so large a place, contained the potency of that higher Universalism the explicit recognition of which justified the apostle of the Gentiles in speaking of his message as "my Gospel." Until this stage was reached, could there be a distinctive constitution of the Christian Church on the Apostolic horizon at all? Thus the author's question (p. 31) is easily answered, "Is it credible that a religion, the ordinary life of which was expressed by the synagogue, brought into being, directly or indirectly, that Catholicity which, in range and in dogma, specializes the Christian Church?" A careful study of the Epistle of James *by its own light* in the first instance, and with the Acts and 1st Peter, will show (as the Dean hints, p. 71) that the dogma there enshrined has more affinity to the synagogue than to later "Catholicism," and that the worship corresponds thereto. The temple is frequented at the stated hours, Jewish usages are kept up, the church in James (v. 14, ii. 2) meets as a "synagogue;" and in harmony with this it is of "elders" only that we hear in this sphere. Even the apparent exception of the "Deacons" in Acts vi. on closer inspection proves the rule. For whatever their functions, the title "deacon" is not applied to them even when they are incidentally referred to in Acts xxi. 8 (*οἱ ἑπτά*); which suggests that the technical use of the term originated where we first find it, viz., in the Gentile sphere. But of Jewish and Gentile varieties of type the Dean takes little account, hardly realizing, one imagines, the relative independence of the mission to the Gentiles, in which its apostle sets little store by general apostolic precedent (*cf.* Gal. ii. 7-10). What in this matter bulks before his eye is "spiritual gift" as a divine endowment, and the common advantage to which such is put; not office but function (*cf.* the abstract *ἀντιλήψεις*, &c., side by side with the concrete *διδασκαλούς*) is his point of interest. Here we believe him to be in an hopeless conflict with the Dean's point of view, of which almost every page would furnish instances. To Paul "the divine origin" of the *Charisma* leaves no place to "flesh and blood," but to recognise it and join its recipient in self-dedication to its full

realisation. And this not only in relation to the itinerant functions, but also to the localised, where "office" simply means the recognised exercise of a gift become permanent, the genesis being marked in 1 Thess. v. 12-13, and 1 Cor. xvi. 15-18, which represent the early history of churches, while the status of "bishops and deacons" in Phil. i. 1 represents a later stage.

Apart from the activity of the apostles, who as "witnesses" obviously stand in a quite unique relation to the Christian society, there is nothing to show that the societies were other than structureless, except for the nascent differentiation spoken of by Christ as "ministering" and "being ministered to" (cf. εἰς διακονίαν ἑταῶν ἑαυτοῦς, 1 Cor. xvi. 15), upon which the divine character of His own Messianic office rested, and upon which surely grades of divinity in function among His "disciples" may sufficiently rest.

We have thought it best to attempt to supply the historic point of view from which to test Dean Lefroy's position that his "ministerial order—threefold, unequal, historic," was "initiated, accepted, adopted by the holy apostles," although their daily expectation, in absence of knowledge as to "the times and seasons"—and that for years—was that the present age was just about to fade into the kingdom of the "age to come." Hence whatever their actual arrangements may have been, they are not statutory, and indeed no Church attempts to realise them all. To have followed the Dean into detail would have been endless, mere "pecking" at a position, such as are his remarks on Harnack's, at any rate, coherent system. Here we see our author at his worst. For his views on points of literary criticism like the Synoptic problem, the sources of the Acts, Old Testament quotations, are obviously but *prima facie* impressions, based on a notion of inspiration reflected in his Appendix on "Inspired Anticipations of Modern Science."

Of the other appendices it need only be said that in the course of the polemic—as in general where he confronts Dr Cunningham—our author's fairness supplies enough quotation and other material to give room for the reader's own judgment. In that on "the Prophecy of Malachi; its Eucharistic Significance and Patristic Application," as on Sacerdotalism and Apostolic Succession in general, the Dean is much more at home and hits hard.

Professor Killen's work consists of four parts, entitled "The Church and its government," "Congregationalism," "Prelacy," and "Presbyterianism." Part I. indicates the value of a true form of church polity, and gives hints towards its discovery. The point of view is much the same as Dr Lefroy's. We cannot say it is a lucid work. Doubtless there is much good material, but it would need a good workman to utilise it. Its tone is sometimes hardly one of "calm review," as when Robert Brown is labelled an "ill-con-

ditioned visionary" (p. 102). Too often, also, we meet such statements as these: "The Church is described in Holy Writ as the 'kingdom of heaven,' and we are not to suppose that its regulations should move on in harmony with 'the course of this world'" (p. 15). "Though professedly so jealous of the *union* of spiritual and civil authority, they (Independents) have no objection to bring their ecclesiastical *influence to bear on* concerns of State" (p. 55, italics ours).

The other parts are more polemical, and consist of an exposure of two aberrant tendencies, followed by an exposition of the true mean. Space will not permit notice of the attack on the "Prelatical" extreme. One who is not committed to the "reading back" attitude of "a servant of the Church" or tradition, but traces a growth in the order of growth, can here hardly fail to agree with the author's main contention.

The strictly historical issue, therefore, concerns Congregationalism, which is treated first. His general estimate can hardly be called appreciative. Yet it is not so ungenerous as it looks. What is criticised is but a figment—an atomistic Congregationalism which thinks that all fellowship and conference infringe its rights,—in his own words, a "stand-off Christianity" (p. 80). He has quoted a fragment from the Declaration of the Union in 1833. Would it not have been as well to give the complementary paragraph (x.)? "It is the duty of Christian churches to hold communion with each other, to entertain an enlarged affection for each other as members of the same body, and to co-operate for the promotion of the Christian cause; but that no church, or union of churches, has any right or power to interfere with the faith or discipline of any other church, further than to separate from such as, in faith or practice, depart from the Gospel of Christ."

In the chapter on the New Testament basis of Congregationalism, the author, after eight pages on the phenomena at Corinth, remarks that he has taken it for granted that there were elders or rulers in the Corinthian Church. Why? Because "these existed elsewhere," and appear prominently "forty years afterwards." This is very inadequate, if it is the fact, that the only ministry referred to in the Epistle itself is that of "volunteers," for whom the Apostle asks recognition (1 Cor. xvi. 15-18; cf. 1 Thess. v. 12, 13).

Chapter V., on "the Insufficiency, unfairness, and divisive tendency of the Congregational system," plies the *reductio ad absurdum* method most vigorously. Thus, "In ordinary cases the *rulers* are distinguished from the *ruled*; and yet here *all* are *in authority*, and yet all are *under authority*" (p. 93). But the Christian Church, which to Christ's mind reverses the ordinary notions of rule and authority, is precisely an extraordinary case of organisation. And



as to the election of ministers, we all believe that God gives, but among men it is the Church in question that judges whether He has given.

There is much that invites criticism in Dr Killen's reasonings on the three great Church systems. Our last word, however, would be rather of the nature of an *eirenicon*. We should say that, as the vigorous life of the primitive Church probably contained in fusion the elements which in history have hardened into the three main types of polity, so none of these, carried out in an exclusive or antithetical spirit, can be true or expedient; but that, in proportion as a polity is able to absorb all the elements emphasised by the others, while maintaining its own characteristic principle or basis—be it responsible liberty, consensual order, or official unity—it will justify itself as the historical development of the germinal polity of the New Testament. We believe, too, that the vital instinct, thus to take a leaf out of another's book, is on the increase, and constitutes the best hope for that future union, whose lovers are more numerous than its advocates.

VERNON BARTLET.

### **The Book of Proverbs.**

*By R. F. Horton, M.A. (Expositor's Bible.) London: Hodder & Stoughton. Post 8vo., pp. viii.—418. Price 7s. 6d.*

READERS of the *Expositor* will perhaps remember a paper in the volume for 1888 (1) entitled "Christ's Use of the Book of Proverbs," and signed "R. F. Horton." It gave indeed but few results which a modern critic would be able to call proved, but it showed a remarkable sympathy with that richly imaginative use of the Hebrew Scriptures which we may presume to have been habitual with our Lord. The author went far to prove thereby his competence as a public teacher of the Bible; one only wanted to know how far he was able to do justice to the original historical sense of the older Scriptures. For many educated readers now-a-days are beginning to appreciate the beauty and edifying virtue of a truly historical view of the Old Testament, and to require a back ground of historical criticism in pulpit expositions. For such readers, as well as for others, provision has been made in the *Expositor's Bible*. We have Mr G. A. Smith, who maintains the thesis of the value of criticism to the Church in its fullest extent; Mr Ball, whose concessions are marred by ungraceful personal controversies; and now Mr Horton, who is not less earnest than either in his zeal for progressive study. His equipment as a scholar is no doubt inferior

to that of his able predecessors. When he ventures into Hebrew philology, his judgment has no independent value, and is once at least evidently wrong. (See the note on p. 296.) Nor is much reference made to the higher criticism, for which of course I do not blame him, for how can Proverbs be treated historically apart from the other monuments of Hebrew wisdom? Job and Proverbs at any rate should have been treated in conjunction on the basis of some provisional critical scheme, as the different prophetic writings in the Book of Isaiah have been so ably treated by Mr Smith. But I will not dwell on this point. The counsel, had it been offered to the editor, could not have been listened to for cogent practical reasons. Suffice it to say that the non-critical plan of arranging the material of Proverbs under headings is carried out with judgment and with delicate appreciation of the old and of the new Wisdom, and that where it was absolutely necessary, viz., in the exposition of the last two chapters, Mr Horton does full justice to undeniable critical results. I wish this brightly-written volume the success it so well deserves.

T. K. CHEYNE.

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**Das Deuteronomium. Eine Schutzschrift wider  
modern-kritisches Unwesen.**

*By Adolf Zahn, D.D. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. 1890. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. vii. and 122. (Price not stated.)*

ABOUT twenty years ago the old Cathedral in Halle, used as the "Reformed" church, was manned by a staff of three. One of these was Adolf Zahn. Handsome, pale, and of tall figure, Zahn towered from the pulpit, and launched sentences of doom over "godless, unhappy Halle." Yet he could be very kind, and there was a fascination for him in the student throng that gathered once a fortnight for "academical Divine Service" in his own Cathedral. Tholuck and Riehm fostered the Sunday-school in Brauhausegasse, and Zahn taught the teachers' preparation-class. He delighted to give his high Calvinistic exegesis to the students who helped in that happy school. How the eye moistens as the vision comes up out of the past!

Zahn was studious, and won his Dr. Theol. from Marburg—a different Marburg then, indeed, from what it is now. Soon he was called to the Wupperthal; and now after varying toils, and much printing of pamphlets, especially concerning the Reformed Church, he dwells in Stuttgart and writes on Deuteronomy.

The little book is dedicated to Prof. Green of Princeton. It  
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proposes (1) to treat of the genuineness or veritable Mosaic authorship of the Book, as we have it; next (2) to prove the Unity of the Book, and finally (3) and (4) to give Zahn's view of its relation to all the rest of the Bible, *i.e.*, its essential necessity in its place in the whole. Appended are extracts from Zahn's favourite teacher, J. Wichelhaus, and from Prof. Green.

We may rapidly summarise his diffuse arguments for the traditional view. He thinks we should translate in ch. i. v. 1, and other like passages, "Moses spake, &c., *on this side* Jordan." But what say our Revisers? He thinks that no true prophet, later than Moses, would ever have uttered his own oracles as records of the Mosaic law, and tells us that never again did any prophet arise like unto Moses, the unique and incomparable. But what of the promise and the authorisation in ch. xviii.? He adds that we know nothing of any documentary materials bequeathed by Moses. But most people think Deuteronomy itself speaks of some. He holds that never did any Hebrew writer in our sacred Scriptures put his own words in the mouth of any great personage. But this is a sweeping assertion. Further, Zahn professes that we need not find cause for suspicion in the description of Moses in the third person. He says Samuel spoke of himself in the third person (1 Sam. xii. 11). When he proceeds to compare Deuteronomy's regulations with those of Exodus and Leviticus, he counts the former simply explanations and enforcements of the latter. But to many who compare them this gives difficulty. Finally, the Deuteronomic identification of the audience in Moab with that at Horeb Zahn explains by the presence of the children in the loins of their fathers.

A new section now proposes to answer difficulties. Here we are told that when the writer says, "Israel has already taken possession of West Canaan" (ch. iii. 12), the words are Moses's words spoken in strong faith that Israel should certainly possess the land. When we read how the towns Jair took "are called Hawwoth-Jair unto this day," Zahn says the words would be quite natural if "this day" meant only a few months after Jair took the towns. He contends that the effort to concentrate sacrificial worship in one place was not at all specially characteristic of later times. He quotes Delitzsch's remark, "From the beginning onwards the history of Israel moves towards the goal of centralization." Very true this is, but no support for Zahn. He proceeds to deny that concentration of cultus was a chief motive with the law-giver in writing Deuteronomy. But readers will generally continue in the belief that it was. He makes here one real contribution to criticism of the Book, which is valuable although it is negative. He points out, namely, that Deuteronomy does not aim at con-

centration of cultus in Jerusalem. He might have added another valuable note, if he had pointed out that it does name, more than once, a place for the concentration. Had he done so, he could have fixed the origin of the Book as certainly prior to 720 B.C. But he goes in other ways, and tells us that an ever expanding development from small beginnings has not been the order of Providence with the churches.

We turn to his consideration of the date of the Book. Here his attitude towards those whom he opposes is happily not common among students. He tells us that criticism hunts eagerly through the centuries and finds no place for the rise of Deuteronomy. But he proceeds to recount how Kleinert, Schlatter, Riehm, Kittel, Kuenen, have each of them proposed a probable date. His own conclusion is that none of these dates will do.

The second division of the pamphlet, which proposes to discuss the Unity of Deuteronomy, begins fitly with a good, though very brief, outline of the whole. Would it not have been logical and wise to set this analysis and this discussion of the Unity first in the pamphlet, and then to proceed to seek for author and date? Zahn re-opens, however, the whole question he has already settled. He argues that the language of chaps. i.-iv. is quite like that of the rest of the Book. He claims that repetitions of matter do not prove many authors. Certainly he illustrates this by his own immediate repetition, for the third time, of his faith that the Moab and Horeb congregations were identical. The new superscription in ch. iv. 44 he acknowledges; but he adds it is no superscription, it is simply one of many assertions that the law is from Moses. Against the contention that chaps. v.-xxviii. are not a continuation of the Numbers narrative, Zahn presents a number of parallel passages in the two Books. But parallels are scarcely continuations. He declines to consider the theory of an editorial hand retouching the Book, for he thinks that thus one might prove anything. He holds that Riehm and others deny the possibility of predictive prophecy. But this is hard to believe.

And now a surprise comes. Zahn becomes himself a dissecting critic, and announces that the Book of Deuteronomy closes at ch. xxxi. 23. The remainder, chaps. xxxi. 24—xxxiv. 12, so long bound up with all the rest, is to Zahn the beginning of the Book of Joshua. After all Zahn is one of the critics.

Meanwhile let us note the essential faults of his position :—

1. His lament in his preface that there is no longer any authority among us, does dishonour to the acknowledged authority of God over the regenerate; and of that number "there are more than seven thousand" among Bible students.

2. The spirit of the times it is which makes Zahn so fearlessly

assertive of his own opinion. He speaks from a sense of the presence of God with his conscience and his reasoning soul. He fails, however, to respect many another reasoning soul and conscience, and yet may not God be with them also?

3. He pronounces men like Weizsäcker, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Riehm, underminers of the Church, dilettanti, sophists, bravados, unbelievers, deceivers, profane, selfish, frivolous. But this is not the way to refute argument. Let Zahn lift up his eyes, and behold the Hosts of God.

ARCHD. DUFF.

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### Praktische Theologie.

*Von Dr E. Chr. Achelis, ord. Professor der Theologie an der Universität Marburg. Erster Band. Freiburg i. B., J. C. B. Mohr. 1890. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xvi. 549. Price M. 11.*

ANY addition to the already long list of German works on Practical Theology may well be expected to contain some explanation of its appearance. Professor Achelis has had a long and varied experience of some thirty years' official service in the Church of Christ; two years in a small country charge, twelve in a manufacturing suburb of Bremen, seven in an industrial centre on the Lower Rhine, and eight in a theological chair. The work, of which this is the first volume, is a systematic exposition of principles tested by this lengthened experience, but the author candidly informs us that his review has not always vindicated his practice. The main claim, however, which he puts forward, is that his work marks a real advance in the treatment of Practical Theology as a science. The science was founded by Schleiermacher, but his conception of it was vitiated by a view of the Church which never rose above a voluntary association, and yet made the laity absolutely dependent on the clergy. C. J. Nitzsch reformed the science by reverting to the conception of the Church as *congregatio sanctorum*, with certain divinely imparted powers and privileges, and by insisting that these powers and privileges belong to the whole Church, though for reasons of order they are exercised through certain representative organs and offices. The whole Church, and not, as on Schleiermacher's view, the clergy and laity respectively, is subject and object of those activities with which Practical Theology has to deal. But a review of the literature of the science shows that, in spite of Nitzsch's services, there must still be some radical defect in its treatment. In point of fact, there is no agreement as to what should

be included in the science, with the single exception of the cure of souls or Pastoral Theology. Professor Achelis goes back to Nitzsch's position, and laying down the principle that Practical Theology has to do only with the efficiency of the Church for edification, and must confine itself to those activities which are the necessary outcome of Church life as it aims at edification, he finds in the essential predicates of the Church a guide for the determination of the proper contents of the science. Holiness, unity, and catholicity have, no doubt, been very variously interpreted as predicates of the Church, but they are universally recognised, and Professor Achelis thinks an evangelical construction of them may legitimately form the basis of an Evangelical Practical Theology. The holiness of the Church may be shown to provide a basis for Catechetics, Homiletics, and Poimenics as parts of the science. For the Church, as holy, has to maintain and perfect in each member its essential character, and must, therefore, catechise the young, preach the word of God to those in full membership, and carefully tend individuals whether young or old. The Church, as essentially one, must cherish the consciousness of unity, and repress all tendencies to isolation or separation. This is effected through fixed forms of worship, identical confessions and prayers, &c. ; which supplies a basis for including Liturgics. The catholicity of the Church means that the Church is fitted to be a blessing to all nations, and must, therefore, extend over the whole earth. Christ is Head of the nations ; and in Him the world has been reconciled to God. The Church must cherish the assurance of yet embracing the whole world ; the life of the Church is most intimately connected with the missionary spirit and interest ; and so the Theory of Missions must find a place in Practical Theology. But after demonstrating this our author somewhat inconsistently determines to treat missions as a matter of voluntary association within the Church. He does this because it agrees with the actual state of the case in Germany, and because he does not think it expedient at present to interfere with arrangements originally due to default on the part of the Church. Holiness and unity are found operating together in public worship, as combining the use of liturgical forms with the preaching of the Word ; and accordingly Practical Theology must include a discussion of Public Worship. Naturally, too, when the conception of the science is made to depend so closely on the conception of the Church and its activities, a preliminary discussion of the Doctrine of the Church and its Offices is indispensable ; and on the ground that there must always be some guarantee for the right administration of office in the Church, Professor Achelis further argues that there must be a department of Church Government, which, as reviewing all other activities, naturally comes last.

The present volume contains, besides the general introduction, the Doctrine of the Church and its Offices, Catechetics, Homiletics, and Poimenics. The three last named are discussed at great length and with ample learning; but one can only wonder at the pedantry that restricts them to work carried on among the members of the Church. The discussion of preaching, as regards both matter and form, is full and suggestive. But the exposition of the Doctrine of the Church and its Offices is disappointing in its meagreness, and in some of its results. The topic is manifestly discussed, not with the view of exhausting it, but merely as a basis for the activities recognised as falling under Practical Theology. The doctrine of the Church contained in the Augsburg Confession and its Defence by Melancthon, is subjected to a keen criticism, but one is hardly prepared to find the author subsequently ignoring his own criticisms. He objects to the eighth article of the Confession as inconsistent with his interpretation of the seventh, but he afterwards falls back on the eighth. A brave attempt is made, not always with success, to excuse Luther's inconsistency in his utterances on the Church. It is easy to draw a vivid contrast between the Church as conceived by the Reformers, and the external state-like unity of the Roman conception. But our author apparently does not see that, in common with many Lutherans, he runs the very serious risk of making the salvation of the individual the result of a Church process, which has a dangerous similarity to the Roman view. The invisible and the visible Church are two aspects of one and the same subject, which as entrusted with word and sacrament is objectively holy; and by the effectual working of Christ in word and sacrament this objective holiness is so connected with subjective holiness exhibited in faith and love, and all the fruits of the Spirit, that doubt of attaining the latter is not admissible. But Professor Achelis has no sympathy with "high" views of the clerical office; the clergy have no inherent powers; they only represent the whole Church, which for the sake of order agrees to exercise through them powers that properly belong to all. And so when he, in discussing absolution, expresses an opinion in favour of private absolution, he would have it unrestricted, for he means by it only such an assurance of the pardoning mercy of God toward the penitent as might be given by any Christian to one who consults him in a "case of conscience." Providential circumstances should, he thinks, largely determine the work of the Church, and therefore the Evangelical Church of Germany is called on to checkmate the craft and power of the Jesuits, and to help the Emperor in his attempt to guide the social movement and destroy the demon of revolution and anarchy. I have found several typographical errors, some of them, unfortunately, in the references.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

**Messianic Prophecy: its Origin, Historical Growth, and Relation to New Testament Fulfilment.**

*By Dr Edward Riehm. New Edition, translated by Rev. Lewis A. Muirhead, B.D. With an Introduction by Professor A. B. Davidson, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo. Pp. xviii., 348. Price 7s. 6d.*

**Messianic Prophecies in Historical Succession.**

*By Franz Delitzsch. Translated by Samuel Ives Curtiss, Professor in Chicago Theological Seminary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Crown 8vo. Pp. xii., 232. Price 5s.*

WE welcome the appearance of the second edition of Riehm's "Messianic Prophecy," translated by the Rev. L. A. Muirhead, B.D. The first edition of this valuable work is probably well known, and it is now satisfactory to note that its bold but reverent and scientific treatment of the Messianic thought of the Old Testament has been so widely appreciated, and that a translation of the second edition has been demanded. It is not always very easy reading, and it cannot be denied that, in the English translation, the reader finds at times the somewhat severely philosophical colouring of the language almost too faithfully reproduced. But the fair and dispassionately historical manner in which the subject of Messianic Prophecy is discussed, is deserving of the highest praise, and merits, in the present day, our patient and thorough investigation. It is not a book suited for beginners in the study of Old Testament Theology. But for teachers and for more advanced students it cannot fail to be of the utmost service. To Mr Muirhead our thanks are due for his careful and sympathetic translation; and it is not too much to say that his *Appendices* of Scripture Citations, Bibliography, &c., will immensely enhance the value of the English version of Riehm's book.

Professor Curtiss' translation of Dr Delitzsch's "Messianic Prophecies in Historical Succession" is a book which many an English student will be glad to possess, if only for the interest attaching to the last literary work on which the great German theologian and Hebraist was occupied before he was summoned to his rest. Delitzsch's treatment of the subject is well known to the English student through Professor Curtiss'



translations of his "Lectures on Messianic Prophecies," and his "Old Testament History of Redemption." The distinctness of the general arrangement and the many suggestive notes on isolated points will make this work of the veteran scholar acceptable to students of all shades of opinion, and it is needless to say that every page seems to speak the author's intense personal belief in the Revelation of the Divine Messiah. It is somewhat touching to read the author's reference, in the course of the introductory remarks, to the modification of view with which he had, with such singular openness of mind, identified himself in his declining years. Except to those who are acquainted with the last edition of Delitzsch's Commentary on Genesis, it will perhaps be startling to read such a sentence as that in which he describes the narrative contained in Gen. iii. as "an old *sage* found by [the narrator], which he communicates to us in a form in which, stripped of its heathen mythological accessories, it has sustained the criticism of the spirit of revelation."

Professor Curtiss is able, by this translation, to offer a last tribute of devotion to his great and revered teacher. The now numerous English readers of Delitzsch's writings receive, through the kind offices of a sympathetic translator, a final sample of his lecture-work, full of the learning, the love and the enthusiasm which ever distinguish the writings of the renowned Biblical commentator.

HERBERT E. RYLE.

**Von der Rechtfertigung durch den Glauben. Ein Beitrag zur Rettung der Protestantischen Cardinal-Dogmas.**

*Von Dr Edouard Böhl, Professor an der Evangelisch-Theologischen Facultät in Wien. Leipzig: K. Gustorff, 1890. Amsterdam: Scheffer & Co. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 327. Price M. 7.*

**The Doctrine of the Death of Christ in relation to the Sin of Man, the Condemnation of the Law, and the Dominion of Satan.**

*By the Rev. Nathaniel Dimock, A.M. London: Elliot Stock. Pp. 136. Appendix pp. 92. Price 7s. 6d.*

DR BÖHL is Professor of Reformed Dogmatics in the Theological Faculty of Vienna—a position which he came from the North to

fill in 1864. During these years he has exerted a vigorous evangelical influence on the studies of the Bohemian Reformed and other Protestant Churches within the Austrian Empire. He is the author of a *Christologie des Alten Testaments*, a compact *Dogmatik* in one volume, a tractate *Von der Incarnation des göttlichen Wortes*, and several minor treatises. His thesis in the book named above is that the modern Protestant Churches have all but entirely departed from the central doctrine of the Reformers on "Justification." This he grounds mainly on the growing tendency, which he traces as far back, in the orthodox succession, as Cotta, the editor of J. Gerhard's "*Loci*," to co-ordinate the implanted principle of holiness with the act of Justification, even to identify the New Birth with the moment of Pardon and Acceptance, and to lay more stress on the infusing of gracious habits and powers, than on declaration of righteousness before God. This tendency in much professedly evangelical teaching to substitute imparted righteousness in the redeemed for the imputed righteousness of the Redeemer—though not quite identical with the Romanising relapse of Newman, Alexander Knox, and most broad Church teaching among ourselves, is nevertheless an approach to it, and a real service is done by this trenchant exposure of it. Whether it is necessary to be so laborious in proving its identity with the whimsical theology of Osiander may be questioned. While some more thorough penetration into the causes of this strange re-action from the central Protestant doctrine would have been desirable, one cannot but be grateful to Dr Böhl for his historical sketch, for his grounding of the doctrine itself in Scripture, and for his terse statement of its various relations as, *e.g.* to Man's Primitive Standing, to Original Sin, to Human Nature, to the Holy Ghost, to the Incarnation, to the New Birth, to Predestination, to Sanctification and the Life of the Justified. The statement (p. 318) that the true doctrine of Justification was held only for a generation by Luther and Calvin, that there were none into whose hands it could be entrusted, has an overdriven look, and re-acts unfortunately on the position which is so vital to the Christian Church. If the only true statement of the doctrine is balanced on such a knife-edge of theological precision, that men so anxious to maintain it as Beza, Owen, and Turretine, failed to do so correctly, how can it be that fundamental and epoch-making doctrine which we have all held it to be? This is, however, only one of the overshots of a marksman keen to show his skill. Dr Böhl is nothing if not polemic.

His style is unteutonic, smart, racy, and if on occasion almost slangy, is never tiresome. To those who have an interest in its topic there is not a dull page in this book.

Mr Dimock's book is a defence of the evangelical doctrine of the

Atonement partly reprinted from the pages of *The Churchman*. It is replete with learning,—the Catena of evangelical opinion in the Appendix being in itself quite a mine of quotation. The body of the book and the notes are full also of references to the ecclesiastical writers of all ages. The author's anxiety, however, is to ground the orthodox position on Scripture testimony. It was surely not necessary to insist so much on what he calls the "subservience (in some sense) of the doctrine of the Incarnation to the doctrine of the Atonement," or to defend the patristic position about the reference of the Atonement to the claims of Satan—a topic to which he devotes an entire "Additional Note."

JOHN LAIDLAW.

### **The Apocalypse: Its Structure and Primary Predictions.**

*By David Brown, D.D., Principal of the Free Church College, Aberdeen. Hodder & Stoughton, 1891. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi., 224. Price 5s.*

THE Apocalypse is a nut on which many teeth have been broken, and although the shell has been sufficiently shattered to allow some of the fragrance to be exhaled, the kernel, whole and palpable, may be said to remain as yet hidden. Possessing an irresistible fascination for a certain class of minds, it has with others been at once marked off as an unexplored territory, like Central Africa or the Arctic circle, where an adventurous critic may win his laurels, but where he is much more likely to come to grief.

On this singular book, which perhaps more than any other in the Bible, or even in all literature, requires not only exceptional sanity of judgment, but also prolonged and special study, no living scholar has a better right to be heard than Principal Brown. Fifty years ago he issued a volume on the Second Advent, which has ever since held its place as an authority. His present venture, therefore, into the region of Prophecy is not that of a novice. He himself rather fears it may exhibit some marks of the infirmity of advancing years, and modestly alludes in his preface to the fact that he is "nearly eighty-eight years of age." But beyond one or two misprints, such as are found in all books, and the ascription to Pliny of a province on the "north-eastern shore of the Black Sea," the volume is free from the blemishes which result from lack of careful revision. The age of the interpreter may only have brought him into more perfect sympathy with the author of the Apocalypse, which, according to Dr Brown, was not written before the last decade of the first century.

Dr Brown, dividing all interpretations of the Apocalypse into two great classes, those which proceed on the understanding that it is *descriptive* of the great principles which are exhibited in the history of Christianity, and those which accept it as *predictive* of the events of that history, takes his place frankly and without reserve among those who advocate the latter method of interpretation. Modern criticism does not favour the idea that events which were to take place in the sixteenth century were predicted in a writing which belongs to the first. And even in circles into which criticism has not penetrated, it has been felt to be unlikely that the history and downfall of the Papacy should occupy an Apostolic pen. But while Principal Brown undauntedly adopts and carries out the predictive idea, he does not offend by the over-precision in detail which has frequently made this method of interpretation ridiculous. Many readers will be reassured when they come upon his confession: "Precise dates I have no skill in, and it well befits a mere A B C to leave these alone." It is this practical wisdom which forms the chief attraction of the book. There is a skilful selection of salient points, and a lifting into prominence of the real landmarks, which are very helpful to the reader, who is apt to lose himself among the seals, and trumpets, and beasts. Indeed, as a guide to the interpretation of the Apocalypse accepted as a prediction of future events, Principal Brown's volume is most serviceable, and will materially assist the student of this difficult book. No doubt even those who accept his method will disapprove of some of his particular interpretations. That cannot be otherwise. At the same time, whether his method be approved or not, it will be cordially admitted that he has produced a sober, scholarly, instructive volume, which will rather add to his reputation as an exegete. The range of Dr Brown's studies is well exemplified both in the chapter which replies to Sir William Hamilton's careless statement about the Apocalypse, and in the note on one of "the impossible readings which the textual principle of Drs Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament necessitated."

MARCUS DODS.

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### **The Lord's Supper; A Biblical Exposition of its Origin, Nature, and Use.**

*By Rev. J. P. Lilley, M.A., Arbroath. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.  
1891. Cr. 8vo, pp. 330. Price 5s.*

THIS is a seasonable piece of work, well and thoroughly done. There was room and need for something between a hand-book on the Sacraments, or a guide for "young communicants" on the one

hand, and, on the other, the more elaborate, exegetical, and theological treatment of the subject which we find in works on "the Church," or on "the doctrine of the Sacraments" in English or German. What Mr Lilley has given us is a fresh and careful study of the Lord's Supper in the light of the Old Testament rites out of which it sprang, and of the New Testament accounts of its origin, purposes, and use in the Apostolic Church. The book gives evidence of very competent scholarship and knowledge of the literature of the subject in English, French, and German. But its author writes throughout as a pastor fresh from actual contact with the spiritual experiences of his people, and with the wants of the Church of the present day.

Three interesting chapters are given to a study of the Passover in Israel, our Lord's last Passover, and the merging of the Passover in the Lord's Supper. Mr Lilley does not refer to one suggestive aspect of the Passover, namely, that it was the first of the three great yearly "Moadim," or "trystes," of Jehovah, and therefore pre-eminently an ordinance of fellowship or "appointed meeting" between the Lord and His people. The force of the Hebrew words which group themselves round this thought is well brought out by Principal Douglas in one of his articles on the Revision of the Old Testament.<sup>1</sup>

Our Lord's words in instituting the Supper evidently link the ordinance with another memorable transaction in the history of redemption, the Covenant at Sinai, with its ratification by sacrifice and the sprinkling of blood, and the sacred meal partaken of by the representatives of the people in the immediate presence of God at the foot of the Mount. Two chapters are devoted to this "Communion Day of the Old Covenant," and to the relation of the Lord's Supper to "the New Covenant" in Christ's blood. Mr Lilley then considers the Lord's Supper in the Apostolic Church, the real nature of the Sacrament, the relation of the elements to the blessings of which the ordinance is the channel, its specific purposes, the persons for whom it is intended, the qualifications needful for rightly partaking of it, the spirit in which it should be used, and the spirit to be maintained after Communion.

The somewhat difficult and delicate practical questions which arise in connection with several of these points are handled by Mr Lilley with much sound judgment and Christian tact. The fruits of practical ministerial experience are especially to be recognised in this part of his work ; and there is an underlying glow of genuine devotional feeling which adds to the attractiveness of the book. The pressure of pastoral duties to which he refers in his Preface is sufficient excuse for a few slips in style, which are to be noted

<sup>1</sup> "Monthly Interpreter," x. pp. 254, 258.

occasionally, and for one sentence left in a state of hopeless confusion at p. 166.

In an Appendix Mr Lilley discusses the original records of the institution of the Lord's Supper, as given by the Synoptists and Paul; the relation of the Fourth Gospel to the Supper; its place in the New Testament as a whole; and the way in which the death of Christ is reflected in it. Under the last head we have a vigorous argument against the commonly received view that the breaking of the bread in the Lord's Supper represents the breaking of Christ's body on the Cross. Our author is disposed to regard that view as "a remnant of Rabbinism," and "a temptation to sacerdotalism." Our limits forbid criticism, except to say that while Mr Lilley is fairly entitled to lay stress on the omission by the Revisers of the words "broken for you," from 1 Cor. xi. 24, his argument against the usual view from the position it assigns to the minister of representing in symbolic action what took place upon the Cross is founded on a misconception. In the Communion service of the Presbyterian Church, the position assigned to the minister in this particular action is simply that of initiation. The bread is broken and the wine given by each communicant in turn.

D. D. BANNERMAN.

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### **The Church in the Mirror of History: Studies on the Progress of Christianity.**

*By Dr Karl Sell, D.D., Ph.D., Darmstadt. Translated by Elizabeth Stirling. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Crown 8vo, pp. viii., 250. Price 3s. 6d.*

DR SELL of Darmstadt is favourably known to most of our readers as the author of the Memoir of the late Princess Alice of Hesse-Darmstadt. He recently gave a short course of lectures under the auspices of the local branch of the "Gustavus Adolphus Ladies' Union." These lectures now appear in English as "The Church in the Mirror of History,"—a rather free rendering of Dr Sell's own title, "Aus der Geschichte Christenthums." The translator gives a very readable version of the original. The special aim of this little work is to lead "our cultured classes to interest themselves in the history of religious questions by discussing them in their general historical relations." This object, highly important in all countries, but especially so in Germany, it is well fitted to accomplish. Dr Sell has given us a series of brief but comprehensive studies of the historical growth and progress of Christianity from

its origin to our own times. The immense difficulties to be encountered in the selection and grouping of his materials have been on the whole successfully overcome. The subject is treated under the general headings of "Primitive Christianity," "The Early Catholic Church," "The Middle Ages," "The Reformation," "The Counter-Reformation," and "Christianity during the last century."

The chief movements of religious life and thought during these epochs are sketched and interpreted with care, insight, and sympathy. The work gives evidence throughout of wide reading, intellectual vigour, and a high spiritual tone. As regards recent criticism of the New Testament documents, Dr Sell's position is that the result has been to leave untouched the great facts regarding our Lord's Divine dignity, and the significance of His life, death, and resurrection which we find embodied in the four great epistles of Paul, and in the first two gospels, as representing the earliest Christian tradition.

The six lectures vary of course in freshness and interest. The best, in our judgment, are those on the Middle Ages and the Counter-Reformation. We may specially refer to the admirable sketch of St Bernard of Clairvaux, of the history and religious significance of the Franciscan movement, of the Gothic art of the Middle Ages, and of the development of Jesuitism.

On the other hand, our author's treatment of Pietism in Germany, and Methodism in England is somewhat disappointing. "Pietism made membership of the true Church to depend on the perfectly novel condition of inward piety, especially on the undergoing of pessimistic religious emotions." (p. 212). "In the estimation of Methodism a man has only so much religion as he carries ready for use in his hands or on his tongue." (p. 228).

German readers will not be disposed to criticise the patriotic assertions as to the eminence of Germany "as a Colonial power" in the Middle Ages, and that "the collective theologies of the Protestant countries can be comprehended from a German standpoint; but it requires no knowledge of foreign theology to understand that of Germany" (pp. 116, 241). Dr Sell wisely refrains from saying anything about the religion or theology of America "for lack of reliable information" (p. 227). A lack of such information appears to some extent in what he does say on the religious life and thought of Britain.

The book closes with a fine passage, breathing a justifiable hopefulness: "Christianity is marching onward towards the threshold of another century, not depressed and anxious and with muffled colours, as the Church crept over the frontiers of the last century, but openly and freely, with the banner of the Gospel unfurled,—the reconciliation of God with man, and of man with man."

D. D. BANNERMAN.

**A Modern Apostle: The Life and Career of the Late Alexander N. Somerville, D.D. (1813-1889), in Scotland, Ireland, India, America, Africa, Australasia, and the Chief Countries of Europe.**

*By George Smith, LL.D., Author of the Life of William Carey, &c With Portrait and Map. London: John Murray. Post 8vo, pp. 423. Price 9s.*

SUCH is the title given to the memoir of Dr Alexander N. Somerville, who was born in 1813 and died in 1889. Writing from Hungary a year before the termination of the career, Rabbi Lichtenstein suggested another title, "I long to see face to face that reverend patriarch who, like Father Abraham, goes from place to place to build altars and to proclaim the name of the Lord." The same Rabbi, after seeing "the reverend patriarch," declares, "I received from this remarkable, youthful, divinely enthusiastic old man, impressions for all my life, which every one must feel whose heart God has awakened."

Truly, A. N. Somerville was "a youthful, divinely enthusiastic old man." At sixty-four, an age when most men feel that they must retire from some of the more fatiguing activities of their calling, he was, at his own request, released from his pastorate that he might be free to go—as it was expressed in the call of the United Evangelistic Committee of Glasgow—"wherever the English language is spoken, unfettered as to where and when and how he should work." Before he left for his evangelistic tour in Australia, the venerable Dr Bonar said, in his own quaint way: "You sometimes remind me of Caleb. Like him, when very young, you gave a good testimony to the land of promise. But it was when Caleb was over eighty that he did his most wonderful exploits. I trust we shall hear from you of the falling of many a Kirjath-Arba in foreign lands."

A. N. Somerville set out for the Antipodes within a very few hours after he had been presented to the Vice-Chancellor of Glasgow University for the degree of Doctor in Divinity, as the "old Divine whose mild spiritual features and flowing white hair realise one's ideal portrait of a missionary for the world." In eighteen months from that day he voyaged or travelled upwards of 34,000 miles, visiting the several portions of the British Empire that lie under the Southern Cross. Within twelve years he made twelve missionary circuits ranging over the habitable world, preaching and teaching, developing in a marvellous way the possibilities of interpretation, in perils by land and perils by sea, sometimes suffering from pain, but never faltering in his resolution, always bright and buoyant, gentle but firm. Nothing daunted him; and there was such wisdom,



prudence, hopefulness in his energy, that difficulties which seemed to others unsurmountable yielded.

This patriarchal apostle had been for nearly forty years the minister of large congregations in the busy capital of the west of Scotland, and had taken a prominent part in many kinds of philanthropic work. His name is so associated with evangelistic enterprise that, as proving many-sidedness of view, it is interesting to recall that, among other labours, he was an ardent sanitary reformer. His biographer merely alludes to a movement, in regard to which fuller information is to be desired, for the improvement of the dwellings of the poor, at a time when an outbreak of Asiatic cholera was dreaded. Dr Somerville was at the head of this movement, and threw his usual force and sagacity into it. Notwithstanding his many duties, he never parted from the refinements of scholarship. His reading was always abreast of the day; and, although firmly orthodox in his opinions, he possessed the tolerance and charity which a widely-travelling culture imparts. These features became more prominent with the advance of years. In the year of his moderatorship he writes, "Perhaps old people are too exclusive, and do not consider the feelings of young people sufficiently." He did: he was one of those "who can bid the new generation God-speed along paths untrodden by them but seen afar off by faith." One of the last acts of his life was a touching illustration of the mellowed catholicity of his old age. He left the Established Church in 1843. We are told that on the Sunday when he marched out of Anderston Church with his Bible under his arm, "he had not a sixpence either in his house or in the bank." To the end he was a loyal Free Churchman, but in 1889 he accepted the invitation of the Jewish Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland to address the General Assembly in connection with the jubilee year of that Mission. His reception by the Assembly was enthusiastic beyond description, and so deeply moved was the radiant old man that for two or three minutes he could not speak. "At last," writes an eye-witness, "he got under weigh. It was a magnanimous appearance, and it was crowned by the magnanimous gift of a hundred guineas from Dr Somerville's family to the Jewish Mission of the Church."

Thus, full of years and honours, living in God's light, and in the love of a great multitude in many lands, A. N. Somerville waited for the coming of his Lord. And the end was peace. The story of his character and his toil is well told by Dr George Smith. The best tribute which can be paid to it is that the person to whom it introduces us is always thrown into such broad relief that, following the narrative, we forget to be critical. We feel the charm of the "youthful, divinely-enthusiastic old man;" and in this day of halting faiths, it is good to be taken into the fellowship of one who knew whom he

trusted, and whose trust was the spring of all his vitality. The words he addressed to some young men in the last year of his life remind us of the conviction which had inspired his own indomitable courage, "With the Bible in your heart, in your hand, and in your life, no power in earth or hell shall be able to withstand you."

JOHN MARSHALL LANG.

### Locke.

By Alexander Campbell Fraser, D.C.L. Edinburgh and London :  
William Blackwood & Sons. Cr. 8vo. Pp. viii., 299. 3s. 6d.

STUDENTS of philosophy have for some years looked for an edition of Locke from the competent hand of the editor of Berkeley. Professor Fraser informs us that even for the preparation of a critical edition of the essay his "day is too far spent." We must now be content with this admirable little volume in the series of *Philosophical Classics for English Readers*. There is nothing better as an introduction to the study of the philosophy of the great English philosopher. By his skilful selection of biographical details, Professor Fraser has set forth the intellectual and social *milieu* in which Locke's philosophical work was done. Not the least valuable part of his criticism of Locke consists in the emphasis which is laid upon the circumstances in which the essay was written, and the practical aim it was meant to subserve. That part of Professor Fraser's task has been well done; and it was worth doing carefully, for it puts the student at the proper viewpoint for appreciating the drift of Locke's philosophy. Interpretation through a careful account of the genesis of the philosophy is in Locke's case a kind of criticism which is specially needed.

On the vexed question of Locke's relation to phenomenalism and idealism Professor Fraser pursues a wise course. He shows that the question in debate between phenomenologists and idealists was not really before Locke. What Locke does say on the subject is *obiter dictum*, or rather *obiter dicta*, for his utterances point sometimes in one direction, and sometimes in another. Professor Fraser allows that Mr Webb

has some little ground for claiming Locke as an intellectualist, and that English and French phenomenologists have a good deal more ground for reckoning him their philosophical master. But he is content to signalise the elements in the Lockian philosophy which make for the one side and for the other.

Professor Fraser is careful to note Locke's relation to the theological and ecclesiastical movements of his age. A latitudinarian with a bias towards Deism, he held opinions which have long since ceased to be reckoned "notes" of a Broad Churchman. "The end of civil society is the preservation of the society . . . in a free and peaceable enjoyment of all the good things of this life, &c. The end of religious society is the attaining happiness after this life in another world." It is interesting to find the "other-worldly" theory of religion fathered by one whom Positivists delight to honour. It is interesting also to find that the now widely discarded attempt to prove the truth of the doctrine of revelation by miraculous physical signs found favour with Locke. Several other indications might be given that in spite of his "latitudinarianism" our philosopher was the child of his age in his attitude towards religion and theology. For example, powerful and successful pleader for toleration though he was, he refused to tolerate those who deny the being of God.

Professor Fraser exaggerates, perhaps, Locke's influence on subsequent theological thought. His philosophical method must have helped to rid theology of "idealess words and unreasoned assumptions," but one can find little trace of direct fruitful influence in the stating or answering of theological questions. A student of Calvin's commentaries would be slow to admit the place assigned to Locke by his critic in the historical criticism of the Bible. Locke's tendency towards deistical externalism ill suited him for revivifying theology. He may have contributed towards the downfall of scholasticism in theology, but a philosophy which had little light to shed upon personality and the "supernatural" by which man is linked to God and the spiritual world, could not possibly wield an influence over theology like that of Kant or Hegel. It was too much out of touch with the sphere occupied by theology.

D. M. Ross.

**Life of Arthur Schopenhauer.**

*By W. Wallace, Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy, Oxford.  
London, Walter Scott. Pp. 217.-ix. Price 1s., or Library  
Edition, demy 8vo, 2s. 6d.*

IN 1876 Miss Helen Zimmern wrote an admirable book on *Arthur Schopenhauer, his Life and his Philosophy*,—a book full of insight into speculative problems, and a real contribution to philosophical biography. Since then the English literature devoted to Schopenhauer and his school has increased largely. We have even a Schopenhauer "Series" in the press. But no contribution to our knowledge of the man and his system—whether English, German, French, or American—is better than the work which Professor William Wallace of Oxford has lately written for the "Great Writers" series. While strictly philosophical, it has the fascination of a romance. It lights up the perennial problems it discusses with several "modern touches here and there," and gives an imaginative setting to the abstruse questions of metaphysics. It is a critical study, in which biographic detail helps our understanding of that System of the Universe and of human Life which Schopenhauer taught. In addition to these features there are some admirable passages in which sidelight is cast on such questions as Romanticism.

Unlike the majority of German system-builders, Schopenhauer was not by profession a philosophical teacher, and he rather despised his countrymen who were the official representatives of speculative study at the Universities. His education had been desultory and unsystematic; and he was himself a dilettante as well as a philosopher. He did not adequately appreciate either the purely speculative, or the historical method of treating philosophical subjects. This kept him for many years unrecognised,—“a voice crying in the wilderness.” His ultimate success, however, was largely due to his having shaken himself free from the trammels of traditional philosophizing, and to his speaking to his age, not in the technical dialect of the schools, but in the vernacular language of common life and experience.

He was of Dutch extraction, and was born at Dantzic in the year 1788. When he was five years of age his parents left Dantzic and removed to Hamburg; and before he began his regular education he was taken by his merchant father over part of Europe. He was at school in Paris for two years; and afterwards in England for some months; again in France, Switzerland, and Austria. This gave him an early knowledge both of foreign languages, and of the ways of the world. His father wished him to enter on a business career, and he began work in an office, which he pursued even for two years after his father died. But his mother, a rather brilliant woman of

society, having gone with her only daughter to Weimar—where she used to receive Goethe, and others, in her *salon*—young Schopenhauer, nineteen years old, entered the gymnasium of Gotha, whence he passed afterwards to Weimar. At both places his initiation into Greek culture was thorough. The chasm in sympathy between himself and his mother—which was organic, and deep-seated—gradually widened. At the age of twenty-one he entered the University of Göttingen, enrolling himself as a student of medicine! For the first year of his college life he studied physical science for the most part. In his second year he took to philosophy, Schultze being his teacher. Schultze was an opponent of the Kantian “Criticism,” but he advised his students to confine themselves at the commencement of their studies to Plato and Kant; and these were the authors that most influenced Schopenhauer. In 1811 he went to Berlin, heard Fichte and Schleiermacher lecture, and studied the Classics, and some of the Sciences. It was to the University of Jena, however, that he sent his graduation thesis, *Ueber die vierfache Wurzel des Satzes vom zureichenden Grunde* (the fourfold root of the principle of sufficient reason). In this essay he tried to show that Causality had four separate roots. There was not much that was new in it; although, like Hume, in his juvenile work, he partly anticipated the completer doctrine of his *magnum opus*.

That all phenomena are inter-related, and that everything that happens must have a sufficient reason for its happening, is no very great discovery. But Schopenhauer thought he had made a new analysis by splitting up the reasons of occurrence, into the four following particulars, viz., the *causa fiendi*, or the ground of change; the *causa cognoscendi*, or the ground of knowledge; the *causa essendi*, or the ground of being; and the *causa agendi*, or the ground of action and volition. He carried these distinctions far too far. Artificial to begin with, he exaggerated their importance in many ways. His doctrine was the supersubtile graft of a somewhat belated scholasticism upon the doctrine of Kant. It is hard to say in what the *ratio fiendi*, *cognoscendi*, *essendi*, and *agendi*, improve upon the formal, material, efficient, and final causes of the post-Aristotelian philosophy. That it is by some *ratio fiendi* that any object arises, is a mere restatement of the problem to be solved. If we grant that all things are ruled by the law of causality, Schopenhauer thought that we give the *coup de grace* to theology of every kind. This is, however, only one of the *petitiones principii* which are to be found in the “Fourfold Root.”

From his twenty-sixth to his thirtieth year, Schopenhauer lived at Dresden, and there it was that his distinctive system took shape. He slowly elaborated his philosophy, and it was a coherent organic growth. He led a somewhat lonely and eccentric life. So absent-

minged was he that, in his solitary wanderings, and soliloquizing, in the neighbourhood of Dresden, he was often taken for an escaped lunatic. A delightful story is recorded of him, that the keeper of a conservatory, in which he had been walking and gesticulating freely, even speaking to the plants and trees, as he meditated on the universal life of the world,—went up to him and asked him who he was, "Fellow-creature," he replied, "if *you* could tell me who I am, I should be very greatly indebted to you!" Of course the attendant was only confirmed in his opinion of the lunacy of the stranger.

Schopenhauer wished to be thought the historical successor of Kant, in the direct lineage of philosophical inheritance; but he did not merely develop the teaching of the *Kritiken*. He brought many foreign elements into German philosophy, particularly the teaching of the later Indian metaphysics, of the Upanishads, and of Buddha. Perhaps the chief intellectual service which he did to European philosophy was his sympathetic outlook to the East, and his grafting Oriental modes of thought on our Western ideas. The final outcome of this alliance, however, was a return to the monistic solution of the problem of Being, with sundry accessories superadded in an altogether irrelevant fashion. He imbibed the spirit of Buddha, and the philosophic doctrine of Erigena, Bruno, and Spinoza; but he developed their monism along a line of his own.

During these four years at Dresden, he began to imagine that all human effort was illusion, and that our supposed successes in attaining the end of our desires, were the very beginnings of failure. He pondered over that radical passion of human nature which unites the sexes, and regarding it as illusory, drifted into an asceticism which was more marked than that of Antisthenes, or of Zeno, of St Simon Stylites, or the Indian Yogi. But the root of his asceticism was his doctrine of the Will, as unfolded in his chief work, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*. The ultimate essence of things, the radical underlying *Ding-an-sich*, was not a principle of intelligence,—like the *νοῦς* of Anaxagoras, or the *νόησις νοησῶς* of Aristotle—but a universal Will. The precise nature of this Will, Schopenhauer never explained in any of his writings. But he held that in all Nature there was a blind *nîsus*, or effort at self-realisation, and that in Man, where intellect emerged, this blind effort realised itself and became conscious. Thus will and intellect were the two radical elements in Human Nature. Intellectual discernment, however, leads us but a short way to a knowledge of things. Art conducts us much further, because genius can divine secrets, where talent merely sorts and arranges facts. All that the intellect can possibly disclose to us is the fact that the world exists in space and time, subject to the laws of phenomena. It is to us a presentation (*Vorstellung*). But we

are also conscious of the power of will, and in this we find the supreme truth, and the ultimate fact of the universe. The old doctrine of Parmenides, the *ἴν καὶ αἶν*, becomes luminous in the self-conscious life of the individual. But, apart from this creative will, the individual has no real existence. His states of consciousness are merely forms of illusion.

To return to the comparatively uneventful career of the philosopher's life. Having sent the MS. of his book *Die Welt als Wille, &c.*, to a publisher, Schopenhauer started for Italy, and spent some time at Venice, Rome, and Naples, where he studied Art and Italian Literature. The failure of the Dantzig firm, in which his patrimony was invested, summoned him back to Germany; when he managed to get a fairly good arrangement made with the bankrupt house. He then thought of University lecturing as a *Privat-docent*, as his Book had fallen "still-born from the press," even more truly than Hume's *Treatise* did. He actually began to lecture at Berlin in 1820; but, with all his ability, as a thinker and a talker, he failed as a lecturer. He again left Germany, and went to Switzerland and Italy; but returned to Berlin in 1825. The various steps of his subsequent career have no special interest. In 1833 he settled in Frankfurt for the rest of his life. As age advanced, he fancied he had attained to greater cheerfulness, but his antagonism and his egoism grew more marked. It was perhaps natural that one who was conscious of power, but who remained unrecognised and unpopular, should feel to a certain extent embittered. But when his later and more desultory work, the *Parerga und Paralipomena* (Chips and Scraps) appeared, and he became recognised in the literary world, his vanity rose with the turn of the tide. He was as eager as a child to know the terms of each critical estimate of his book in the Reviews as they appeared; and would have doubtless been one of the first subscribers to those terrible modern agencies, which offer to send an author, for an annual fee, clippings from all the newspapers of the world that notice his books.

To the end he remained a lonely man. His views of woman were pessimistic to the last degree. He considered her as essentially inferior to man, intended by Nature simply to continue the species, incapable of high culture or of justice. She had, by the alien influence of our Western Christianity, assumed a function, and stepped into a position that were detrimental to the race. He cared far more for his dog, Atma, than for any woman he ever met. What led to his recognition and appreciation by his contemporaries is curious. A philosophical Ishmaelite from first to last, he indulged in bitter tirades against Fichte, Schultze, and Hegel (particularly the latter); and these, along with his senseless attacks on the paid teachers of philosophy, at length brought him into notice, and led a public,—

who would not read his *Die Welt als Wille, &c.*—to attend to him because of the piquancy of his attacks on his great contemporaries. He became for the time more popular than the academic teachers were, and in certain quarters he continued to be so.

Returning to his chief book, and to the root of his system, Schopenhauer represented the underlying principle of the Universe at large as a stupendous Will, which operated blindly, and yet incessantly realised itself. He subordinated Mind, or Reason, to Feeling and Volition ; but he never cleared up the distinction between them. He speaks in the very vaguest fashion of the realm over which Will presides. Desire, and will, feeling, emotion, impulse, appetite, are all placed over against intellect as belonging to a superior category ; but they are unphilosophically slumped together. In the consciousness of will we enter into a realm "where time and space are not." "We *feel* that we are greater than we *know*." Mind cannot cross the threshold from the sphere of phenomena to substance. The "meddling intellect" rather separates us from reality, and prevents our contact with it. But when the intellect is quiescent, the feelings and the will go forth together to apprehend reality, we escape from the limitations of time and space, of succession and change, of cause and effect. We get to the centre of things, and we find that centre everywhere. Schopenhauer maintained that what we thus discover, in the root of our own personality, is, at the same time, the Essence of the world, or the radical principle of the Universe. So far he seems to be the advocate of a spiritual philosophy as against the *ἀνάγκη*, and the atomism of the materialists ; and his interpretation of Will as a power above Nature, outside the chain of necessity,—as not only a metaphysical essence, but a quasi-supernatural force,—seems to open up the way, both for a theistic interpretation of Nature, and for the possibility of miracle, as a supra-material energy working within the cosmos. This, however, is again negatived by his monistic view of things. We, with our wills above Nature, are still a part of the larger Nature that brought us here. The *natura naturata* emanates from the *natura naturans*, and our very consciousness of freedom is at best illusive.

Schopenhauer's sharply-drawn antithesis between the will and the intellect is faultily abrupt, and radically erroneous. In every energy of the will, there is an intellectual element present ; and it might be as plausibly maintained that it is the will that differentiates, and the intellect that unites ; as that mind is the principle of difference, and the will that of union.

The inconsistencies at the root of Schopenhauer's psychology and metaphysic, however, are not so serious as is the outcome of his ethical theory. His monism curiously enough prepared the way for a doctrine, not of egoism, but of altruism of a lofty order. The self,



for which the individual has to live, and which he is bound to cherish, is his *alter ego* in humanity. The ethics of Schopenhauer, however, like that of every monistic system, rashly aim at the abolition of the controversy between egoist and altruist, not by ending it in a higher harmony which conserves the truth of both, but by destroying each as an irrelevancy. It dries up the very springs of moral action by affirming that the life, after which the energy of the will strives, is at its heart a delusion. "Vanity, and vexation of spirit," is the outcome of all the toilsome *ivépyeia* of the will, and the result is *ennui* and despair. If one yields himself up to the wish to live and to enjoy, it is contemptible egoism. It could only be rational, if the world, as it is, were good. But the world, as it is, is radically bad. Not optimism, but pessimism is the true theory of existence ; and it is only by the cessation of desire, and the ending of individual life, that rest can be obtained. Such is the moral contradiction in which the ethics of Schopenhauer land us.

As in the case of many other great men, we are interested in Schopenhauer's system apart from the man, and in the thinker apart from his thought. The *man*, Arthur Schopenhauer, was a repellant egoist, self-centered, querulous, irritable, vain. The *thinker*, Schopenhauer, was a fertile-minded, and really original plummet-sounder. The *man* was a supercilious critic of his predecessors, who gloried in the avowal that, "than all his teachers now he had, more understanding far." The philosopher, on the other hand, was a sagacious, suggestive, clear, and penetrating thinker. It is true that he vainly fancied that he had solved the sphinx riddle of the world ; and so conceited was he over his discovery that he proposed to have an image of the sphinx throwing herself into the abyss, carved on his signet-ring ! while he had the hardihood to affirm that certain passages in the *Die Welt, &c.*, had been expressly dictated to him by the Holy Ghost ! But with faults of argument, and faults of style, with their vague assumptions, their inconclusive reasoning, and their frequent paradox, his works have proved an immense stimulus to the philosophical thought of subsequent generations. He added nothing of importance to modern philosophy, but he defined one of its root problems in a significant manner. His character and his system together are in a sense monumental ; and his restatement of certain questions that are as old as the dawn of speculation, must be reckoned with in every subsequent attempt to solve these problems in a healthier and more constructive fashion. It may safely be said that few, if any, of the books that have dealt with him are more suggestive than that of Mr Wallace.

WILLIAM KNIGHT.

**Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.**

1891. *Erstes Heft.*

IN this number there are six articles, of which the first (by C. Holsten) takes up two-thirds of the whole space. It is a valuable discussion of the significance of the expression *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* in the consciousness of Jesus. A review of previous inquiries serves only to emphasise the uncertainty of their answers to such questions as: Did the phrase express Jesus' idea of His nature, or merely of His vocation? Was the title meant to conceal or to reveal His Messiahship? Was it used during the Galilean ministry, or first at its conclusion?

I. Holsten first deals with the *facts*—the data in the Synoptics. After enumerating all the places where the expression occurs, he concludes (in opposition to Baldensperger and others), that "in the words Mt. 9/6 = Mk. 2/10 = Lk. 5/24, and Mt. 12/8 = Mk. 2/28 = Lk. 6/5, also Mt. 11/19 = Lk. 7/34 and Mt. 8/20, 12/32, lie decisive proofs that Jesus already, before the scene at Cæsarea Philippi, described Himself to the disciples and to the people with the title Son of Man." In his elucidation of the facts Holsten is strictly expository. Of special significance is the scene at Cæsarea Philippi. Before this, Jesus had gained a certainty of His Messiahship, and had expressed this to *Himself* by the title "Son of Man." But as yet neither disciples nor people understood the title in a Messianic sense. Certain results follow: (1) in the consciousness of Jesus this title was of equal significance with "the Christ, the Son of the living God;" (2) Jesus expected that it was *possible* for the people to draw the conclusion from His self-description to His Messiahship; (3) Jesus had not hitherto revealed the significance of this self-description to any one. A further conclusion from the facts is that Jesus always used this title as the expression of His Messianic consciousness, and also that the Messiah (like the Messianic Kingdom) was to go through two forms of existence—one on Earth, of external lowliness, another in Heaven, of external glory; in both, there is an inner glory which is not revealed till the manifestation of the kingdom in power.

II. The *Explanation of the Facts*. There is (1) the "sprachliche Deutung," from which we learn that the decisive word is *ἄνθρωπος*, *υἱός* merely expressing a formal relation, and that the expression indicates an individual who as son of a man bears in himself the natural characteristics which distinguish a man from all other natures. Outside the Synoptics the expression describes man in his humanity as opposed to God. Then follows (2) the "grammatisch logische Deutung," where the double article is the important

point. Before the second word, this expresses the generic distinction, and Jesus, in using the title, must therefore have had the definite consciousness that He was begotten of a man,—which excludes the miraculous conception! As to the significance of the article before *υἱός*, the various views are fully considered, Holsten himself deciding for that which refers it to the Son of Man in Daniel 7/13,14. If Jesus had won the certainty of His Messiahship during His Galilean period, and found in this title an expression for it then the double article is explained. For it is one of the human race who speaks, hence the precision of *ἄνθρωπος*. And it is an individual stamped by the Scripture and by prophecy. But had Jesus the consciousness which this interpretation needs? That is the question decided by (3) the “*religiöse Deutung*,” which is specially important. Only a representation of the development of the Messianic consciousness in Jesus can show why He embodied His certainty of Messiahship in the expression “Son of Man” as a determined form. This certainty (admitted by all) arose out of his assured experience that God had given to Him, the man in distinction from all other men, the Divine Spirit. Hence the conviction that God had chosen Him to work out a special saving mission, not as Prophet but as the Messiah Himself. This was determined first *negatively*. He broke with the Davidic *Kingdom-ideal*. He expected the kingdom as the result of a divine act, and confined Himself to preparing for this by the preaching of the kingdom and by works of healing. Hence also a breach with the Davidic *Messiah-ideal*. But with this negative determination was bound naturally another, the rejection of all those attributes which the Jews expected in their Messiah. Hence the conviction that kingdom and Messiah alike had to go through a double form of existence: (1) *before* the complete coming of the kingdom the Messiah was without the high Messianic attributes; (2) *at* the consummation He would be revealed in glory to all peoples. But the question arose for Jesus: was this picture (so different from the national one of the old prophecy) the true one, willed by God? Jesus needed two things,—a *form*, a name to express His Messianic certainty, and a *foundation* for this in Scripture. Both He found in the Daniel prophecy. But how could Jesus refer all that is found there to Himself? The explanation lies in a proper interpretation of Daniel, who does not draw a transcendent heavenly figure, but an earth-born son of man riding *from earth to heaven* on the clouds. Now, as soon as Jesus grasped this Coming Figure as a personality and not a personification the transference of the title to Himself was easy. But Daniel only supplied Jesus with the *form* for His consciousness. This was filled up by His own experience, and through this experience (of a suffer-

ing, teaching, dying Messiah), He "first made the visionary scheme of Daniel into a living Messianic personality." The reader must be referred to the article for a long series of important conclusions which Holsten draws from these results. The last refers to the relation of the titles "Son of Man" and "Son of God." The latter is the presupposition of the former—"I am Son of God and this in the form Son of Man." In his concluding pages Holsten considers the question: this being so with the *synoptic* Jesus, can we attribute the same to the *historical* Jesus? In point of content he gives an affirmative answer, with one exception. Jesus was conscious of the divine necessity of His sufferings, of His resurrection and elevation to come, but He cannot have represented Himself as Judge of the world. As to the *form* these facts take in the Synoptics, an opposite conclusion is come to. Jesus could not have asserted the saving significance of His death before the Supper, or the certainty of His death and resurrection before the Jerusalem days. How difficult it was even then "is shown by the fact that there was a Gethsemane after the Supper." The general conclusion of the article is that the significance which this expression has in the synoptic Jesus it had also in the consciousness of the historical Jesus.

There is no space to notice the other articles. They are: "Paul Ewald's Solution of the Gospels-Problem," by Hilgenfeld; "On the Date of Polycarp's Death," by E. Egli; "The Origin of the Philistines," by F. Schwally; "Paralipomena Christiana," by J. Dräseke; and another, by Hilgenfeld.

FREDERICK J. RAE.

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## **Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie.**

### *Jahrgang XVII. Heft ii.*

IN this number Seydel continues his exposition and criticism of Krafon's teaching as to "knowledge and faith." Religious faith Krafon defines as "faith in the salvation-good, the perfect eternal life, the pure ideal of life, the kingdom of God." This *summum bonum* is supernatural, for everything originating in the world is relative and conditioned. The subject of this ideal lies not in the individual man as such, but in the relationship between individuals as members of a whole. The incoming of this conception is revelation. Seydel's chief criticisms on this section of Krafon's work are that he fails to distinguish clearly between natural and supernatural, and to find a due place in his ethics for pleasures of sense, for beauty

and knowledge. But for an external revelation in history, Krafon proceeds, the moral ideal of the kingdom of God would have been both illusory and unreasonable. Seydel, on the contrary, insists on the sufficiency of an inward revelation both for certainty and reasonableness, and asserts that Krafon himself virtually admits the independence of the inner revelation in that he both starts from it towards Christ and uses it as the final test of Christianity. Krafon next insists on the need for an objective revelation to effect the reconciliation of man to God and the purification of man's conscience. His critic, however, thinks that if the inner revelation of the ideal is a gift of divine love, that love is therein already forgiving, while, on man's part, the willingness to realise the ideal is enough. Seydel's own account of faith is that it is a belief born of the "life-feeling" (*Lebensgefühl*) which convinces us that the highest realisation of self lies in working for the moral good of all. One might ask Seydel if the historical revelation in Christ has not really been the chief factor in the genesis of this "life-feeling."

Johannes Hillmann has a long article on The History according to Luke of Jesus' Childhood. He endeavours to show that chap. i., with the exception of the first four verses, is a piece by itself, written in the main by some Christian Jew. In this piece, moreover, are interpolations, *e.g.*, Mary's song and Zachariah's. The Magnificat is built up out of the Old Testament, contains no specifically Christian thought, and is therefore by a Jew. The Benedictus, which is purely Jewish, shows traces of "over-working" by a Christian hand. Verses 31-33 and 34, 35 suggest two accounts by different authors. Hillmann next seeks to show that the idea of a supernatural birth is foreign to Jewish imagination. In an addendum the writer attributes to St Matthew's account an origin similar to that of St Luke's narrative.

M. Ginsburger contributes an article on The Anthropomorphisms in the Targums. The origin of these is the shrinking of the human mind from coming into too immediate contact with God, and the consequent desire to conceive Him by means of secondary manifestations. The terms treated are (a) *מיטרא, דיבורא*; (b) *שכינתא, יקרא*; (c) *קדם, שמה*.

F. Görres concludes his articles on Church and State from Diocletian to Constantine, and deals with Diocletian's four edicts anent Christianity, the sufferance of it in the West, and the persecution of its adherents in the East, from 305 to 311 A.D., the edicts of tolerance and complete victory of the new religion (311-313), the Licinian persecution and Constantine's policy (316-324).

R. M. ADAMSON.

**International Journal of Ethics, devoted to the Advancement of Ethical Knowledge and Practice.**

NOS. I. AND II.

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THE *Ethical Record*, announced last summer by circular, appeared for the first time (October 1890) under the above altered title. The aim of the journal, as the editors explain, is—(1.) "To promote the study of ethics, and of other sciences, in so far as they bear directly upon conduct." (2.) "To discuss special moral problems suggested by the growing complexity of modern life." (3.) "To provide a medium for the criticism of art, literature, and politics, from the point of view of their effect upon national and individual character." (4.) "To provide information concerning practical work of an educative and moralising kind, which is conducted on a non-dogmatic basis." The title-page gives a list of the principal names (34) of pledged contributors. Of these Great Britain gives 12 (14 if Professor Giddings, Bryn Mawr, Pa; and Professor Pander, Pekin, are to be included?), Germany comes next with 10, America follows with 8, Denmark contributes Professor Höffding of Copenhagen, and Japan, Ryanon Fujishima of Saikin. It seems a pity that France and Italy (not to speak of Russia) should be left out in the cold. Yet, on the whole, Englishmen, Americans, and Germans will probably agree with the apparent assumption of the editors that they (or at any rate the "remnant" of them) represent—if the phrase is permissible—the *elect conscience* of the world. It may be hoped that other nations will have the good sense to agree with this verdict, and that the new journal will be *international* in its circulation, if it does not become more so than the programme promises in its authorship.

Such names as those of Professors E. Caird, Sidgwick, Ward, Pfeiderer, Höffding (whose article in the subjoined *Contents* of the *First Number* is, for solidity, *facile princeps* in a very bright list), Josiah Royce, show that the editors have known where to look for the best. A journal backed by such names (and others of almost equal repute—let us, in particular, wish well to the juniors: Profes-

sors Adamson, Manchester; Jones, Bangor; J. S. Mackenzie, Manchester; Paulsen, Berlin) is not likely to contain much that shall not be profound in thinking and ripe in scholarship. Drs Stanton Coit and Felix Adler, and Mr Bernard Bosanquet will see to it that the *parænetic*—one might almost say, with an apology in particular to Mr Bosanquet, the *preaching*—element shall not be wanting. Only, as Dr Adler and Mr Bosanquet tell us in their articles most emphatically, the preaching will be non-dogmatic in the technico-theological sense. This is well, surely; not even the Hebrew prophets (shall we say?) were dogmatic in that sense, and it is perhaps not altogether a bad “sign of the time” that no wise man now-a-days need bid for the popular ear who will not speak as from the revealed counsel of the Eternal. There will, therefore, it needs to be added, be no lack of the higher dogmatism. Mr W. M. Salter (see below) dares in a soberly-entitled article to sing a *pæan* on *Transcendentalism*, while the less fervid preachers speak of the “self-sufficiency of the good life” (or *sic alias*). In fine, if we can still share the inspired enthusiasm that led Moses to say: “Would God that *all* the Lord’s people were *prophets*,” or join—in a slightly extended sense—in the regretful acknowledgment of St Paul: “Howbeit there is not in *every* man that *knowledge*,” what can we say to this new *ethical* venture of modern catholicism but, very respectfully and thankfully: *Prosit!*

On the whole, the second number seems a considerable improvement on the first. The articles have more stuff in them without being heavier. In addition to those already mentioned, Professor Royce gives an interesting analysis of Professor William James’s new two-volume work on Psychology. It may interest the theological reader to know that this, the newest development of English (*pace* Dr Abbot) psychology, declares for the freedom of the will, like Kant, on ethical grounds. Professor Devoy crosses foils with some of the writers in No. 1, in a light and suggestive article on “Moral Theory and Practice.” Other articles are, “The Ethics of Doubt,” by W. L. Sheldon; “The Ethics of Socialism,” by Professor Siddings, in connection with Steinthal’s new book on “The Social Utopia and Paulsen’s on Socialism and Social Reform;” “Ethical and kindred Societies in Great Britain,” in which an account is given by Mrs M’Callum of the London Ethical Society, founded 1886, under whose auspices Sunday Lectures are given at Essex Hall, Strand, of The Edinburgh Ethical Club, The Cambridge Ethical Society, and similar institutions. The No. closes with reviews of “Die Ethik d. Griechen,” “Essays on Educational Reformers,” “The Strike of Millionaires against Miners,” by Thomas Davidson, J. G. Mackenzie, and Professor E. J. James, respectively.

LEWIS A. MUIRHEAD.

### Notices.

THIS Commentary<sup>1</sup> is constructed on the same plan as the author's well-known volume on the *Epistle to the Romans*. It is in Dr Vaughan's best style. It limits itself for the most part to the criticism, illustration, and history of words and phrases, its object being to "catch the plain sense, and to trace the developing thought of each clause and sentence and paragraph." This is a kind of work in which English scholars have excelled. The severe, though narrow, type of Greek scholarship which used to prevail in the great schools and universities of the South, created a predilection for curious researches into the natural history of words, and furnished our English interpreters with a cunning hand for verbal and grammatical niceties. That is an art which becomes dangerous when applied to the exposition of the Scriptures, unless it is balanced by the historical sense. It is not the highest type of exegesis, nor the most fruitful. It is but the preparation for another which embraces larger and more varied elements. But it has its own place, and when kept in reasonable limits is capable of contributing materially to the understanding of any piece of ancient literature. Dr Vaughan pursues this method of exegesis with success, because he pursues it with modesty and caution. He says something to purpose on many of the more distinctive or remarkable terms, *χαρὰν* (i. 3), *ὑπόστασις* (i. 3), *ἀρχηγόν* (ii. 10). In some cases of doubtful rendering, where we specially look for a decision, we fail to find it. In the very important passage in ii. 10, for example, we get a just statement of the *data* of exegesis, but miss Dr Vaughan's own conclusion. In a few instances he passes beyond the expressed purpose of his exposition and the real scope of exegesis, as when he diverges into a statement on *confirmation* as the "continuation or the imitation" of the *ἐπιθέσεως τε χριστῶν* in vi. 2. But the notes are, for the most part, of the better order. Among many, we may refer to those on xii. 17, which explain shortly the selection of the

<sup>1</sup> The *Epistle to the Hebrews*, with Notes. By C. J. Vaughan, D.D., Dean of Llandaff and Master of the Temple, &c. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xix., 340. Price 7s. 6d.



terms ἀποδοκιμάσθη and μετανόιας (instead of the μεταμελείας which would seem more appropriate to Esau's case), and bring the sense to this—*When he fain would have inherited the blessing, he was rejected (for he found no room for repentance to operate in undoing his old misdeed) though he sought the blessing earnestly with tears.* As regards the authorship of the Epistle, Dr Vaughan feels the force of the argument drawn from the numerous resemblances to Pauline phraseology and thought, but echoes, nevertheless, “the voice of Clement and Origen in declaring that, however Pauline, the Epistle as we possess it, is not St Paul's.” So far as he indicates any leaning, it is in favour of Barnabas as author rather than either Apollos or Luke. Further, he takes the Epistle to have been written from Italy, and to have been addressed to the Church of Jerusalem. An appendix contains more elaborate notes on a few passages. The first of these deals with the question of Inspiration, and attempts to find a *via media* between the theory of verbal inspiration and the theory that practically eliminates the divine element from Scripture.

Another book<sup>1</sup> of an expository character comes from the hand of the Master of the Temple. The three small collections of Lectures on the book of Acts, which were published in 1864-65 under the titles of *The Church of Jerusalem, The Church of the Gentiles, The Church of the World*, were widely welcomed, and have run into several editions. They are now issued in a single volume with little alteration of the text, except that the readings and renderings of the passages under consideration have been brought, as far as possible, into harmony with the Revised Version. They are not elaborate scientific commentaries, but pulpit lectures. They are models of what these ought to be. They promote the great ends of edification by making the hearer or reader himself a student of the Word, and by helping him to follow with intelligence the purpose and tenor of the book as a whole. The volume will be especially useful to preachers, but not to them only.

<sup>1</sup> *The Church of the First Days: Lectures on the Acts of the Apostles.* By C. J. Vaughan, D.D., Dean of Llandaff, &c. New Edition. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii., 597. Price 10s. 6d.

The Trustees of the Lightfoot Fund have done wisely in giving the public an opportunity of knowing what the late Bishop of Durham was as a preacher. The first of a series of four volumes consists of a collection of historical discourses.<sup>1</sup> It had long been Bishop Lightfoot's desire to give a sketch of the progress of Christianity in his own Diocese. In this volume we have the partial fulfilment of a larger plan, which was to carry the history on from the Celtic Mission of Iona and Lindisfarne to Bishop Butler. We miss three of the sketches which formed part of his design, namely those of St Columba, the Life of Bede, and Antony Bek. We should also have been glad to see how so able a hand would have dealt with other notabilities of the northern districts of England, Caedmon, St Chad, Paulinus, St John of Beverley. But the stories of the careers of Oswald, Aidan, Hilda, Cuthbert, and the Death of Bede, familiar as in some respects they are, are told here with a direct and telling force which makes them almost new. The less known figures of Richard de Bury, Bernard Gilpin, and John Cosin, are also made to attract our attention. The last discourse is devoted to Joseph Butler, in Dr Lightfoot's estimate the greatest of the bishops of Durham, who is exhibited in the grandeur of a character dominated in life by the thought expressed in death that it is "an awful thing to appear before the Moral Governor of the World."

A second volume<sup>2</sup> contains seventy-nine Ordination Addresses and fourteen Counsels to Clergy. Practical good sense is the chief characteristic of these. Under a profound sense of responsibility the Bishop speaks with a direct, homely force of the pastor's commission, the details of his daily work, his common hopes and fears, his dangers and his securities. There is at the same time intense feeling in them which brings a glow into the statement of the most ordinary duties. Neither are passages of a loftier flight wanting. Among the richest of these discourses we may name those on *Burdens*, on

<sup>1</sup> *Leaders in the Northern Church: Sermons preached in the Diocese of Durham.* By the late Joseph Barber Lightfoot, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., &c. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii., 203. Price 6s.

<sup>2</sup> *Ordination Addresses and Counsels to Clergy.* By the late Joseph Barber Lightfoot, D.D., &c. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo pp. xii.-318. Price 6s.

the *Repulsion and Attraction of Christ*, and on the *Partisan Spirit*.

A third volume<sup>1</sup> gives us a number of Cambridge Sermons, eight Trinity College Chapel Sermons, and eleven University Sermons. These are more elaborate discourses, and show Bishop Lightfoot at his best as a preacher. Some of them are of a very striking order, those, for example, on *Esau*, on the *Wrath of the Lamb* (in many respects a most remarkable sermon), on the *Meanness and the Greatness of Man*, and on *Bethel*.

A fourth volume,<sup>2</sup> dedicated to the memory of Dean Church, vies with the third in the value of its contents. It contains some searching studies of character, above all others the very striking discourse on *Balaam and Balak*. It contains also some of the best examples of the Bishop's higher order of thinking, as in the sermons on *The Counsel of Caiaphas*, *Pilate's Question*, and *Why stand ye gazing up into heaven?* The last is one of the weightiest and most satisfying expositions of the Ascension with which we are acquainted. Bishop Lightfoot was, first and foremost, a scholar. But these volumes of sermons, ranging over so wide a variety of subject, clothed in language of such force and definiteness, so rich in thought, and fired with such earnestness of purpose, prove him to have possessed not a few of the gifts which make the greatness of the preacher.

Professor Momerie has the ear of the public. That this volume<sup>3</sup> is in its second edition is evidence of that. Everything he writes is clear and pointed, never carrying us into any great depths, never attempting any high flight, but leaving us in no uncertainty so far as it takes us. His sermons avoid the profounder soundings of the Christian life, and the strong forms of evangelical doctrine. They seldom touch the Person

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge Sermons. By the late Joseph Barber Lightfoot, D.D. &c. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 334. Price 6s.

<sup>2</sup> Sermons preached in St Paul's Cathedral. By the late Joseph Barber Lightfoot, D.D., &c. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 314. Price 6s.

<sup>3</sup> Church and Creed: Sermons preached in the Chapel of the Foundling Hospital. By Alfred William Momerie, M.A., D.Sc., LL.D. Second edition. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. 258. Price 4s. 6d.

of Christ, the work of atonement and reconciliation, the ministry of the Holy Ghost, which make the great notes in the message of Paul and John. They deal by preference with the moral spirit of the Gospel, the more general topics of creed and conduct, and the fundamental questions of Theism. Within these limits Professor Momerie sermonises with a certain pungent definiteness, removing obstacles which rise in the way of faith from the thought and science of the age, setting ethical truth in its own light, and enforcing the claims of Christian duty. In this spirit he discourses in the present volume on such subjects as *Reverence, Little Kindnesses, and Laughter*, as well as on larger subjects—the *Church, Salvation by Creed, Use and Abuse of Creeds, the Resurrection of the Body*. He concludes with a lecture on the *Didaché*.

Another volume<sup>1</sup> of Sermons comes from one whose worth it is superfluous to commend. In a series of thirty-four discourses Dr Maclaren carries us with reverence and power through that section of the Fourth Gospel which has ever been felt to be the inner sanctuary of the Evangelical history. Dr Maclaren here exhibits the best qualities of his style of pulpit exposition, and how high those qualities are it is needless now to say. Let the reader look into the chapters which bear the headings *Many Mansions, The True Vision of the Father, Christ's Peace, The Facts which Convince the World, Peace and Victory*, and he will understand what manner of interpreter and preacher the writer of this volume is.

In a recent addition to the series of *Handbooks for Bible Classes*,<sup>2</sup> Principal Douglas expounds six of the prophetic books:—Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah. The literary and historical questions are briefly, but carefully, discussed. The author's own attitude is conservative. This appears particularly in his treatment of Jonah, where he argues strongly against the parabolic interpretation. He has a generous consideration, however, for

<sup>1</sup> *The Holy of Holies: Sermons on fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth chapters of the Gospel of John.* By Alexander Maclaren, D.D. London: Alexander & Shephard. Cr. 8vo, pp. 379. Price 5s.

<sup>2</sup> *The Six Intermediate Minor Prophets.* By George C. M. Douglas, D.D., Principal and Professor of Hebrew in the Free Church College, Glasgow, &c. Edinburgh: T. & Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 157. Price 1s. 6d.

those of different critical leanings. He prefers an earlier date for Obadiah than that of the Chaldean Conquest of Jerusalem. In the case of Nahum he puts very clearly the reasons which are urged for connecting the prophecy with the fall of Thebes, and so assigning it to Manasseh's time rather than to that of Isaiah and Micah. The running commentary is concise, helpful, and devout. It is at its best probably in Habakkuk.

In a small but interesting volume upon Isaiah<sup>1</sup> Mr Blake aims at giving a "historical representation of a prophet's views and environment, very much in the words of his own choosing, or in the literature of the time in which he lived." This is done with a large measure of success. The book of Isaiah is taken to contain prophecies by several prophets, and the various parts of which it consists are placed in the historical order which is approved by the best scholars. A special chapter is added on the *Religious Conceptions of Isaiah*; and the usefulness of the volume is further increased by a Chronological Table and a Glossary of Names and References. The author withal is careful not to claim certainty for all the critical conclusions which are represented in his setting of the prophecies. He has read widely and intelligently, and has made a gallant attempt to enable the ordinary English reader to understand Isaiah as Isaiah is presented by recent criticism and investigation.

Herr Funcke's popular volume of Discourses<sup>2</sup> has found a competent translator. This Bremen preacher is one of those who are anxiously seeking new ways of presenting old truth. His conviction is that, while the gospel is not to be accommodated to the ideas of the *Zeit-geist*, the Church has to "widen her gates," and forswear many things which she has favoured too long—an artificial pulpit diction, a "straw-splitting theology," sectarian disputation, the commingling of the gospel with

<sup>1</sup> How to Read Isaiah: Being the Prophecies of Isaiah arranged in order of Time and Subject, with Explanations and Glossary. By Buchanan Blake, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 187. Price 2s. 6d.

The World of Faith and the Everyday World as displayed in the footsteps of Abraham. By Otto Funcke, Pastor of the Friedens Kirche, Bremen. Translated from the Sixth German Edition, by Sophia Taylor. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo, pp. xvi., 353. Price 7s. 6d.

politics, and all intermeddling of the Church and the State with one another. He would have the preacher keep his message free from all such entanglements, and live among his people so as to understand them. In this spirit he discourses on the great passages in Abraham's life. The book is most vivacious in style, eminently practical in tone, and rich in good things.

We have already had occasion to notice the late Dr Döllinger's *Briefe und Erklärungen*. We now welcome an "authorised" translation<sup>1</sup> of that important collection. The translation is skilfully executed, and puts the English reader quite abreast of the original. The volume itself is one of those which historians in after years will reckon among their most precious sources. From first to last it is of historical as well as personal interest. The first document, *Considerations for the Bishops of the Council respecting the question of Papal Infallibility*, is of great value. Many of those that follow are equally worthy of attention. Especially is this the case with the correspondence between Döllinger and the Archbishop of Munich. If anyone desires to understand how the Decrees of Council are made to come to pass, and what it means to follow conviction in such an atmosphere, let him read this book.

It is understood that a biography of the late Professor Delitzsch is to be prepared by Herr Faber, the first Superintendent of the Institutum Judaicum in Leipsic. Meantime Professor Curtiss, one of the great Hebraist's many pupils, publishes a small memorial volume<sup>2</sup> which will be welcome to many. It gives a good idea of what Franz Delitzsch was as Teacher, Theologian, Author, and Friend of Israel, and reports many interesting particulars of his long and honourable life. A chapter might well have been added on Delitzsch as Letter-writer. One of his special gifts lay in that direction. His correspondence, which was almost world-wide, and in which he let himself out as nowhere else, except in the

<sup>1</sup> *Declarations and Letters on the Vatican Decrees, 1869-1887*. By Ignaz von Döllinger. Authorised Translation. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Crown 8vo, pp. x., 178. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> *Franz Delitzsch: A Memorial Tribute*. By Samuel Ives Curtiss, Professor in Chicago Theological Seminary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Crown 8vo, pp. v., 96. With portrait. Price 3s.

choicer hours of private intercourse, should certainly be collected and published.

Every scholar knows how Dr Sanday has discharged one of the two duties which he recognises to be the special duties of the Theological Professor. By patient, scientific work he has done more than most to advance the detailed study of the subject committed to him. In a modest volume,<sup>1</sup> consisting mainly of Lectures delivered at Whitehall and Oxford, he addresses himself to the second of these duties—that of helping “the public mind to clear itself in times of difficulty and perplexity.” He writes on the anxious subject of Biblical Inspiration with the view of allaying the fears which the operations of science and criticism naturally excite when the bearings of their results are only imperfectly understood. There is no better service for the trained theologian to render at present than to give a careful estimate of the losses and the larger gains which may come to us by the critical movement, and place the public in a position to see into the real state of the question. Dr Sanday does this with the precision and the caution which the case requires. The book is, perhaps, even more valuable for its incidental statements on many points of Biblical Scholarship than for its main argument. For example, on grounds lying largely in the history of the text, he concludes (though by no means dogmatically) that the Maccabean age is the latest date to which the completion of the Psalter can be assigned. He is doubtful, indeed, whether it contains any Maccabean Psalms. He makes some interesting remarks upon the Canon, which come short, however, of covering the real difficulties of the case. His explanation of the formation of the Canon is simply the “usage of the Churches,” in which he thinks we may recognise Divine guidance. There is, too, a careful and reverent chapter on *Christ and the Scriptures*, in which he rejects the idea of *accommodation*, and prefers that of a real limitation of knowledge—a limitation to which

<sup>1</sup> *The Oracles of God. Nine Lectures on the Nature and Extent of Biblical Inspiration, and on the Special Significance of the Old Testament Scriptures at the Present Time. With two Appendices.* By William Sanday, D.D., LL.D., &c. London: Longmans. Crown 8vo, pp. x., 147. Price 4s.

He condescended as part of the process of *Kenosis* referred to by Paul. As regards the main burden of the book, the most important things are the positions affirmed on the inerrancy and the authority of Scripture. On the former, he holds that both in the Old Testament and in the New, the history, as distinguished from the doctrine, seems to proceed on the ordinary method, and that, so far as the Bible itself instructs us, we have no reason to claim for the narratives a strict immunity from error. On the latter, he finds the grounds for our belief in the Bible as the Word of God, first in the testimony of experience—the experience that the Bible *finds* us, and secondly, in the testimony of the writers—their testimony to the fact that they spoke only by the constraining impulse of the Spirit. To these two, he appears disposed to add a third in the verification of history. In the first of these three grounds of belief, Dr Sanday is much in sympathy with Dr Dale's argument, in his very able and eloquent volume on *The Living Christ*. Both writers state what is true and of vital moment, and state it well. We feel, however, that it is but part of the truth, and that it applies to much that is in the Bible, but not to the Bible as a whole. But in the second of these grounds, Dr Sanday has a different case, and states it with force. The volume, small as it is, will well repay more than one perusal.

## Record of Select Literature.

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PULPIT COMMENTARY. *Proverbs: Exposition by Rev. W. J. Deane and Rev. S. T. Taylor-Taswell; Homiletics by Rev. Prof. W. F. Adeney, &c.* London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Royal 8vo, pp. 630. 15s.

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HORTON, Rev. R. F. *The Book of Proverbs. (The Expositor's Bible).* London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 418. 7s. 6d.

X COX, SAMUEL, D.D. *The Book of Ecclesiastes. (The Expositor's Bible.)* London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix., 335. 7s. 6d.

X DELITZSCH, FRANZ. *Messianic Prophecies in Historical Succession. Translated by Samuel Ives Curtiss, Professor in Chicago Theological Seminary.* Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii., 232. 5s.

"WHO hath Believed our Report?" *A Letter to the Editor of the Athenæum on some Affinities of the Hebrew Language.* London: Sutton, Drowley & Co. 8vo. 1s.

RAWLINSON, G. *Ezra and Nehemiah: Their Lives and Times. ("Men of the Bible" Series.)* London: Nisbet & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 180. 2s. 6d.

FUERST, J. *Glossarium Graeco-Hebraeum.* 2 u. 3 Lfg. Strassburg: Trübner. M. 1.50.

X GRAETZ, Professor H. A. *A History of the Jews from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. Specially revised for this English Edition by the Author. Edited and in part Translated by Bella Löwy.* London: Nutt. 8vo, 2 vols., pp. 1290. Each vol. 10s. 6d.

INDEX to Schürer's *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ.* Translated by Rev. John Macpherson, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 99. 2s. 6d. net.

MÜHLMANN, J. *Zur Frage der Makkabäischen Psalmen.* Progr. des

- Wilhelmsgymn. in Berlin. Berlin. 4to, pp. 19. Price not given.
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- ROCHAT, E. Étude historique et critique sur la Sapience de Salomon, la pensée juive, la pensée grecque et leurs rapports avec la pensée Chrétienne. Dissertation. Genève: Fick. 8vo, pp. 100. Price not given. X
- MARTIN, F. Die Psalmen Davids. Kurze Erklärung v. 54 ausgewählten Psalmen. Nebst E. Anhang: Dr M. Luther's Summarien über die Psalmen. 2 Aufl. Bunzlau: Kreuschner. 8vo, pp. iii., 162. M. 2.
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- BACHMANN, J. Praeparation u. Commentar zu den Psalmen m. genauen Analysen u. getreuer Uebersetzung. 3 Hälfte: Ps. 42-72. Berlin: Schneider & Co. 8vo, pp. 143, 261. M. 1.60.
- BLUDAU, A. De Alexandrinae interpretationis libri Danielis indole critica et hermeneutica. Münster l. W. (Aschendorff). 8vo, pp. 75. M. 1.50.
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*By Edwin A. Abbott. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 259.*

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DR ABBOTT makes no secret of the purpose he has in view in writing this volume. Since certain people are saying "Cardinal Newman's religious works *ought to be* generally read," it seems only fair, and nothing more than a kind of self-defence, that those who think some, at all events, of his works to be hurtful in their bearing upon religion, should say with equal plainness, "Some, at least, of Cardinal Newman's works *ought not to be* generally read," and should give their reasons for thinking so. Again, he says, "My object is to prove that Newman's logical principles tend to make ordinary people superstitious, credulous and lazy; superstitious, because, instead of looking God's facts in the face, and seeking to know them through the faculties which He has given them, men under these fettering principles are constantly tempted to crouch before Him and say, 'We will believe anything to have happened or not to have happened. Only do Thou tell us by some special sign, some conspicuous authority, what Thou wouldst have us believe;' credulous, because in such a frame of mind as this, to believe any lying legend that 'may possibly be telling of Him,' seems safer than to reject it; lazy, because, this miracle-mongering mood disposes men to expect that the truth about facts should be itself conveyed to them by means little short of miraculous, without any painful effort on their part to use their minds and understanding."

Dr Abbott's object will be approved by a large number of those who are interested in the religious condition of our country. Fascinating as was the personality of Cardinal Newman, and profound as was his spiritual insight, it must be owned that his influence has on the whole been on the side of what is retrograde in thought and mechanical in religion. That a man of powers so transcendent should have lived through one of the most stirring periods of Christian history, and should have quite misapprehended the nature of the work his age was invited to perform, is a perplexing and saddening fact. But great as Newman was, he did less to elucidate the theological problems with which his generation was confronted, than many men inferior both in character and in mental calibre. He has

probably aided the spiritual life of many individuals by his vivid apprehension of the reality of the unseen world, and by his lifelike reproductions of spiritual moods and experiences, but even in his religious life there was a morbid strain, and his reaction in favour of Romanism is simply and merely deplorable. He has misguided religious inquirers and has taught men to look backwards instead of forwards. In an age when religion has been striving to break free from the swaddling clothes of ritual and observance, and has been trying its strength with the palpable woes of mankind, this great religious leader has used his unrivalled influence to bid religion back to the morbid introspection and lazy selfishness of the monkish cell, and to find its life in swinging censers, in fasts, and candles, and cardinals' hats. No man more habitually lived in the spiritual world, and yet his whole ecclesiastical career was governed and spoiled by his childish and external conception of the Visible Church. In Newman the misleading and retarding spirit that lives in Romanism has played its last card among Englishmen, for never again can a brighter mind or a more influential character be used to resuscitate a defunct mediaevalism. To stay the advance of Liberalism is to engage in a mistaken and hopeless task, and to this task Newman was induced to devote his life because a quite exceptional narrowness was the compensation he had to pay for his extraordinary intensity.

Granting the legitimacy of Dr Abbott's purpose, we must further ask, whether he has accomplished it, and how? Probably few will quite approve of his tone. We cannot but wish he had pondered and followed the counsel of Brutus :

" Let us be sacrificers, but not butchers, Caius,  
Let's kill him boldly, but not wrathfully,  
Let's carve him as a dish fit for the gods,  
Not hew him as a carcase fit for hounds."

Dr Abbott's onslaught is sometimes fiercer than need be, and sometimes his criticism is pedantic and overdone. For example, when Newman says that men are such fools, and words so easily misunderstood that he must always be asking himself, "What will be the effect of my words?" Dr Abbott concludes that he felt a more than usual tendency to speak with a view to effect. But this is to be run away with by a phrase. Every speaker must in a true sense speak with a view to effect. He means to convey a certain meaning, and chooses his words so as to convey this meaning to the people he addresses. Again, when Newman speaks of himself as "loving the truth, but not possessing it, for I believe myself at heart to be nearly hollow, *i.e.*, with little love, little self-denial," Dr Abbott comments on this confession thus :—"Such a sentence as

this a lost soul might pass upon itself on the Day of Judgment. It makes us shudder to the very depth of our being." Such criticism is quite extravagant, and also prompts the reader to question whether its author could possibly do justice to Newman or even understand him. Surely such self-diffidence as is expressed in the obnoxious clause is a common feature of those who are of the household of faith, and who cannot but feel occasional alarm at the interval that separates their practice from their professed principles. Here and elsewhere Dr Abbott betrays a certain bluntness of perception which is in marked contrast to Newman's insight.

Coming to the substance of Dr Abbott's criticism we find that he divides it into two parts, the first of which deals with Newman's theory of probability, the second with his essay on ecclesiastical miracles. The second part is as effective as the first is confused, weak, and misleading. Dr Abbott objects to Bishop Butler's saying that "probability is the guide of life," and seeks to prove that the bulk of our actions are done in faith and without any thought of probability. Yet his own argument seems to admit that this faith is founded, not indeed on a conscious calculation of probabilities, but still on a latent recognition of probabilities. "No thought of probability enters our minds about all these things. Of course, if, as we are going down-stairs, some one stops us and says, 'Is it *certain* that you will have your breakfast to-day?' we should perhaps—to be precise—reply, 'Well, it's highly probable.' But, whatever our words might be, we act in a practical certitude." Quite so; "a *practical* certitude," that is to say, a certitude sufficient to enable us to act upon it, a probability so well founded and so strong that a sane man does not call it in question, but still only a probability, not a certainty.

It matters very little whether Newman or his critic takes the more correct view of the relation of probability to our ordinary conduct, but the difference between the two views assumes importance when the question is, On what is our belief in God founded? It would appear that Dr Abbott demands that our faith in God should amount to absolute certitude. He denounces in the strongest language the view of Newman who believed in God "on a ground of probability, a cumulative, a transcendent probability, but still probability; inasmuch as He who made us has so willed, that in mathematics indeed we arrive at certitude by rigid demonstration, but in religious inquiry we arrive at certitude by accumulated probabilities." This we had supposed to be the most rudimentary commonplace of religious thought, a statement which every one, theologian or layman, who had considered the nature of our belief in God, would most readily endorse. Dr Abbott thinks otherwise; and in his eagerness to destroy Newman's position, seems to commit

himself to a view of faith which it is impossible to defend. We say "seems to commit himself," for after all, Dr Abbott does not suppose that faith is founded on demonstration, and therefore cannot claim for his faith a certitude stronger than Newman claims. In a very fine passage (pp. 66-68) in which Dr Abbott describes the growth of faith, he maintains that the early Christians "did not believe upon a probability. The probability, the harmony of the evidence *arrested their attention* ; but it was the sense of affection which did the deed ; it was the 'family-likeness' between man and God self-asserting itself in the heart of the converted ; it was the spirit leaping up to welcome the Father towards whom it had long been blindly groping." But Newman would have accepted this as a true account of the genesis of faith, and would still have maintained that if the ground of this faith were analyzed it would be found to amount to no more than the highest probability. Throughout his argument Dr Abbott seems to use the term "probability" as equivalent to probability explicit and considered, and to deny that latent probability is probability at all. Few believing men can analyze their belief, or sift out what is instinctive from what is intellectual in the grounds of it ; but if the analysis is undertaken, it will certainly be found that both the intellectual and the instinctive elements in it proceed upon probabilities. And it is the number and variety as much as the individual decisiveness of these probabilities which strengthen the certitude of our faith in God. And by showing, as he has with felicity and beauty of expression shown, that in certain numerous cases faith springs up and gains strength without any explicit weighing of probabilities, Dr Abbott has by no means proved his point that faith is not founded on probability. And if by denouncing Newman's view he leads men to suppose that unless their faith is more strongly founded, it is not to be trusted, he will disastrously mislead religious inquirers.

But when we reach the criticism proper for the sake of which the book was written, we follow Dr Abbott with entire satisfaction. If Newman's book on ecclesiastical miracles deserved attention so serious and criticism so elaborate, the task of disentangling and exposing his sophistries, rectifying his misquotations, unmasking his self-deceptions, and utterly exploding his argument, could not have been performed in a more masterly manner. It is indeed only a criticism, and therefore does not seek to explain fully the credence given to "ecclesiastical miracles ;" but many hints are dropped which will materially assist in the formation of a sound theory ; and, above all, the mass of accumulated rubbish which has prevented the building up of such a theory is cleared away. There is much in Newman's essay on the miracles of Scripture which is worthy of him and which is not only subtle but full of light ; but by exposing

the fallacies which underlie and pervade the essay on ecclesiastical miracles, Dr Abbott has rendered a valuable service to the cause of truth and made a contribution of permanent worth to the study of ecclesiastical history.

MARCUS DODS.

### Wendt's "Inhalt der Lehre Jesu."

*Der Inhalt der Lehre Jesu von Hans Hinrich Wendt. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xiv. 678. 12 m.*

WHEN the first part of this work appeared in 1886 under the general title "Die Lehre Jesu," without even the usual "*dargestellt*" to suggest that there was a subjective as well as an objective side to the presentation, it created expectations which it did not quite meet, for it dealt merely with the previous question as to the sources which supply primary materials for a statement of Christ's teaching. But Dr Wendt has in this second volume done much to redeem the promise of his title—which now becomes "Der Inhalt der Lehre Jesu"—and has produced a remarkably fresh and suggestive work, deserving to be ranked among the most important contributions to Biblical theology.

The first volume is one of the many ingenious attempts to disengage the original elements of the Gospels from the results of subsequent accretion or manipulation conceived to be associated with them in their present form; and it seeks to accomplish this by a detailed process of critical sifting or of conjectural divination, which will to some appear legitimate, but will by many be accounted arbitrary. Not a few of its combinations are novel and striking; but it is fortunate for the reader, who has not yet reached the measure of Dr Sanday's faith in a consensus of critics as to accepted results, and who desires to learn Dr Wendt's view of the teaching apart from his critical assumptions, that it is by no means necessary (though it is in Wendt's view eminently desirable) to bring to the study of the second volume a minute acquaintance with, or acceptance of, the conclusions of the first. The restrictions which he has imposed on himself do not in general impair the value, while in some respects they even enhance the significance, of his interpretation of so much as he deems primarily vouched for.

Suffice it to say that his first source is the Gospel of Mark, and his second the Logia underlying our First and Third Gospels, in which the original materials may be extracted by critical tact from their present surroundings. But, along with this view common to him with Weiss and other Synoptic critics, Dr Wendt stands for the



time almost alone in holding that he may turn to account "a third chief source" in an earlier written document which he conceives to underlie the existing Gospel of John. Apart from the unsuitableness of the discourses contained in that Gospel to the historical framework in which they are presented, he appeals to a practical test, viz.:—the elimination of longer or shorter intervening sentences with the marked effect, as he conceives, of thereby restoring the desiderated connection and making the meaning clear—as showing that the writer has used an earlier source (the contents of which he has not really understood, and has shifted so as to spread over the whole ministry what really belonged to its closing days) proceeding from the same author as the First Epistle of John, and giving a view of the teaching of Jesus which accords substantially with the picture in the Synoptists, and differs only quantitatively in emphasis and detail. He does not expect in the meantime assent to a position which runs so counter to the traditional axiom of the unity of St John's Gospel; although he expresses a confident hope that this prejudice, as he calls it, will gradually disappear before "grounds so numerous and clear." Meanwhile he wisely prefers to deduce his main representation from the Synoptic sources, and to treat what he finds embedded in John's Gospel as collateral and corroborative. Whatever may be thought of his theory, not the least interesting features of the book are the care, skill, and fairness with which the testimony thus elicited from the assumed nucleus of John's Gospel is correlated and, amidst all contrasts of form, substantially identified with that derived from the Synoptists.

The *first section* deals, in ch. i., with the historical *points of attachment* which the teaching of Jesus found in the religious views of the Jews of his time. "It is an element in the peculiar greatness of Jesus that He is free from studied effort to exhibit originality in His teaching; that He takes His place, with the full consciousness of doing so, in the connection of historical development, and puts forth the revelation, of which He was aware that He was the organ, not as standing in contrast to, but as carrying onward and completing, the earlier divine revelation which was the glory of the people of Israel." Referring to Schürer's great work for the details of the picture, he singles out, as the salient characteristics of the Jews, their tenacious adherence to their ancestral religion in spite of the prevailing influences of Hellenism in that age; their reverence for the sacred books included in the Canon, which forms the most significant achievement of post-exilic Judaism in its bearing on Christianity; the shifts of allegoric interpretation and pseudographic Apocalypses, which were resorted to for reconciling some measure of development with the otherwise unflinching retention of the old; the conception of man's relation to

God predominantly under a legal aspect, in which all service rendered has its fitting reward, and all blessing obtained presumes a previous merit; the importance of ritual as compared with moral requirements not merely in the popular estimate, but in the teaching of the authorities themselves; the stress laid on "holiness"—that is, separation from, and elevation above, the world—as the most essential mark of God, which led to the withdrawal of the Divine name from common use, to the elaboration of the concept of angels as mediators, and to a practical subordination of ethical rules to ascetic and lustrative observances. These tendencies reached their height in Essenism, which carried out Pharisaic righteousness to the utmost, and in Philo's philosophy of religion, which postulated an ascetic mortification of sense. Although there is no evidence that Jesus came into immediate contact with either Essenism or Alexandrian philosophy, it is well to note these indications of the direction of the current; and accordingly the chapter concludes with a brief reference to the attitude of Philo as the reformer of Judaism, whose efforts to strip off national prejudices, to give consistent effect to the idea of the divine transcendence, and to adopt the best elements of philosophic Hellenism so as to meet the needs of the cultured world, were reflected in the Apologists of the second century who treated Christianity as a spiritualised Judaism. "But the question may well be asked, whether such a view as Philo's could of itself have given the impulse to such mission work as Paul's, or to such joy of confession as that of the Christian martyrs; whether it would have been able not merely to satisfy the intelligence and the needs of the culture of the time, but to furnish the great mass of the people with a new life and new ideals; and lastly, whether it would have carried in itself such a force of truth as not merely to appear the highest wisdom to the culture of the decaying ancient world, but to survive all the changes of history as an eternally valid revelation for mankind."

Chapter ii. treats separately the religious hopes of the Jews, because of their special importance as bearing on the claim of Jesus to fulfil them, but to do so after a manner running counter to national expectations and cherished ideals. After touching on the intensity of those hopes and their relation to the general conception of righteousness meriting reward, Dr Wendt dwells on their varieties of form, according as the general expectation of a coming state of bliss was held apart from, or was bound up with, that of the Messianic King; according as the personal hope of the individual stood related to that of national blessedness; and according to the diversity with which the moral and religious conditions of this bliss were apprehended, as strikingly shown in the emphasis laid on the moral side in the Psalter of Solomon, and in the comparative absence of that moral aspect, and the stress laid on outward prosperity and

national triumph, in the *Assumptio Mosis*. Obviously, where the hopes assumed shapes so divergent, a fulfilment such as should meet all of them was impossible, and one which met them under certain aspects must needs run counter to others.

Chapter iii. deals with what is termed the "development of the religious view of Jesus" as emerging amidst, but yet in contrast to, Judaism. It is admitted that the materials are scanty, but a presentation of the chief points is held necessary to "further the understanding" of His teaching. This chapter seems out of place, as it at least anticipates, if it does not influence, the solution of the question, What the teaching of Jesus really was; and it is unsatisfactory, because it confessedly fails to throw light on the "development" *at the point* where light is most needed. The word seems to imply that we are able to find some answer to the question, How Jesus came to be what He was; but there is no real answer either in a frank confession of ignorance, or in a mere assumption or assertion of "certainty" (when a German begins a sentence with "*gewiss*," it may be well to ask on what his assurance rests!). Dr Wendt tells us that Jesus was not trained under Pharisaic or Essene influences, but self-taught in the school of Scripture; but, when he himself asks, How Jesus came to find in Scripture other and higher things than the Jews had found in it, he can only answer that, whatever may be allowed for the influences of a pious parental home, "the key is only to be found in that peculiar possession of spirit and power which he carried within Him, and which He felt to be a miraculous gift of God." It is admitted that, so far as the religious consciousness of Jesus went back, He always felt His sonship in relation to God. But, while we learn in one sentence that "certainly (!) in His case too this sense of sonship was gradually formed, extended, and deepened," we learn in the next breath, that "Jesus did not work His way out of an initial state of servile subjection under the law into a subsequent state of grace and free sonship; He was from the very outset (*von Anfang an*), and continued, in the state and consciousness of the sonship of God." So too, as respects the consciousness of His Messianic vocation, it is held that "the knowledge of this calling did not lie ready to hand (*fertig*) in Him long ere He entered on the Messianic work; it did not develop itself in Him out of a gradual process of conviction; but it was given to Him suddenly and surprisingly by a miraculous revelation." What is the use of applying the word "development" under circumstances where it simply misleads—as in so many other applications of that much affected and seldom defined term—by professing to clear up a mystery to which it yields no clue?

The *second section* discusses the "outward form" of the teaching; not esoteric or scholastic, nor elaborated into scientific or systematic

shape, but called forth by incidental occasions, and moulded by practical needs; not sought as an object in itself or for its own sake, but solely as a vehicle for the truth which it disclosed; and standing in striking contrast to the prolix casuistic subtleties of the scribes by its unique combination of two characteristics—the utmost clearness so as to be understood of the people, and the utmost condensation of meaning (“popular intelligibility, and the most impressive pregnancy”). The reader will follow with interest Wendt's remarks on the employment of examples and comparisons, and particularly of parables, as to which, with Weiss and Jülicher, he sets aside the allegorising mode of interpretation, and lays stress on the single point for which the analogy is conceived to be adduced. Attention is called to the frequent occurrence of parables in pairs, where the second brings into supplementary relief some aspect or point not covered by the first; as in the new piece of cloth and the new wine, the mustard seed and the leaven, the lost piece of money and the lost son, or the illustrations in John x., where the mediatorial agency of Jesus is first exhibited (1-9) by the figure of a door giving access to the fold, but—in supplement of this more mechanical illustration—there is subjoined (verses 10-16), the further one which brings to view the self-sacrifice with which the Saviour provides for the safety of the flock. (See note on p. 94 *f.*, contrasting his view with those of Weiss and Jülicher.)

The conceptions of natural phenomena, of human life, of earlier history, and particularly as to the agency of angels good or bad, which are found associated with the teaching of Jesus, are held to be simply taken up and employed according to the current popular acceptance. He did not seek to make them the objects of independent investigation, to purify or to enrich them, or by adopting them to give to them the sanction of revelation; but used them as they were popularly understood, and desired to concentrate His own and His hearers' attention wholly on what was the true object of His teaching—the gospel of the kingdom of God.

The *third section* discusses the main theme—the Kingdom of God. Dr Wendt, like most recent writers, starts from the announcement and summons of Mark i. 14, and holds that all the teaching may be brought under the two heads of instruction as to the nature of the kingdom, and exhortation to comply with its requirements. But the distinctive character of the book turns on the prominence given to the fact—so important for understanding the organic connection of the teaching—that Jesus did not start from an affirmation of his Messiahship as the basis given for the kingdom, but purposely withheld its disclosure till a comparatively advanced stage of His work, and sought first to make men understand the special nature of the blessedness and righteousness that were to character-

ise that kingdom, and the special conditions of entrance. The account of Mark is to be preferred to that of John's Gospel, which makes Jesus to be owned, and to own Himself, as the Messiah from the first. Wendt, however, has no sympathy with the view that accounts for this reserve either by a gradual growth of the Messianic consciousness after the ministry began, or by a tentative process of laying claim to the character; on the contrary, it was ever since the baptism a matter of personal experience and an undoubted certainty, the open avowal of which was repressed, partly to obviate the risk of its being misconstrued by the prevalent expectations of the Jews, but mainly that He might first pave the way for its recognition in the right sense and on the true grounds by instruction as to the nature and aims of the kingdom. "The Messiah was to be a means to an end; though in reality the means precedes the end to which it ministers, in the matter of recognition the understanding of the end must precede the understanding of the means whereby it is appropriately to be attained."

The root of the teaching, especially as regards man's *religious* interest, lies in the view given of the nature and character of God, which, though based on the Old Testament, is brought into relief, consistently carried out, and invested with a deeper meaning in the New. It is in the light of the conceptions of absolute power and judicial sovereignty over the world, and of holy exaltedness above it, which were emphasized in the later Judaism that we may see the full significance of the change whereby Jesus, instead of employing the name of "King" so naturally suggested by the idea of the "kingdom," takes up that of "Father," and makes the notion of God's fatherly love the basis of His preaching. The name denotes a relation, not merely to the members of the kingdom (as Weiss takes it), but to all men; "God does not *become*, but *is* the Heavenly Father, even for those who are only *becoming* His sons;" it implies not the mere relation of Creator, but the attitude of the divine love anticipating man's need in giving and forgiving; and, while it does not supersede the ideas of obedience and of recompense, it presents God as bestowing benefits not according to the standard of right but out of mere grace, not as a compensation for work done, but on an equally great scale where merit is out of the question.

Dr Wendt next handles the "saving benefits" (*Heil*) of the kingdom, of which God's Fatherhood is the basis and guarantee. These include, first, the forgiveness of sins, a grace-gift of which all as sinners stand in need, and secondly, not the earthly prosperity, power, and glory, to which Jewish expectation pointed, but the "being rich with God"—the heavenly blessings which are summed up in the idea of "eternal life" or, simply, of "life" (proper). These are

not to be referred wholly to the future, or bound up with the resurrection-life, the possibility and certainty of which Jesus taught, while He dissociated it from Jewish concepts and expectations. Though not of this world, they begin in it and bear on it. The guarding of believers from, or sustaining them under, earthly evil; the granting of their requests as God sees them to need; the subservience of outward and earthly conditions to the spiritual life, are not mere objects of hope, but realities of experience.

The view of God dominates the conception of "righteousness." It is pointed out that the usage of the Old Testament and LXX. (the influence of which is compared to that of Luther's translation) lead us to assume a wider sense for the conception than we commonly associate with the Greek or the English word—a sense akin to the Johannine use of ἀλήθεια not merely of intellectual truth corresponding to reality, but of moral truthfulness conforming to duty (as at John iii. 21, where ποιῆν τὴν ἀλήθειαν is contrasted with φαῦλα πράσσειν); and it is suggested that this wider sense would be better expressed by employing the term "rightness" or "the right." Christ's teaching of righteousness places it in marked contrast to the Pharisaic idea of merit claiming reward by presenting it as simply dutiful fulfilment of the divine will, and in antagonism to the standard, under which the value of the outward observance was estimated apart from the inward disposition. The principles of the Sermon on the Mount represent an important revolution, liberating not merely the religious life of the people from oppressive burdens, but their physical and social life from hampering restrictions, in the light of the pure ethical conception of God which made it inconceivable that His fellowship with men should depend on mere external conditions, but called for a worship in spirit akin to His spiritual nature.

The "right" attitude towards God shows itself not so much in the general idea of "love," as in that of absolute unlimited trust (πίστις) which has God as its sole and all-sufficing object, without trace of mediation by angels or limitation by demons, whose power Jesus announces as already in principle overthrown. This trust, free from the "spirit of bondage" that prevailed in Judaism and often induced in the Psalms alternations of despair, finds its utterance in prayer, which has its model in the shorter form of Luke, where the words "Hallowed be Thy name" are not to be taken as a first petition, but rather as belonging and closely attaching themselves to the address "Father" in the sense of betokening the spirit of holy reverence that should pervade the prayer. The first and the main petition is "Thy Kingdom come," to which the other three are subordinate, not co-ordinate. When Jesus appealed to the Scriptural designation of the temple as an house

of prayer, He meant to intimate that prayer was thenceforth to take the place of sacrifice.

The "right" attitude towards men finds expression in the second great commandment, which is correlated to the first as the practical outcome and manifestation of the love to God therein required. The novelty lies in the correlation, and the significance of the new teaching is found in its contrast to the prevalent Pharisaic tendency to give to acts of ceremonial worship directed towards God precedence over acts of duty towards men, as well as in the special *religious* basis on which the whole exposition rests. Various topics of interest are here discussed—the advance on the views of the Old Testament; the sense of "neighbour" and of "brother"; the leading features of love ministering to others, anticipating their need with its benefits, forgiving their offences; as well as the practical enforcement, withal, of the special duties which are recognised as pertaining to domestic, social, and political life.

The view thus presented of God, and of the bliss and righteousness of the kingdom, leads on to an exposition of the nature and coming of the kingdom itself on the basis, not of inference from these premisses, but of definite utterances of Christ, which confirm the impression derived from them. There is a careful review of the aspects under which the kingdom appears—not external or political, nor yet purely transcendent and heavenly, future and yet also present, realising itself already on earth, although looking beyond for its consummation. The expression "kingdom of heaven" is held to be secondary, and is explained (with Schürer) as probably arising out of the Jewish custom of avoiding the direct use of the name of God. The chapter embodies a clear statement of the grounds for setting aside the theory of Beyschlag and Baldensperger as to Jesus having gradually developed and modified His view of the kingdom during the course of His ministry; but it seems to us less successful in adducing materials for the development which, on psychological grounds, it postulates prior to the baptism.

We pass next to the relation of the teaching of Jesus to the revelation of the Old Testament, which He on the one hand acknowledges, honours, and confirms, and on the other sets aside or supersedes. The notion of destroying or invalidating law can only have its due logical counterpart in a word which denotes an exercise of legislative authority; and the sense in which the law receives its *πλήρωσις*, *i.e.*, is raised to its ideal completion, is best apprehended in the light of the fact that the legal authorities had made it their great business to "bind" and "make firm" the law, to establish by their explanations its meaning and validity down to the minutest details, and thus to "set a fence" round it. It is in contrast to this procedure of the scribes that Jesus declares it as His

purpose not to subvert the law and the prophets, or yet to leave them simply as they were, laden with the heavy burden of scribal additions, but to raise them—not by quantitative extension but by qualitative renewal—to a higher form which would yet more perfectly correspond to the divine ideal.

The last chapter deals with the conditions of belonging to the kingdom. The first of these is the readiness which trustfully accepts and eagerly presses forward to welcome the blessings that the Father is ready graciously to give, and freely destines not for those who attempt to claim reward on the basis of a prior righteousness, but for those who frankly own their sin and confess their need. Those who are called as sinners may not, however, remain in sin; though righteousness is not an antecedent condition, it is none the less to be desired and energetically sought by the members of the kingdom, whose entrance to it is to be marked by a "change of mind," and who are to turn away from all that is opposed to it, to seek its blessings in preference to any earthly benefits, and to make the greatest sacrifices on its account. The hindrances are great, but greater is the grace-power of God for those willing to trust it; the refusal to trust bars access to the kingdom. The peculiar significance of this teaching lies in its combining a doctrine of grace entirely aloof from a Pharisaic righteousness of works with such an exhibition of the moral character of the kingdom, as makes it impossible to belong to it without striving to realise its aims.

The *fourth section* treats of Jesus' "testimony to His Messiahship." The conception of the Messiah among the Jews varied with the conception of the kingdom. Jesus, who had early learned from His own experience what the true nature of the kingdom was, and set an example whereby others might learn how to realise it, had in this consciousness the sure basis of the certainty that He was the Messiah. Though He only avowed it towards the close, He was conscious of it from the baptism at the Jordan; and it was the consciousness of His personal communion with God that assured Him of His ability and vocation to undertake His Messianic work for others. "The Son of God" denotes at once resemblance to, and distinction in a preferential sense from, other members of the kingdom. It belongs to Jesus *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, and marks the closeness and purity of His loving fellowship with God. "According to the conception of the Jews the Messianic King was also Son of God; according to the conception of Jesus the Son of God, *as such*, was the Messianic King." The name "Son of man"—betokening in itself creaturely weakness and lowliness—may have been suggested by Dan. vii. 13; but it was not with the great body of the people a current title for the Messiah, and indeed would hardly have been reckoned by them a name of sufficient honour, seeing that it did



not affirm His special nearness to God and corresponding dignity, but placed Him on the same plane with other men. It was this very circumstance that led Jesus to *prefer* it as implying in Him the co-existence of Messianic dignity and human lowliness; it was a name which set a problem for the people, and at the same time suggested *in nuce* its solution. The two self-designations are analogous and complementary; and the emphatic use of the article points to Him as being the one above all others who was entitled to the names. As to the characteristic Jewish conception of Davidic sonship, Jesus did not disclaim it, but by the form of His question as to the matter treated it as relatively unimportant.

In reference to the work to which as Messiah He was called, Dr Wendt points out that He placed Himself in definite contrast to the Jewish conception of kingly rule repelled by Him as a Satanic temptation; and that He regarded Himself primarily as a teacher and prophet, exemplifying what He taught, and confirming it by His miraculous helping and healing in a ministry restricted at first to Israel, but without prejudice to its universal destination, and with confidence in its ultimate success.

The "necessity and significance of the death" are next dealt with; and it is held that, while we have not the means of tracing the development of the knowledge of Jesus in this respect, we may assume on the one hand that He did not see the necessity of His suffering so clearly at the beginning as towards the close of His ministry, and on the other, that the thought of this necessity did not merely emerge as a new element in His consciousness during the course of that ministry or at its close. He knew from the first that self-denial and self-sacrifice for the service of others were part of His calling; but His conviction of the need of undergoing suffering and death in the shape which they actually assumed can only have arisen gradually, as He saw how few rightly understood Him, how many were indifferent or contemptuous, and how their leaders became hostile. He recalled the fate of the earlier prophets and of the Baptist; but, while assured that a like fate awaited Him also, He cherished an abiding confidence that whatever might befall Him at the hands of men would tend to the furtherance of His work and aims. The "giving his life a ransom for many," which is adduced as the highest proof of His ministering love, is taken as finding its nearest analogy and best explanation in Matt. xi. 28-30, where the liberation from an oppressive yoke points to the *inward* deliverance from the pressure of sufferings, which the example of Jesus' own bearing under them teaches the disciples how they too may attain. *Λύτρον* is interpreted not with Ritschl as = *כִּפָּר*, "protective covering," but as "ransom-money"; but it is to be taken not literally, but figuratively, and the figure is to be regarded

from what is held to be the single point of comparison—that of “deliverance from bondage,” and not as suggesting aught of equivalent or exchange. “If Jesus,” it is said, “employed the figure of ransom-money on account of the main point, that it is a means of *liberation*, He might wholly leave out of view the other elements” suggested by it. But why should it be thus assumed that, when Jesus used a word so suggestive of the *means*, He had respect merely to the *result*? If He meant this and no more, why should He have used an expression which would naturally be taken by His hearers to imply or connote more, and which, in point of fact, by its appearing to convey more than in Wendt's view it really meant, led St Paul and the Christian Church in his steps to build a whole doctrinal system on too strict a construction of its import? This far-fetched attempt to set aside a recognition of the proper force of *λύτρον* seems to me the most conspicuous exegetical miscarriage of the book. The words at the Supper are interpreted in the light of Exod. xxiv., where the sacrifice is not a sin-offering, but a burnt and thank-offering; and the death of Jesus is presented as “such a pure and perfect rendering of obedience towards God on the part of the founder of the new covenant as God would requite by blessings on the members of the new community.” The Apostles and St Paul especially bring the forgiveness of sins into close connection with the words “for you,” and not without warrant, in the general sense of associating their increased confidence in the sin-forgiving grace of God with the death of Jesus. But Jesus said nothing to connect it with His intervention. “To Him,” says Wendt, “it appeared from the beginning a thought obviously and necessarily connected with a right knowledge of God, that God is unconditionally ready to forgive sin to the repentant sinner.” But apart from the fact that St Paul has not apprehended the teaching of Jesus thus simply or absolutely, it would seem on Wendt's assumption that there is as little place for his explanation of the words as for the Apostle's. For, when he speaks of “the obedience of Jesus made good (*bewährter*) in death becoming, on account of the actual worth which it has in God's eyes, an actually (*thatsächlich*) operative motive for God to make good His saving will in the case of the disciples” (p. 526), one is tempted to ask, What is the relation of this “operative motive” to what is elsewhere called the “anticipating love” of God or His readiness unconditionally to forgive?

The next topic is the “heavenly future of the Messiah.” Jesus cherished a firm trust that His death would lead to heavenly life, simply because He applied to His own case the principle which He announced as holding good for others (Mark viii. 35). The resurrection, as such, is but slightly touched on, and is viewed—not as to its manner, but as to its result—in the light of “the risen being as

the angels in heaven" (Mark xii. 35). We are asked to distinguish between the conception of "rising" and that of "appearing as risen;" the words "after three days" denote a very brief interval; and it is suggested that Jesus did not give any promise of His immediate appearance before the disciples to attest His being risen—that, when He said, "After my rising I will go before you into Galilee," He meant not that they should meet with Him and see Him there, but that He should precede them as a shepherd-guide (apparently in the sense of spiritual presence), and so conduct them back to Galilee. So far as I can see, this chapter, which recognises the death and the heavenly life, takes little or no account of the "rising," which forms the transition from the one to the other.

We then pass on to "the necessary attitude of men towards the person of the Messiah." Mark, it is held, best indicates the advance from the initial requirement of penitence and trust to the stress subsequently laid on attachment to the Messiah's person. But this summons was not a new condition added to the former. His person and His teaching are in reality so closely bound together that the trustful inward acceptance and practical obedience of the latter are the truest mark of allegiance to the former. The prominence eventually given to the obedient self-surrender unto death, and to the significance of that death, enables us to see how the summons to belong to Him as disciples should shape itself into a special summons to commemorate that death; and the chapter concludes with an interesting discussion as to the significance of the "eating of the body and blood" as a symbolic sacrificial meal.

The *fifth section* treats of "the glimpses given by Jesus as to the further development of the kingdom of God on earth," and as to "the attitude of the disciples in the future." Here it is held that there are no prophecies of individual future events and of new conditions to emerge; but that Jesus, on the assumption that the contemporary generation would see the close of the present earthly Aeon, and that during the interval the conditions of earthly life would subsist for the disciples as before, gave expression to His confidence as to the development of the Church out of its small beginnings, and to His prevision of the conflict, troubles, and persecution attending that development—which would call for ceaseless fidelity, unselfish working for the kingdom, and perseverance ready to die for the kingdom's sake. Among other views here presented, the most notable are the statement that Jesus did not contemplate any fixed organisation of the Church or even make use of that designation (*ἐκκλησία*), and that the threatenings over Jerusalem (in Mark xiii., into which a "little independent Apocalypse" has found its way and been afterwards amplified in Luke) have reference, not to a political catastrophe to be brought

about by human agency, but to the final judgment of God to be introduced immediately by the returning Messiah.

In the *conclusion*, after a summary of the results reached, Dr Wendt states that he refrains from a dogmatic judgment as to their truth and scientific validity, or from an estimate of their place relatively to other systems, as not admitting of adequate treatment within his present limits; and he contents himself with noting among the more salient aspects of the teaching—1, its grand inner unity; 2, the consistency of its detailed application; 3, its purely religious character, free from all mere speculative elements; 4, its thoroughly moral nature and aims; 5, its pervading reference to the underlying principle of the Fatherhood of God; and 6, the close and complete correlation of doctrine and of life.

This brief outline of the topics dealt with can, of course, convey no idea of the mode in which it is filled up; of the careful examination of details; of the skill with which the facts are gathered, marshalled, and weighed in their mutual bearings; of the fairness with which, as a rule, different aspects, complementary or even apparently opposing, are brought out and discussed; and of the freshness marking the treatment throughout. There is hardly a page which is not suggestive; and, apart from the general value of its conclusions, there are numerous specimens of ingenious exegesis thrown out with more or less confidence as to particular passages;—such as the meaning read into the parable of the Prodigal Son (p. 150 *f.*), the discussion of the sense of ἐπιούσιος as = “appertaining” or “appropriate” (p. 238); the turn given to the healing of the paralytic in Mark ii. 1 (p. 161); the interpretation of the being rich εἰς θεόν, Luke xii. 21 (p. 165); the sense assigned, in opposition to the view of Weiss, to the κοιῶντες in Matthew xi. 28-30 (p. 179); the adroit defence of his view as to the wider sense of ἀλήθεια (in John) against Cremer (p. 203 *f.*); the conjecture that the leaven of the “Pharisees and Herod” is the one point common to the two—who had otherwise little affinity of aims or interests—of a tendency to indulge in outward political ideals (p. 295 *f.*); the note on ὁ μικρότερος (p. 350); the ingenious explanation of John v. 37, 38 (p. 360); or the novel view taken as to the bearing of the question touching the Davidic sonship (p. 436).

The book is singularly independent; and its size, considerable as it is, has not been swelled by controversy, for there is little reference at least by name to the views of others. The style is—for a German book—clear and fluent; but the pleasure of reading the work is, it must be owned, somewhat marred by a frequent tendency to diffuseness and repetition. Much of the matter of the nature of explanation, qualification, or reservation, having once been

explicitly set forth, might, instead of being reproduced almost *totidem verbis* in successive sentences, have been covered by some resumptive variation that would guard the meaning without encumbering it. This feature, however, is probably due in part to the adaptation of the book for the use of intelligent laymen as well as of experts, and in part to the writer's desire that the meaning might be fully obvious to the occasional consultant as well as to the continuous reader. The use of the work by the former is facilitated by a very full index of the Scriptural passages discussed.

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

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### Cardinal Beaton, Priest and Politician.

*By John Herkless, Minister of Tannadice. Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Sons. 8vo, pp. 322. Price 7s. 6d.*

THE life of Cardinal Beaton has been written by his enemies ; he is remembered by his countrymen as a profligate and persecutor, who triumphed for a season, and met, in the end, with the punishment which he deserved. Mr Froude has done justice to the intellect and courage of Henry the Eighth's formidable rival, but he looks at Scottish politics from the English point of view, and where the evidence permits a doubt, he is apt to assume that charges and allegations against the Cardinal are probably true. It is therefore only fair that the facts of David Beaton's career should be set before us by a more friendly historian. Mr Herkless has performed his task with adequate learning and literary skill ; he founds himself, for the most part, on books well known to students of the sixteenth century, but he handles his material with discretion, and states his case with due moderation. His arguments have not passed unchallenged, but we think he has succeeded in showing that a verdict of "guilty" has been recorded against the Cardinal, where justice requires us to say "not proven." Readers of Hill Burton must have observed that the received stories of Beaton's wickedness are introduced with an "it is said," or "it was believed ;" and Mr Herkless may fairly claim to follow in the footsteps of that eminently cautious historian.

For Beaton the priest there is little or nothing to be said ; he took orders because his uncle was an archbishop ; he was a younger son of Bethune of Balfour, and the church was then the only *carrière ouverte aux talents* ; so he took upon himself an office for which he had no vocation, and bound himself by vows which he never meant or tried to keep. Among the champions of the Roman see there were men (Cardinal Pole for example) sincerely religious, deeply interested in

the spiritual aspects of the Reformation controversy. Cardinal Beaton had not even an intellectual interest in religion; he was a diplomatist, a statesman, a man of the world, and as such he is to be judged.

While he was still a student in Paris, David Beaton was occasionally employed in diplomatic business; and in 1519, at the age of five-and-twenty, he was appointed resident at the court of Francis I. Five years later he returned to Scotland to become Rector of Campsie and Cambuslang, Chancellor of Glasgow, and mitred Abbot of Arbroath. Tradition represents him as a man of scandalous life; but it may be that Marion Ogilvy was in fact, though not in law, his wife, and there is no proof that he formed immoral relations with other women. He is praised for the care and gravity of his deportment in business, and the charm of his conversation was acknowledged by all who were brought into contact with him. In politics he was singularly consistent; friendship with France, resistance to the king of England, the independence of Scotland, and the rights of the church, were the objects which he kept steadily in view. Of his share in controlling the policy of the Scottish government during the life of his uncle the Archbishop, we have but little direct knowledge. David Beaton has indeed been described as the evil genius of King James V., but the description is not justified by the facts. It is possible that James, if left to himself, might have leant towards Protestantism and the English alliance. But the Protestantism of Henry VIII. was not attractive, or even respectable; and a Scottish statesman might well consider it his duty to counterwork the intrigues of so unscrupulous a neighbour. But for Beaton's policy and the French alliance, Scotland might have been partitioned like Poland.

Honours and rewards descended on the Abbot of Arbroath; he became Archbishop-Coadjutor, Archbishop, Cardinal, Legate *a latere* of the Pope, and Chancellor of the Kingdom. In the game of statecraft he held his own and rather more than his own; to say that he was without scruples is only to say that he used the means at his disposal as boldly as the same means were used against him by his enemies. He was not above the moral standard of his age; is there good reason to believe that he ever fell far below it? Our answer to this question must depend on our reading of the evidence in certain doubtful and difficult cases. The first count in the indictment is based on the scheme said to have been submitted by the Cardinal to King James, for the confiscation of the estates of about a hundred persons, suspected of heresy and treason. This was indeed an indefensible plan, but in point of principle it was much on a par with King Henry's seizure of abbey lands. The Scottish nobles had no better right than the English abbeyes; if Henry robbed the

monks for neglecting their religious duties, why should not James rob his lay vassals for neglecting their political duties ?

The darkest charges against the Cardinal are those which relate to the forged will of James V. and the murder of King Henry's herald. If Beaton is to be treated as a prisoner on his trial, he must have the benefit of any reasonable doubt ; and Mr Herkless is able to show that the received version of these stories is at least open to question. In regard to the will, it is to be noted that Arran, who gave currency to the charge of forgery, and Knox, who improved upon Arran's account, were both prejudiced witnesses. It is also to be observed that the King's death-bed was surrounded by men, some of whom were bitterly hostile to the Cardinal. If Beaton had determined to play the forger, would he have resorted to the clumsy device of obtaining the King's signature to a blank paper, in the presence of his enemies ? It would have been simpler to prepare a will privately, and to produce it after the King was dead. As to the murder of the herald, there is nothing to fix the guilt of that act on Beaton, except the fact that one of the murderers was known to him. The Cardinal knew the law of nations, and we have some difficulty in believing that he would plan an atrocious and useless crime, merely for the purpose of rendering peace with England impossible. In reading these and other stories, we must never forget that the Cardinal was the champion of a losing cause, and that the history of his government has been recorded by Protestant pens.

Nothing in history is more dramatic than the close of David Beaton's career. The execution of George Wishart, followed within a few weeks by the death of his enemy and judge, will never be forgotten by the Scottish people. But we may honour the martyr without doing injustice to the ill-fated persecutor. Wishart was a man of holy life, and he displayed at his trial a noble fidelity to truth ; but he was mixed up with men who were plotting the murder of the cardinal, and bargaining with Henry VIII. for the price of blood. "A Scottish man called Wishart" had carried a letter from Crichton of Brunston to King Henry ; and if the Cardinal knew or suspected that this was the Wishart arraigned before him at St Andrews, he may well have thought himself justified in dealing ruthlessly with the agent of a wicked conspiracy. The death of a man so justly revered provoked a fierce outburst of resentment ; John Leslie went about showing the dagger with which he meant to avenge Master Wishart. The Cardinal was prompt in action : he called a meeting of the gentlemen of Fife, intending no doubt to seize the men who were threatening to kill him. But this "treasonable purpose," as Knox characteristically calls it, was not to be carried out. Two days before the meeting,

a small party of the Cardinal's enemies made their way into the Castle of St Andrews and murdered him. "I am a priest," he cried, "fie, fie! all is gone." So David Beaton died, and with his life was extinguished the last hope of the papacy in Scotland.

THOMAS RALEIGH.

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### **The Massoretic Text, and the Ancient Versions of Micah.**

*By John Taylor, M.A. (Lond.). London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1891. Crown 8vo, pp. xi., 204. Price 5s.*

THERE appears to be a lull at present in the region of what is sometimes called the higher criticism. Probably the scope of the principles involved in questions regarding the date and authorship of such books as the Pentateuch and Isaiah is becoming better understood, and their disturbing effect, and along with that interest in them, is subsiding. All the more activity seems to be displayed in the lower region, that of textual criticism. The old opinion that the text of the Old Testament had been so scrupulously guarded by the scribes that we might regard it as virtually flawless is no longer entertained; it is perceived that the text of the Old Testament is no more free from faults than the text of the New, and that the same means must be employed to correct it as are used in other cases. This feeling has given a new impulse to the study of the Versions, and results, meagre indeed on the whole, though in some instances brilliant, have been reached. Unfortunately critical helps are here very scanty, the only version that offers any fair prospect of reward to the student being the Septuagint. The temptation is all the greater to conjectural criticism, and in recent times the pages of the magazines have been flooded with fanciful emendations. A fatality seems to attend this kind of work; after a few years of it the most brilliant minds succumb, and are found offering emendations which to all but the hapless authors of them are conclusive evidence of dotage.

Several useful works on Micah have already appeared, such as the commentary of Roorda, the monograph of Ryssel, and the more general treatise of Stekhoven on the Greek version of the minor Prophets (*De Alexandrijnsche Vertaling van het Dodekapropheton*), the most careful thing perhaps upon the text of these books. Mr Taylor feels that after such works he cannot bring forward much that is new, and that his book must contain a great deal in common with those of prior investigators. Nevertheless, his work is far from superfluous. The books named are not accessible to many English students, and it is well to have results gathered together. It is



evident too that his work is the fruit of independent research, and careful study of the text and versions. His criticism is marked by sobriety and sound sense; and for those entering upon textual studies his book offers a good example of principles, and how to apply them.

Considering the difficulties of the text of Micah, and the great differences between it and the versions in many places, some may think Mr Taylor too conservative. Most of the emendations proposed by him had already been suggested by one scholar or another, and neither in number nor character are they revolutionary. Nevertheless, we cannot help thinking some of them needless, and others altogether to be rejected. The reading "a man" for "even a man," ii. 2, is that of the best MSS.; "thou shalt devote" for "I will devote," iv. 13, implies no change of consonants, *cf.* Jer. ii. 20; and perhaps the same may be said of "peoples" for "my people," vi. 16, *cf.* 2 Sam. xxii. 44 with Ps. xviii. 44. The imperative "shew us" (him) for "I will shew" after Ew., vii. 15, is by no means certain; the words may express the Divine response. A needless emendation is the *fem.*, i. 9, "it is come unto the gate." The subject here is not "wounds," but the general *it* (verse 12). This usually takes *fem.* (Job iv. 5), as here in the first verb, but a verb following may well be *mas.* No more necessary at least is the proposal "and darkness" for "and it shall be dark," iii. 6, though the reading might be perfectly good in itself. It is doubtful also if there is any necessity for *plural*, "who build," iii. 10, *cf.* Gen. xlvii. 3. A good deal may be said for "like flesh" (*kish'er*) after Septuagint, instead of "like that which" (*ka'asher*) in iii. 3; the parallelism would be more exact, but the principle of parallelism is apt to be overpressed. This remark also applies to the ingenious emendation (after Roorda, &c.) proposed in v. 5 (Ps. lv. 22). Improbable is the reading "measures" for "changes," ii. 4; the idea of "measuring" the land in order to give it over to the enemy is altogether too flat to find place in the abrupt and passionate lamentation. To "measure" may mean to *take* possession, but not naturally to *give* possession. Equally objectionable on the score of flatness is the reading *saying* in same verse; we doubt if the "lamentation" be ever introduced by "saying"; either it begins abruptly, or such language as "take up a lamentation and say" is used.

Decidedly to be rejected is the proposed order "when Asshur comes," v. 4, instead of "Asshur, when he comes." The form of verse shews that Asshur is *nom. susp.*, taken up in the words "then shall we raise against him." Neither is it easy to see what sense "flock in distress" (*bsarah*) offers for "flock of a fold" (*bosrah*) in ii. 12. It is to be wished that Mr Taylor had always accompanied his emendations with a translation. It is difficult, for

example, to guess what he considers *subject* in ii. 6, where he reads active after Septuagint. R. V., margin, "reproaches never cease," seems the easiest here. The want of a translation is even more felt in ii. 9, where the author follows Septuagint again, reading "princes" of my people for "wives." The reading appears to give no sense, because it is just the princes and upper classes who are addressed and charged with "casting out" the women and children. That the *fem.* pronoun (*their* houses) should refer to "my people" is grammatically in the highest degree improbable. It is most likely that Septuagint added an aleph to the word "wives," just as it did in ii. 1, turning *yesh* into *yissa*; cf. Heb. itself in i. 15. The Septuagint is worthy of all consideration, but its weaknesses must be acknowledged. It is doubtful if its "began" i. 12, instead of "waiteth anxiously" (or, is in travail) implies any other text than our present one. Where the Septuagint found the combination  $\text{ל} \text{נ}$  it was apt to think of the word "begin"; cf. Nah. iii. 8, where "rampart," and Ob. 20, where "host" are both rendered "beginning"; Ps. lxxvii. 10, where "my infirmity" is rendered "I have begun"; Ez. xiii. 6, where "they hope" becomes "they began." Only to notice one other point: Mr Taylor's ingenious emendation, "the upright in his walking," ii. 7, for "him that walketh uprightly," will hardly command acceptance. Not to mention the rarity of the infinitive proposed, it never is found with pronoun; and the accusative of respect after an adjective is uncommon, the phrases "upright in heart," &c., not being instances of it, as Mr Taylor supposes, but of the *genitive*. An infinitive of respect would probably have taken the preposition *ל*; cf. v. 2; 2 Sam. xiv. 25; 1 Chr. xii. 8. The nett gain in emendations which will be generally received resulting from Mr Taylor's book may not be large, but his careful examination of a difficult text is acceptable. A. B. DAVIDSON.

### La Mission du Prophète Ézéchiél.

Par Lucien Gautier. Lausanne: Bridel et Cie. 1891. Price Fr.3.50.

THE judgments of recent scholars on Ezekiel have been uncommonly depreciatory and harsh. Kuenen confesses that he rises from the perusal of him with very mixed feelings, and congratulates himself that his view of the Bible relieves him of the perplexities in which those must be involved who have to accept Ezekiel's utterances as the word of God. One author expresses his aversion by calling the prophet "der erste Dogmatiker"—an indelible disgrace. To another he is "a priest in a prophet's mantle," which is scripture phrase for the fable of the ancients. He is "the spiritual father of

Judaism," a legalist without bowels who condemns his countrymen with the coldbloodedness of "a criminal assize judge." He is a "scrupulous" pedant, whose God is a precisian like himself, one who blows off the small dust of the balance that he may weigh out to every man scrupulously the reward of his deeds. The differences between the Prophet's Book and the Law gave the Jewish doctors, as is known, no end of concern, and they were within an ace of condemning him as a heretic, which Wellhausen remarks would have been no more than he deserved, and only meting out to himself the measure which, pressed down and running over, he had measured into the bosom of his predecessors.

Professor Gautier's work may be regarded as partly the fruit of a reaction against such judgments. He cannot agree with them, and, though he treats their authors with perfect fairness, he thinks himself able to present a different portrait of the prophet. Others before him indeed have been sensible of the one-sidedness of the verdicts quoted, and have sought to do broader justice to the prophet, such as von Orelli, Valetton in Utrecht (*Viertal Voorlezingen*), and Stade, whose chapters on Ezekiel are some of the best in his *History*, but Mr Gautier goes over the whole subject more fully than any who have preceded him. Though his work is not written for specialists, but for students and practical teachers, and for the educated laity who desire to add to their faith knowledge, it will be found by most persons instructive and very useful. As was natural, reaction against former opinions may have carried the author too far to the other side. In two particulars he appears extreme—in pressing the idea that the prophet's mission was exclusively to his fellow-exiles, and secondly, in insisting on the literal performance of all the symbolical actions described by the prophet. It is true that the prophet was sent to the exiles, but it is strange how destitute his book is of reference to their circumstances. Elders are mentioned occasionally as assembling in his house, but these elders are the vaguest possible figures; they are referred to, and then the discourse passes on to the "House of Israel," and they are forgotten. It is very rarely that a distinction is drawn between the exiles and those left behind. The whole attention of the prophet and his fellow captives was engrossed by events at home. It is the religious significance of these events that fills his mind and his pages, and in the exiles before him he sees in idea the "House of Israel" present, and the words he utters he desires to speak in the hearing of this house wherever its members may be.

The prophet's symbolical actions have been much discussed. Some of them might well have been performed, such as joining two sticks together into one to represent the future union under one king of Judah and Israel (ch. xxxvii.). But how could the prophet "eat

his bread with quaking, and drink his water with trembling" as a sign to the house of Israel? And does any one but a commentator suppose that he actually took a sharp sword as a razor and shaved off the hair of his head and beard, burning a third of it in the city (what city?), smiting a third of it with the sword about the walls, and scattering the remaining third to the winds? Such actions, and many like them, could not have been performed, and this fact casts doubt on the literality even of those which were possible. It is disappointing to find Mr Gautier holding parley with the odious hypothesis of Klostermann. That writer, in order to explain the actions in ch. iv., where the prophet is commanded to lie motionless on his side for a year (or as Septuagint, half a year), supposes that he was a cataleptic, that he lay on his side because he could not help it, being struck with *hemiplegia*, that he prophesied with outstretched arm against Jerusalem, because his arm could not be withdrawn, being convulsively rigid, and that he was "dumb" till God opened his mouth, because afflicted with cataleptic *alalia*—in short, that the best commentary on Ezekiel is the reports on the cases of some young women treated in the hospital wards of London and Vienna. If this theory were a crotchet only it might merely excite a smile, but it is more, it appears a theological refuge, a happy escape from the dangerous idea that any writer of Scripture should represent himself as performing actions which he never performed. Thus successfully does Klostermann cast off from him every stitch and thread of "rationalism." The ingenious man need be under no fears that any of his acquaintance or readers would ever soil his addition with any derivative from that root.

Mr Gautier furnishes interesting chapters on most of the subjects suggested by Ezekiel's book, *e.g.*, on the prophet's mission, the priests, the false prophets, Jerusalem, Gog, the new temple, and others. Upon the whole it is rather in their general aspect that these subjects are treated. The remark of a writer quoted above, that Ezekiel was the first "Dogmatiker," has a good deal of truth in it. His book is a book of principles, and some of them are hard sayings which make it not easy to walk any more with him. Mr Gautier admirably characterises the false prophets as optimists, without raising the question, however, how the existence of such persons is to be explained, or asking what amount of truth and what amount of falsehood there must have been in their apprehension of the religion of Jehovah to account for their optimism. The prophet's mission as a "watchman," set to warn every individual man, the wicked that he may turn from his evil, and the righteous lest he fall from his righteousness, is treated with much practical force, but the place of "watchman" is regarded as something peculiar to him personally, whereas this conception of

the prophetic function seems just the natural one in this age, when the state was no more and only individuals remained, out of which the new kingdom of God which was at hand must be built. The chapter on Gog is excellent, one of the most thoughtful in the book; at the same time the precise setting which the prophet gives the episode is rather passed over. It is a mistake to regard Gog's invasion as a general uprising of the world against the Church. On the contrary, the known world is then at peace with the people of God. To all the nations around Israel God has already (ch. xxv.-xxxii.) revealed Himself in such a way that they no longer trouble His people. Not one of the historical nations marches under Gog's banner. His host is composed of those distant peoples who "have not heard Jehovah's fame nor seen his glory" (Is. lxvi. 19); and his invasion is the occasion of Jehovah's last act of self-manifestation to the world. History, as the prophet conceives it, whether of Israel or the nations, is Jehovah's revelation of Himself to mankind; every movement of it carries this burden, "ye shall know that I am the Lord." The wave of history pauses on the shore when Jehovah's glory rises on the uttermost ends of the earth, and all flesh see it together. The author's remarks on Ezekiel's temple are judicious. He cannot regard this temple as a mere symbol of Christian truths, it is literal; but neither is he able to regard it though literal as a prophecy which shall yet find literal fulfilment in a reconstruction of Jewish institutions at the end of the Christian age. What is it then? The author meets our curiosity by calling it a "programme," and he thinks it might have been realised but for the remissness of the returning exiles. This is rather a misconception, which overlooks the ideal and supernatural elements in the prophet's vision. Would the returned exiles, however godly and devoted they had been, have been able by stamping with their foot on the floor of the temple to open up the fountain of the river of God, which flowing eastward fertilizes the desert and sweetens the waters of the Dead Sea? The prophet's vision is not a prediction merely of that historical restoration which took place, but an ideal of the final perfection of the people of God. Whoever will understand the prophecies as the prophets meant them must begin by banishing out of his sight all supposed past fulfilments of them.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

**Physical Religion ; The Gifford Lectures before the  
University of Glasgow.**

*By F. Max Müller, K.M., London : Longmans, Green & Co.*

*Cr. 8vo, pp. 422. Price 10s. 6d.*

WHATEVER may be the ultimate effect of Lord Gifford's munificent bequest on the progress of religious thought in Britain, it has, at least, afforded to the four eminent men who at present hold the lectureships founded by him, the opportunity of putting forward their respective views in a continuous and systematic form.

The present volume contains the second course delivered by the distinguished lecturer in Glasgow, and it deals with a subject upon which he is one of our highest authorities, the development of religious thought as displayed in the literature of ancient India.

To those familiar with the writings of Professor Max Müller much of the material of these lectures will not be new : but the attractive style and methodical arrangement of the subject render the work eminently readable.

The author defines religion as that perception of the Infinite which is able to influence the moral conduct of man. The Infinite is, to him, the Indefinite and Transcendent, and, consequently, the Impersonal ; that great unconditioned Existence at the back of the forces of Nature. He refrains from calling it the Unknowable, because he believes that mankind can have perceptions of it ; but these perceptions are self-originated in the minds of men. Revelation is that power of deducing certain concepts of God from the perception of our senses. Such a God may be praised, but He is one to whom it is inconceivable that a thoughtful man could pray with any degree of belief that his requests will be granted ; for it is impossible to determine whether He has any willingness to pay heed to the individual wants of men.

Natural religion manifests itself, according to the Professor, in the three forms—*Physical*, or that consisting of concepts based on our perceptions of the forces of nature ; *Anthropological*, or that derived from the impressions produced on mankind by the memories or traditions of ancestors or other great men ; and *Psychological*, or the impressions resulting from the philosophic attempt to answer the question—What am I ? Religious conceptions of all three kinds may, and usually do, blend into one common system. The physical perception is the most primitive ; the anthropological is secondary and often becomes engrafted upon the first ; and the psychological is the most advanced phase of religious thought and the most recent in development. It arises from "man's discovering the Infinite in himself, looking and longing for the highest self." "The early

Christian philosophers called it the Holy Ghost, a name which has received many interpretations and misinterpretations in different schools of theology, but which ought to become again what it was meant for in the beginning,—the spirit which unites all that is holy within man with the Holy of Holies, or the Infinite behind the veil of the merely personal and phenomenal self.”

Professor Max Müller, following the historic method, traces what he believes to be the evolution of the conception of God, as shown forth in the ancient Vedic literature. The earliest stage is the perception of the forces of nature by their effects; then the inference that there is a causal power behind these forces, and that this power has an independent will, of which these visible results are the outcome. The stages of the growth of this conception are followed in detail in reference to one great force, that of fire. Fire was first noticed as a phenomenon, then realised as an action produced by an agent. Its Sanskrit name, *agni*, means the mover, showing that the action was regarded, when its name was made, as the influence of something behind the mere phenomenon. This something becomes regarded as a person, as a being of authority, a *deva*, or bright one, and, finally, through successive stages, the conception grows until he becomes regarded as an omnipotent God.

In the course of the development of these theistic conceptions, the several Devas associated with the different prominent phenomena of nature become a brotherhood of Gods, forming a pantheon on a basis of approximate equality. Professor Max Müller believes that this polytheism is, in most cases, preceded by a stage in which each worshipper calls exclusively on the God of his own tribe or district, whom he regards as supreme for him, or in that district (as in 1 Kings xx. 23).

This stage, which has been called by him *Henotheism*, he regards as one which, in the evolution of religion, preceded that of a pure polytheism, “the progress being from the single to the many, and finally to the one.”

The field wherein Professor Max Müller has essayed to demonstrate this process of evolution is that most ancient series of Aryan compositions, the hymns of the Rig-Veda. He prefaces his analyses of these hymns by a brief history of our knowledge of the Vedic literature, and shows at what a recent date Western scholars became acquainted with this important set of writings. To Max Müller himself, Burnouf, and Aufrecht, we owe our accessible information; to the last named scholar especially we are indebted for the admirable and convenient edition of the text of the Rig-Veda in Roman characters, published at Bonn in 1877. The most useful translation for those who are not Sanskrit scholars, is that by Grassmann, published in Leipzig in 1876.

In pp. 58-83 of the Lectures, there is a concise account of the range of the Vedic literature in its three parts, representing three successive historic periods in religious development. The oldest, or hymnal part, consists of the 1028 hymns of the Rig-Veda, the productions of different authors, and composed during an early period of Aryan life. The second part is that of the Brāhmanas, prolix and prosaic; and the third or latest part is that of the Sūtras, which are pithy, terse condensations, more especially of the ritual rules of the earlier compositions. As to the actual dates of the authorship of these successive parts, scholars can give us little but vague conjecture derived from internal evidence. It can be deduced from the early historic writings of Buddhism, that when that sect arose as a protest against the corruptions of Brāhmanism, about 500 B.C., all these three parts were practically in existence as they are now. If, as Professor Max Müller suggests, 200 years be allowed for the Sūtra period, and 200 for the Brāhmanas, we are brought back to the tenth century B.C. as that at which the present collection of hymns was completed.

This allowance of 400 years is quite arbitrary. The reason for the belief in the extension of the period during which this commentary literature was being evolved, is the frequency with which the authors of the Brāhmanas have mistaken the true meanings of the Vedic hymns; but this of itself does not necessarily imply so very extended a period. St Peter tells us that even in his day there were those who mistook the meaning of some of the Pauline epistles; and a very slight acquaintance with patristic literature is sufficient to show that less than 400 years was enough to permit of many changes and misconceptions in regard to the apostolic writings; although these were actually committed to writing and accessible in that form, not like the Vedas, transmitted, for so many centuries, by oral tradition alone.

The history of Christian controversies shows also that changes in the currents of religious thought were more often due to single men than to the cumulative aggregation of the trivial modifications of successive ages of transmission. All such chronological deduction must therefore be taken only for what it is worth. The lists of names and of kings which form so distinctive a feature in the historical part of the literature of Egypt, and which one class of scholars often refer to in rather slighting terms, give to that literature the advantage that they afford a solid basis for the compilation of a historic chronology.

Professor Max Müller's estimate of age, however, cannot be considered an excessive one, and in the absence of any reason to the contrary we may fairly admit that in this wonderful literature we



have portrayed the succession of religious thought through the fourteen or fifteen centuries anterior to the Christian era.

It is only natural that these writings should be regarded as among the most interesting of the remains of the early intellectual life of humanity. They embody the thoughts and feelings of early members of our own family of mankind. But it was not necessary for our author, in order to emphasize their value, inferentially to under-rate the human interest as well as the moral and religious nature of the older literature of Egypt.

The Rig-Veda consists of hymns addressed to certain beings, Agni, Indra, Varuna, and others, who are addressed as persons delighting in the praises of their votaries. To these, certain classes of priests performed religious acts of worship, which are minutely described in the Brahmanas. Before these beings certain priests are set apart as singers, others as reciters. These hymns are the compositions of a people in a fairly advanced state of civilization, among whom the arts and industries had advanced to the stage requiring division of labour, and the cultivation of separate branches of skilled work. (In this relation R.V. ix. 112, Aufrecht II. p. 287, compares interestingly with the older poem in praise of learning, in Sallier Papyrus II. iii.) Their priests and poets were men trained for their work, observers of natural phenomena, and they expressed themselves with the consciousness that the beings whom they addressed were real powers, capable of helping or harming.

Professor Max Müller's hypothesis that in these hymns we have evidence of the successive stages of development of the theistic idea which he has formulated, is a deduction from the names used, in accordance with the theory of Noiré of which he is the apostle, that language and thought are inseparable, and must progress *pari passu*. In all the hymns, even in those which are supposed to be the most archaic, Agni is addressed as a person, as the being or agent which causes the natural phenomenon of fire, whether of the sun or the hearth, the lightning or the altar ; and although there is often a confusion resulting from the use of the same word both for the effect and the cause, yet there is the idea of this duality throughout. Even in hymns like I. 65 and I. 143 this is manifest. But in our own Scriptures the metonymic interchange of names signifying effect and cause is common and causes no confusion.

The question of the relation of thought and word is too large to enter upon here ; but giving due weight to all that the Professor adduces in his discussion on the subject in "The Science of Thought," there is something yet to be said on the other side, that, with the more thoughtful of mankind, ideas are generally ahead of language. The peasant poet of Northampton, John Clare, in his best known work has graphically described the dawns of ideas in the mind of

an unlettered rustic ; and what he, with the true instinct of a poet realizes there, is probably true to a greater extent than the Professor admits.

The process of Animism by which causation is ascribed to an existence behind the phenomenon, is one whose operation in the early history of religious thought cannot be doubted. It is hard to see in what respect this outcome of the "well-nigh irresistible anthropomorphic tendencies in man" differs from the anthropomorphism which Professor Max Müller protests against on p. 129. He acknowledges that the first reasonings deducible from the nomenclature, pointed to the recognition of the forces as masculine powers, and the first names as being the *noumena* of unseen forces.

There are three or four interesting side topics touched on in these Lectures which are eminently suggestive. One of these is the influence of children on the expression of religious thought. A second is the influence of the taste for riddles which was wide-spread among Oriental peoples, as we know from such tales as the story of Chintāmani. Indeed, as Professor Max Müller points out, Hymn I. 164, consists entirely of such riddles.

Another interesting point is the prevalence of the vice of gambling in these remote Vedic days, as shown by the lament of the gambler in Hymn IX. 112. This also is not a surprise to the student of Indian literature, for he will remember how in the Mahābhārata gambling is ever a prominent characteristic. Yudhishtira loses all his possessions at dice, and Nala is led into many misfortunes by his love of games of hazard.

A fourth, and still more important side issue is the relation of the Vedic literature to the date of the introduction of sacrifice into worship. Professor Müller points out that the line of demarcation between many ordinary domestic actions and sacrifice is sometimes hard to trace, and adds, that in the common dictionary of the Aryan nations there is no word for sacrifice. The deduction that "the idea of sacrifice did not exist at an early period," is one which would take stronger evidence than this to establish. There are observations which might be adduced which render the view at least probable that in the neolithic age some such idea existed ; and certainly the wide diffusion and the practical identity of sacrificial rites in races so diverse as the Egyptian, Semitic and Aryan peoples, not to speak of other races, can hardly be believed to have been the result of independent origination.

The relation of alphabetic writing to the development of religious thought is dealt with in Lecture IX., and is important from its bearing on Biblical criticism. His views are summed up in the conclusion that there is no evidence of any book in alphabetic writing before the 7th century B.C. "To suppose that Moses could

have written a book in Hebrew, and with a Semitic alphabet, would be to antedate the writing of books by nearly 1000 years, and the employment of alphabetic writing in general by more than 500 years."

With the limitation given, this may be, in a measure, true, but the deduction that no books were written is certainly not true. The Egyptian writing, though not strictly alphabetic, was yet largely phonetic, and one into which simple syllabic signs entered. The earliest Semitic alphabets were of the same nature, and derivatives from the syllabic signs. In the inscription of Khufu from the Temple of the Sphinx, sixty-seven out of one hundred characters are of this simple syllabic nature; and in one line, taken at random out of the oldest book in the world, the Proverbs of Ptah-hotep, out of twenty-eight characters twenty are practically alphabetic. The alphabet used is not as flexible an instrument as the wonderful Deva-nāgari alphabet, with its nearly five hundred distinct characters; but it is sufficiently perfect to be the vehicle for the clear expression of thought, and was used for such diverse purposes as the transmission of proverbial wisdom by Ptah-hotep, and the description of the arterial system in man by Nebsecht, many years before the traditional date even of the sojourn of Abraham in Egypt.

The force therefore of the *a priori* argument that the Old Testament traditions were probably not reduced to writing until the middle of the 5th century B.C., is lost, more especially as we know that before the 9th century a phonetic alphabet had been derived from the earlier hieratic script. Mesha's alphabet did not arise suddenly; and papyrus, leather, or other materials for bookmaking existed in Egypt long before the earliest date to which the Exodus can be assigned.

This is, however, a digression, but is an illustration of the apparent tendency, probably not intentional, to exalt the value of the Vedic literature by contrast with the supposed shortcomings of the other contemporary and older compositions.

The purely alphabetic form of writing was certainly a boon to the literary world; but yet the Egyptians expressed themselves more forcibly and elegantly through the medium of their earlier script than ever they did in the later alphabetic Coptic, even when dealing with similar subjects. Take for instance the description of the common remittent fever given in the Berlin papyrus of the 18th dynasty, and contrast it with the comparable description in the Coptic fragment on fever, transcribed and published in Zoega's catalogue, and the superiority of clearness is certainly on the side of the older description.

In the last Lecture, Professor Max Müller sums up as to the

tendency of Natural Religion, which he believes to be towards a pure Theism. The three great religious teachers, Mohammed, Buddha, and Christ, he regards as teachers of a similar kind, differing only in the degree of purity of their teaching; and while giving full credit to the points of difference, he sketches out some of the outstanding points of similarity in their doctrines. These coincidences, he believes, teach that all religions spring from the same soil, the human heart, and look to the same ideals, and that they are all surrounded by the same difficulties of thought. He regards the miracles described in connection with religious systems as excrescences added thereto by the fervent fancies of votaries.

Carrying out this line of thought, he places the stories of the miraculous birth of Our Lord on the same level with those of Buddha, Mahāvīra, and Mohammed; but he passes by the miracle of the resurrection without notice. That which the contemporary writers, St Peter, St Paul, and St John, within the century of the event, preached as the cardinal doctrine in witness to the divinity of Christ, cannot be disposed of like the stories in the later "Gospel of the Infancy," and cannot be treated as on the same platform with anything in the Tripitaka or the Koran.

Professor Max Müller has pointed out that there is an essential distinction between mythology and religion, and between ceremonial and religion. This is true in the abstract; but when, from the cultus of many of the various tribes of the world, the mythology and ceremonials are taken away, very little of a residuum will be left. The facts dealt with in the lectures testify to the growth of myth and of ceremony; but the element of religion as distinguished from these is as fully developed in the most primitive Vedic hymn as in the latest of the Upanishads.

That much of the mythology connected with the different religions of the world is due to the influence of the powers of nature on the human mind is patent to any observer. Prof. Max Müller has here sketched for us the mythology of fire; and in his recent masterly work, Mr Frazer has given us the mythology of vegetation. The latter author, however, has clearly expressed his view that the mythologies of the world cannot be explained by reference to one single set of perceptions, and we doubt not that when his promised larger work on Comparative Religion is published, he will give us therein material from which we can learn something of the relative influences of many other co-ordinate factors in moulding the forms of cultus and belief of humanity. It is indeed probable that what Professor Max Müller calls the Anthropological series of factors have been quite as important, and perhaps nearly, if not quite, as ancient sources of religious concepts as any of those which he calls purely physical.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

**Pre-Organic Evolution, and the Biblical Idea of God.  
An Exposition and a Criticism.**

*By Charles Chapman, M.A., LL.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.  
1891. Cr. 8vo. Pp. 312. Price 6s.*

THE philosophy of Evolution as expounded by Herbert Spencer has undoubtedly, more than any other system ancient or modern, influenced the currents of thought and of belief of the intelligent English-speaking peoples in the Nineteenth Century. This is due to the general consistency of the system, its accordance with the spirit of the age and with the present position of natural science, and also to the clearness and force with which it has been enunciated. In tracing the bearings of the evolution philosophy on all branches of knowledge, physical, ethical, social, and political, and in his discussions of the problems not only of natural science, but also of humanity, the Apostle of Agnosticism has shown an independence of thought that cannot fail to win our admiration.

Few of the controversial works to which the philosophy of Spencer has given rise, are so readable or so carefully argued as that of Dr Chapman, who brings to the study a cultivated, logical faculty, as well as considerable power of clear exposition when dealing with topics in themselves involved and obscure. The line of argument is one which has been advanced by others, and has in itself not much of novelty, but it has not been put forward so forcibly or so concisely by any other of Mr Spencer's numerous critics.

The stand-point from which our author starts to investigate the philosophy of Agnosticism is that of a candid and enlightened admission that the phenomena of nature furnish presumptive evidence that some form of cosmic evolution has taken place, and he proceeds to examine how far these phenomena bear out this particular philosophic system which has been constructed from their study.

The cardinal point in the criticism may be stated thus:—It is a probable, indeed a necessary deduction, that the starting-point of the first process of evolution was an integration of the ultimate equal and undifferentiated units which constituted the primitive condition of matter, and which were equally related to the one primordial force. In such a condition the author contends that there can be no initiation of change unless by the operation of a free power outside the matter and force in this condition of primitive simplicity.

To account for the first change by comparing the primitive condition with those examples of homogeneity known to us, which are states of unstable equilibrium, is only an evasion; for we only know of comparative homogeneity in finite parts of our highly complex universe where many forms of force are at hand outside to disturb

the homogeneity within. In these cases differentiations already exist, so that it is arguing from the particular to the general to reason, from these conditions, as to the nature of the postulated primordial simplicity of the initial matter before any force external to it existed. Mr Herbert Spencer has himself stated his belief that "if centres of force absolutely uniform in powers, were diffused with absolute uniformity, through unlimited space, they would remain in equilibrium." Now on the hypothesis that evolution started from a condition of minimum simplicity, such a condition must have been the original state (unless integrations have been eternally in progress).

Mr Spencer evades the objective difficulty by saying that "this supposition cannot be represented in thought, since unlimited space is inconceivable." This is, in effect, making our own subjectivity the criterion of the objective realities outside ourselves.

Dr Chapman next proceeds to the consideration of the alternative hypothesis, that in place of the evolution of the cosmos from matter in the irreducible minimum state of simplicity in a condition of indestructible equilibrium unless influenced from without, the history of Nature has been an eternal succession of cycles of evolution and dissolution. This puts the conception of a primordial condition indefinitely back in point of time, and presents us with the process of evolution as taking place in a heterogeneous mass of debris. The nature of the evolutionary integrations are in this case different in kind from those which necessarily must have occurred in a primordial material of absolute homogeneity; it is in reality not a true evolution; for if at no period in the past the universe was in a state of primordial simplicity then differentiation must have been an eternal antecedent of evolutionary change, but, on the other hand, if at any stage matter resolved itself into the universal condition of a minimum simplicity, the same difficulty arises about the re-commencement of evolutionary process. The treatment of this part of the subject is not, however, as thorough as its importance demands, and it might with advantage be expanded in future editions.

The criticism of Mr Spencer's view of the irrational nature of the concept of creation is well put. It is true we cannot conceive of an absolute commencement, but we can believe in the potential existence of phenomena as immanent in their eternal cause; and here again the reality of the objective transcendental act does not depend for its existence on our ability to conceive it. Dr Chapman reasons well that the idea of creation does not imply absolute commencement, for, according to this view, the finite phenomenal world has had its beginning in a cause which is eternal, uncaused, the noumenal antecedent of the phenomenal effect.

In dealing with the important subject of the knowability of God, Dr Chapman is at pains at the outset to deduce from Mr Spencer's works the exact relation which his views bear to those of other philosophers Theistic and otherwise. He states that this author has shown the reasonableness of believing in the One Eternal Reality as the base and origin of all, a Reality which has a nature of its own that is unique, and not to be confounded with the phenomena derived from it: that this is the cause of all else and immanent in all things, but inscrutable and unknowable. He conceives of it as an eternal reality which has ever been the source of power, putting forth its energy in an eternal unbroken line of physical change of the material units which, in one form or another, are as ancient as the Eternal.

The Agnostic position largely owes its popularity and influence to its apparent modesty, and to its appeal to the common sense of men that our knowledge is derived from and confined to that which is phenomenal. In reference to this Dr Chapman points out that there are two aspects of the subject, which are liable to be confounded in human attempts to comprehend the Great Reality. The real essence of the Great Eternal Reality is beyond the reach of our faculties; but, on the other hand, there is a possibility of knowing something of the powers and attributes inherent in that nature. He proceeds to show from the evidence presented in the Cosmos that the central immanent force acts as a will regulated by intelligence. This is manifested in the adjustment and regular order of the inorganic universe, the process of evolution being not an independent thing or a cause, but only the method by which the Eternal Reality works.

The recognition of this naturally leads to the discussion how far it is conceivable to predicate Personality of the Eternal Reality. Here the author starts by arguing from the analogy of the Ego. We observe the character of our thoughts and actions to be rational, and hence regard the Ego from which these thoughts spring as possessing a rational nature. We similarly observe the character of the activities of the Eternal Reality manifested in the primordial adjustments, which lie at the beginnings of the evolutionary processes, to be rational, and are justified in making a like deduction. We cannot of course conceive of the nature or essence underlying the Being of the Eternal. The conditioned cannot be competent to grasp the unconditioned; but if we define personality as that which manifests itself by the possession of rational will, power, and intelligence, then we are warranted in the use of this term as attributed to the Great Reality. In this use of the word there is involved no necessary anthropomorphism or limitation. It is true that superficially thinking minds have often degraded this idea of personality. The Deity is represented by the Psalmist as

saying to man, "Thou thoughtest that I was altogether such an one as thyself." It is impossible for the finite mind ever to free itself completely from the trammels of its anthropomorphism, and human language, which is at best the sublimated derivative of expressions derived from material phenomena, can never be more than an imperfect and clumsy vehicle for the exposition of the highest spiritual truth. It is little wonder, therefore, that low and unworthy ideas of the Infinite should take hold of the popular mind, but theologians cannot be held responsible for the conceptions of a vulgar, uncultured fancy.

There is a growing tendency in the minds of some of those who have adopted the evolution philosophy to make Darwin's hypothesis of natural selection into a veritable creed, and to attach to it a superstitious reverence; and in consequence this school of evolutionists underestimate, or discard altogether, the ordinary Theistic argument from order, as if it were ruled out of court by the evolution philosophy. Order is supposed to be the outcome of evolution, which is thus enthroned as a kind of deity. In discussing this point, Dr Chapman points out, as many have done before, that order in a process is not produced as a matter of necessity by the process, and he claims that there is reason to believe that in the beginnings of the evolutionary changes the manifestations of purposeful power preceded the existence of order.

The scope of Dr Chapman's work limits him to those primary representations of the Deity which involve issues which the Spencerian philosophy calls in question, but the thoughtful reader can expand some of his lines of argument for himself, and will find them exceedingly suggestive and useful. He has certainly succeeded in the task to which he has set himself of clearing away some of the difficulties which beset the path of one who wishes candidly to consider the claims of Christian theism as a reasonable philosophic system.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

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### The Gospel of St John.

*By Marcus Dods, D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology, New College, Edinburgh. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiii., 388. Price 7s. 6d.*

THAT power of condensation which so remarkably appeared in Dr Dods' diminutive "Introduction to the New Testament," is seen at the very outset of the present volume in the "Introductory Note," in which both the *design* and the *plan* of this Gospel are put before the reader in a few lucid sentences. To De Wette the author as-



cribes the first conception of the true view of the Fourth Gospel ; and we are glad to see this tribute to one whom we have always regarded as the Bengel of his day, for rigid fidelity to his text in the New Testament, who had the courage to retract many of the starting positions of his earlier works, and in his religious character had a spirituality which in his last years, according to the testimony of his most intimate friends, ripened into the highest evangelical views.

Starting with the introductory verses of this Gospel (ch. i. 1-18), the origin and import of that phrase "*The Word of God*"—which has given rise to a literature of its own—is rapidly but thoughtfully sketched, and the great truths taught in the pregnant statements about "the Word made flesh" are boldly expressed—His Divine Personality, He by Whom all things were brought into existence, the Life and Light of men, but men too obtuse to take it in, so that when He was in the world which was made by Him, the world knew Him not ; but to as many as did receive Him, He gave right to be called children of God, having become so by a regenerating power put forth for them, by which they beheld in Him the glory of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.

Passing on to the chapter on "*the Brazen Serpent*," the author analyses the figure employed by our Lord, and leads up cautiously step by step to the full import of it—how, as by a look at what had all the appearance of the fiery serpents that bit them, but had no poison in it, the people were healed, so, by a believing look upon Him, who was made in the likeness of sinful flesh, but without sin, as uplifted on the cross and there made sin for us, who knew no sin, we obtain eternal life.

But what is cold orthodoxy, even of the most rigid type, devoid of that in the preacher which makes it of any use to souls smarting under a sense of sin, or weary and restless, feeling their need of something, they cannot tell what ? But just here it is that the author rises to his best, and we must let him speak for himself. In the chapter entitled, "*Jesus declares Himself*," he writes thus : "To this unfortunate and ill-living alien woman, then, Jesus declared Himself as He had not declared Himself to the well-to-do, respectable Jewish rabbis. The reason of this difference in our Lord's treatment of individuals arises from the different dispositions they manifest. Acknowledgment of His power to work miracles may seem at first sight as good a certificate for Christian discipleship as acknowledgment of His prophetic power. But it is not so ; because such an acknowledgment of His prophetic insight as this woman made is an acknowledgment of His power over the human heart and life. He who is thus felt to penetrate to the hidden acts, and to lay His hand upon the deepest secrets of the heart, is recognised

as in a personal connection with the individual ; and this is the foundation on which Christ can build, this is the beginning of that vital connection with Him which gives newness of life. Those who are merely solving a problem when they are considering the claims of Christ, are not likely to have any personal revelation made to them. But to every one, who, like this woman, shows some desire to receive His gifts, and who is not above owning that life is a very poor affair without some such thing as He offers ; to every one who is conscious of sin, and who looks to Him as able to deliver from all its foul entanglement, He does make Himself known. To such persons He will disclose Himself when He sees that they are ripe for the disclosure. To such the moment of moments will come, when to them He will say : ' I that speak unto Thee am He.' "

In dealing with "the *Sabbath Cure at Bethesda*," we are not sure that justice is done to the miraculous features of the case. If all that is miraculous in the story was the instantaneous healing of the impotent man, it is difficult to believe what the man said, as to why he had not been cured before Christ came to him. Certainly his words imply that the first man, and he only, who stepped into the pool after its waters were troubled was cured of whatever disease he had, and that it was his extreme impotence that made it impossible for him to get first in. Now, if that is true, it is difficult to believe that any "intermittent spring" has, or ever had, such a virtue. We cannot, therefore, take in this, certainly, the common explanation. In other respects, the scene is admirably expounded. But the next chapter, "*Jesus, the Life-giver and Judge*," is grand. The one thing which we miss here is the quickness with which the Jews perceived what our Lord meant when He claimed to work exactly as His Father worked—"He said that God was *His own Father*" (R.V., *πατέρα ἰδίου*, cf. ch. i. 41)—in a sense true of no creature—a claim which our Lord asserts His absolute right to make, but explains as meaning neither robbery nor rivalry, but the Father acting through the Son, and the Son thus, like the Father, giving life to whom He will, and the Father, as supreme Judge, yet judging no man, but committing all judgment to the Son, to the end that all men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father. Stier finely calls these two—Life-giving and Judgment—the *regalia* of God the King, which Christ here claims as His, in our nature.

But some of the chapters of this book are chiefly remarkable for their fine touches of thought and feeling, which, while not at all incidental, one scarcely expects till he comes upon them. Thus, the "*Crisis in Galilee*" is a chapter full of such touches, but we can only refer to one or two of them. "*Will ye also go away?*" yields some

fine ones, both in the question itself and in Peter's question in reply—the latter especially. The following is one of these:—

"The alternative then, as Peter saw, was Christ or nothing. And every day it is becoming clearer that this is the alternative, that between Christianity and the blankest Atheism there is no middle place. Indeed, we may say that between Christianity, with its supernatural facts, and materialism, which admits of no supernatural at all, and of nothing spiritual and immortal, there is no logical standing-ground. A man's choice lies between these two—either Christ with His claims in all their fulness, or a material universe working out its life under the impulse of some inscrutable force. There are, of course, men who are neither Christians nor materialists; but that is because they have not yet found their intellectual resting-place. As soon as they obey reason, they will travel to one or other of these extremes, for between the two is no logical standing-ground. If there is a God, then there seems nothing incredible, nothing even very surprising in Christianity. Christianity becomes merely the flower or fruit for which the world exists, the element in the world's history which gives meaning and glory to the whole of it; without Christianity, and all it involves, the world lacks interest of the highest kind. If a man finds he cannot admit the possibility of such an interference in the world's monotonous way as the incarnation implies, it is because there is in his mind an Atheistic tendency, a tendency to make the laws of the world more than the Creator; to make the world itself God, the highest thing. The Atheist's position is thorough-going and logical; and against the Atheist the man who professes to believe in a Personal God and yet denies miracles, is helpless. And in point of fact Atheistic writers are rapidly sweeping the field of all other antagonists, and the intermediate positions between Christianity and Atheism are becoming daily more untenable." (Pp. 231, 232.)

Enough has been said to make it safe to predict that this volume will not only enhance the reputation of the author with those who knew him before, but will produce another opinion of him in those who previously were startled by some of his regrettable utterances. And what is of more importance, it will be a book of permanent value, as a mine of the best thinking, and the most stimulating on the highest subjects of revealed religion. We have purposely avoided touching on one or two critical questions on which we could have ground for differing from our author, as a useless waste of the space allotted to us. But we are glad to announce what is not expressed in the book, that there is to be a sequel to it, carrying us down to the close of this Gospel.

DAVID BROWN.

**Natural and Supernatural Morals.**

*By Rev. Henry Hughes, M.A. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Vol. I., Natural Morals, pp. xii., 369; Vol. II., Supernatural Morals, pp. xi., 321; 8vo., 1890-91. Price 24s.*

THIS work presents points of considerable interest to those who concern themselves with the borderland between philosophy, particularly in its ethical aspects, and theology. In his preface Mr Hughes is careful to state very clearly the issues to which he draws attention. He desires "to establish the thesis, that there are not one, but three sciences of morals. There appears to be, first, a science of the motives and ends of conduct that belong to pagan or non-religious man, to man regarded simply as a voluntary agent forming a part of the world of nature. There appears to be, secondly, a science, which, while it includes the former, takes account also of other phenomena arising from man being brought into conscious relations with God. Of the whole body of phenomena with which this science has to do, Jewish morality may be taken as the type. And there appears to be, thirdly, a science which embraces within its scope all the phenomena of the moral life of the present day, those which are at the same time Jewish, together with others which are distinctively Christian." The elaboration of this argument falls naturally into four divisions—two in the first volume and two in the second. (1) In the first volume, under the title "Natural Morals," Mr Hughes discusses the "constraints to adopt certain modes of conduct" to which man is amenable from his very constitution. In spirit and intention this portion is strictly constructive, and is considerably the most valuable part of the work. The author, with occasional references to Aristotle, proceeds on his own line in his own way. He is affected chiefly by Aristotle and Butler. His method of treatment, accordingly, is almost exclusively analytic, the plan adopted being to enumerate as completely as possible the various "constraints" operative upon conduct. Man in the course of his experience discovers that "natural conduct" connects itself with happiness. This occasions the question, What is "natural conduct"? To answer this Mr Hughes forthwith devotes chapters ii.-xii. There are "natural constraints" of order, as well as of happiness, which lead to the conviction "that the general end of virtuous action is the promotion of the life of the individual agent in the highest degree, consistent with a due regard to other interests than his own. The general end may be conveniently spoken of as the maintenance and development of subordinated life." From this follows the discussion of "objective virtue," which is that capable of satisfying natural laws, although it may not be the virtue adopted

by this or that society. Other "constraints" are found in the circumstances that man forms a part of a natural order to which he must conform ; that he tends to act uniformly and to demand that others should do the same, hence results law,—or misoneism, as modern writers would say ; that "social amity" influences him to regulate his conduct so as to minimise friction with his fellows ; that the desires must be so satisfied as, on the whole, to harmonise with one another ; that, as a result of an ideal, new relations between the desires can be brought about, and that a "sense of order" intimates the propriety of certain acts. Mr Hughes concludes that, when these natural constraints conflict with one another, their relative claims upon obedience cannot be determined. This outline is in itself sufficient to show that he has not appreciated many of the most important findings of recent philosophical research. The old individualism of the English mind is not yet exorcised.

(2) The second part of the first volume—chapters xiii.-xviii.—is critical. Butler, Kant, J. S. Mill, Mr Sidgwick, Mr Spencer, and Dr Martineau, are considered in turn. Mr Hughes employs his conclusions regarding "natural morals" as a standard, and tries to show how far each of these thinkers departs from it. The chapter on Butler, it may be said in passing, is satisfactory, but the same cannot be allowed of the criticism of Dr Martineau, and, very specially, of Kant. (3) The second volume differs from the first mainly in the subject matter of its analysis. In the earlier portion "supernatural constraints" peculiar to the nature of Jewish morals receive notice. The force of reverence and the principle of right, both proceeding from the characteristic relationship to Jehovah, constitute the main formal content of this part. The review is continued, in a less abstractly theological manner, by treatment of obedience and sin. (4) The concluding portion of the entire work concerns Christian morals, and is highly theological ; morals appear here to be dependent upon dogmatic bases. Indeed, one might fairly say that certain external accompaniments of Christian morals, rather than Christian morals themselves, are analysed. Christ's part in the "remission of sins," the place of the Christian Church, the commandment of love, and the Eucharist, are the chief topics. This volume is by no means so important as the first. It is neither so complete in the unity of its design, nor is its execution marked by the same consecutive thinking. The author's unfortunate lack of *Geist* in approaching his subject also militates against his success here more than in the purely ethical volume.

The work is marred throughout by the author's conception of his task, and this conception is sufficiently indicated by the extraordinary division which supplies him with his title. His analytic method has led him to undertake an impossible quest. No serious

philosophical thinker can now permit himself to entertain the notion that "there are three sciences of morals." One might as well say that there were three sciences of life, or of metaphysics, or of religion. These matters, if they can be theorised, must be treated "in one piece." Philosophy and science both imply the possibility of conclusions with regard to first principles; and whether these principles are to be found in the spiritual or in the natural sphere, they cannot but be regarded as manifestations of an all-pervading unity. All morals, for instance, are equally "natural" and "supernatural." If they were not "natural," they would not attach to mankind; if they were not "supernatural," they would not be "morals." The cause of this misconception is not far to seek. In the preface to the second volume, the author speaks of a "system (of natural morals) generally applicable to the case of dwellers in pagan lands." But the task of moral philosophy is, not to delineate a system "applicable" to this or that society, but to explain the totality of phenomena known as moral—to answer the question, Why are these facts termed "moral"? Or, to put it in another way, Mr Hughes has failed, as he was bound to fail, in trying to consider any portion of the life peculiar to man as if it were purely "natural," or as if, on the gift of a fuller revelation, it became distinctively "supernatural." Morals are morals simply because they attach to a being who is half spiritual and half natural. So long as man remains man, and so long as he has been human, the war between the flesh and the spirit will proceed, and has existed. To attempt to separate the elements in this compound nature is, at the same time, to destroy the unity which is presupposed in the bare affirmation of their being, and to render the problem of ethics insoluble beforehand. Mr Hughes' method, and a certain lack of metaphysical insight, are chargeable with this fault. Man, the individual, is regarded as if he were a "thing" upon which certain external forces, "natural" and "supernatural," impinge. These forces are numerous, and each operates in a direction of its own. Mr Hughes enumerates them, and guesses at their results. But his method precludes him from attempting to realise their total consequences. He does not perceive that in man himself is the point of unity from which the effects of all such forces really proceed, and in the light of which they must be viewed (*e.g.*, II., p. 154). Consequently, we are landed in a series of casuistical questions, to which any answer, or none, may be given. Akin to, and probably caused by, this analytic tendency, is the want of historical sense that marks the book. Jewish morals, for example, are treated as if they presented a homogeneous whole; no account is made of the organic development of the idea of Jehovah, nor of the results wrought by this momentous progress in the moral life of the Hebrew nation. And the same

may be said of the treatment of Christianity. Christian morals would seem to be a detached phenomenon. Their historical origin, particularly as related to Pagan (Greek) and Jewish ethics, and, more striking than either, their importation of a new practical, not theologically theoretical, ideal into human life, are strangely subordinated. There is a deliberate attempt to rend the universe which the moral philosopher, the metaphysician, and, more perhaps than either, the theologian presuppose to be a unity. To the contemporary student of ethics, particularly as they connect themselves with religion, one thing is pre-eminently needful. With all reverence he has to understand that God's revelation of Himself is in kind the same to all men in all ages, no matter how it may differ in degree. In the moral sphere especially, be it Hindu, Greek, or Roman, if the "natural" be not transformed by the presence of the "supernatural," man has not, as yet, reached beyond the level of the animals. But, if he be a moral creation, then no one is able to stigmatise him as "natural," unless, indeed, there be a desire to explain every kind of morality away. That manner of man does not exist; or, if he does, then ethics, religion, and all that pertains to what has been hitherto regarded as the spiritual sphere may take it that their time to depart has come.

But if there be fundamental misconception as to the subject in its totality, Mr Hughes must not be deprived of his due. The careful analysis of "natural constraints," the wise sincerity with which the superiority of the Christian revelation is urged, the acute treatment of sin, and the clear style in which the argument is presented throughout, are deserving of high commendation.

R. M. WENLEY.

### **Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte.**

X Von P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye. *Erster Band*, pp. 465. *Zweiter Band*, pp. 406. Freiburg I. B., J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck); Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo. Price 18 M.

THIS Manual of the History of Religion forms one of the "Series of Theological Text Books" which began with the issue of Holtzmann's New Testament Introduction, and already includes the three volumes of Harnack's History of Doctrines, besides instalments of other important works. Few, if any of these, however, are likely to exceed in interest and value the contribution of Professor Chantepie de la Saussaye, and it would be hard to imagine that any of them should exhibit in a higher degree the best qualities which such manuals ought to possess. It is with pleasure, therefore, that

we learn of the preparation of an English translation of this work which has been undertaken by Mrs Colyer Fergusson, who, as a daughter of Professor Max Müller, may lay claim to a hereditary right to serve in this way the Science of Comparative Religion, to which her father has by his writings done so much to attract general interest that he may be regarded as almost its founder in this country.

In estimating such a work as that before us, it is only fair to note and bear in mind the precise object which the writer has had in view. His aim, he tells us, was not to produce an exhaustive book of reference, but a handbook which should present in a readable form a survey of the present state of scholarship on the subject entrusted to him, and in which an attempt should be made to discriminate between ascertained results and those which are still in the region of dispute and theory. The limits prescribed by the nature and purpose of the work have forbidden, as most readers will regret, the introduction of illustrative citations from the sacred books of the various religions passed under review, and also of those legendary narratives in which lies so much of the charm of the ancient faiths—"the fair humanities of old religion." But if the history thus loses a little in brightness, this is more than counter-balanced by the clearness of the exposition and the trustworthiness of the guidance afforded to those who are willing to undertake more extended study.

It will be convenient to notice first the main portion of the book, the history proper, and to return afterwards to the introductory sections, which are, however, not the least important. The religions of which detailed historical accounts are given are those of the Chinese, Egyptians, Babylonians and Assyrians, Indians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Germans, concluding with the history of Islam. Comparing this list with that of Tiele (*Outlines of the History of Religion*) we find the most notable omission to be the absence of any full account of the progress of Hebrew religion. Both writers agree in omitting Christianity from their respective programmes, but this, though at first sight a serious defect (for what history of religions is that which passes over the most important of them all?), is obviously to be explained by the considerations, that Christianity requires and has elsewhere received much more extended treatment, and that in regard to it controversial elements would be apt to interfere with the objectivity and impartiality of description which it is possible to maintain in dealing with the Ethnic religions. Some historians (e.g., Preiss, *Religionsgeschichte*) include not unsuccessfully a survey of Christianity, but in the case of De la Saussaye the lacuna is amply supplied by other volumes in the series, while Tiele adopts as his lower limit the spread of the universal religions.



Other phases of religion to which Tiele and Preiss accord separate treatment are briefly noticed by De la Saussaye in what he calls the *Ethnographic Section*, in which the religions of the non-civilised races and peoples, and of those which only dimly or to a very slight extent enter into the purview of history are briefly sketched. Among these are included not only the savage races of Africa, America, and the South Seas, but the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians, the Finns, the Slavs, and the Celts, the Syrians and Phœnicians.

Each of the national religions receives a fulness of treatment commensurate with its importance in the religious history of the world. The longest sections are those on India, Greece, and Rome. The last two will prove of interest to the classical student as well as to the student of religion and civilisation in general. They embrace not only a survey of Greek and Roman mythology, but the various elements of the national life in its relation to religion as represented by the poets, the physicists, and the philosophers of the classical world—by Homer and Hesiod, Pindar and Sophocles as well as by Socrates and Plato, by Ovid and Virgil as well as by Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, by the theosophists of Alexandria, the policy of Constantine, and the reaction under Julian. The history of religious thought and life in India is naturally divided into four subsections, the first of which deals with the Vedic and Brahmanic period, the second with Jainism, the third with Buddhism, and the fourth with Hinduism. It is only necessary to add, in connection with the method observed in this historical department, that the subject matter in every section is distributed under minor headings, which are clearly marked, and that a copious analytical table of contents prefixed to the second volume makes reference to any particular point comparatively easy.

It is proper to notice that while, as we have already remarked, the Hebrew and Christian religions are not included in the historical scheme, various points of contact of these with other religions are indicated in their appropriate places. Thus the section on Egypt closes with a consideration of the possible influence of Egypt upon the development of Israel in the patriarchal and Mosaic periods; and that on Babylon and Assyria with noting the relation of the early chapters of Genesis to the traditions preserved in the recently deciphered inscriptions. Under Hinduism, allusion is made to the alleged connection with Christianity; while Persia and Rome, as well as Mohammedanism, bring the greatest of all religions at least into view. The spirit of all these references is that of the careful and impartial scholar. While allowing, for example, to Seydel the honour of having made the first really scientific attempt to prove the dependence of the early Christian literature, and especially of the Gospel history, upon Buddhistic sources, Professor De la Saussaye

points out that Seydel's conclusions rest upon views regarding these sources which are as generally rejected by experts in that department as his views on the criticism of the Gospels are by New Testament scholars. On the other hand, our author is as little disposed to admit to its full extent the contention of Weber that all that is most profound in Hinduism is of Christian origin.

It is, however, in the first or General Division of his work that the characteristic caution and fair-mindedness of De la Saussaye is most conspicuous. After a brief notice of the general nature and essential conditions of the science of religion, the bearing upon the latter of the doctrine of evolution, and the question whether the origin of religion is to be located on the near or the far side of the line which divides man from the lower animals, receive, if not final solution, at least fair and adequate statement. We then pass to the various methods which have been employed in the enquiry as to the first beginnings of religion, as to the impulse which set in motion the mightiest force which the human race has known, and which throughout the ages and in countless forms has guided the thoughts and moulded the life of nations. Can history reveal anything regarding this momentous event? Do the early chapters of Genesis give an authoritative account of its primitive conditions? What has the science of archæology to say as to the life of our earliest forefathers? Or, in the absence of direct information, which of the hypotheses which has been built up on philosophical foundations is best verified by the facts of history and observation? The earliest theories, which, on account of their crudity or insufficient basis of fact, are now generally discarded, having been shortly described, we have a lengthened exposition and criticism of the animistic theory in its various forms as represented by Tylor, Spencer, Caspari, and Schultze. The weaknesses of the anthropological position are shrewdly indicated, more particularly in reference to the assumption that non-civilised tribes of the present day may be taken as exemplifying a stage through which every race however civilised has at some time passed. Without this assumption it is obvious that it would be of no avail to reason from the ideas and customs of savages to those of primitive mankind, and to find in the Animism or ancestor worship of the former the key to the whole religious development. But the absence of history or tradition in these cases does not make it less a truth that even these tribes have a past which must be taken into account, and that nowhere is the power of custom so absolute and tyrannical as among them.

Opposed to the anthropologists are the mythologists, of which Max Müller is the most distinguished representative. Founding his theory not so much upon what we know of the lowest races of mankind as upon the earliest that we know of an afterwards highly

developed race, Max Müller finds in man's instinctive perception of an element of infinity accompanying every sense impression, and the suggestive working upon this of the various aspects and phenomena of nature, the explanation of the origin and growth of religious experience. It is proper to notice here that in his Gifford Lectures he has modified his definition of religion in deference to criticisms which had been passed upon it. For the simple "perception of the infinite" he now substitutes "a perception of the infinite under such manifestations as are able to influence the moral character of man." De la Saussaye's criticism of Max Müller's position practically amounts to showing that the theory is not of universal application, and that this is indeed scarcely claimed by its author. As between the rival schools he holds *more suo* the even balance. "We believe that the key to the problem regarding the origin of religion lies neither with the animists nor the mythologists; the explanations of each school, however, though not applicable to the whole, account for certain series and groups of phenomena, and are therefore not useless, though only to be accepted within the limits which they mutually determine."

The concluding sections of the General Division treat of the classification of religions, both genealogical and morphological, and of its chief forms such as Animism, Fetishism, Polytheism, Henotheism, and Monotheism. The apparent omission of Pantheism is due to its being regarded as more philosophical in its character than religious; while the point most deserving of attention in this connection is the extremely inconvenient diversity of meaning attached by different writers to the term Henotheism.

Between the general and the main or historical portions of this work there is interposed a Phenomenological Division which will be found not to yield in instruction or interest to any of the others. In it the writer breaks comparatively new ground. It is evident that one of the uses of a reliable history of religion in the various forms it has assumed is to serve as a groundwork for the classification of its phenomena, and that this in turn must form the basis and means of verification for an adequate study of its psychology. Now that so large an amount of well-sifted material for the first of these tasks has been made available, it is possible to attack the others with some degree of success. The headings of a phenomenological scheme have been given by M. Goblet d'Alviella in his *Introduction à l'Histoire Générale des Religions*, and some of its sections have been well treated by Réville in his *Prolegomena of the History of Religions*; but this portion of De la Saussaye's Manual is more complete in its range than either of these, while it is more objective in its method than the latter. The various objects of worship from sacred stones to the gods of the most elaborate mythologies; the

forms of worship from magic and divination to prayer and sacrifice ; the accompaniments of worship, such as music, dancing, fasting, and lustration ; sacred places, times, and persons ; the constitution of the religious community ; the function of scriptures and other religious writings ; the chief forms of religious teaching, including mythology, philosophical speculation, and dogmatic definition ; and, finally, the relation of religion to morality and art—are the subjects here discussed and illustrated. Nor is the capability of the book for furthering this most useful study exhausted by the sections professedly devoted to it in this Phenomenological Division, for the index at the close of the second volume has been specially constructed to facilitate the tracing of analogous phenomena through the more extended treatment of the various religions in the main portion of the work.

As this book is emphatically a *guide* to the subject of which it treats, whether it be used as an adjunct to the prelections of the class-room, or as a foundation for independent investigation, a word must be said as to the Bibliographical introductions with which most of the sections are furnished. These are in accordance with the practical purpose of the work as a whole. The lists of books of reference are selections, and, while full, are not intended to be exhaustive. They are in every case brought down to date, and, what is not the least valuable feature, they are accompanied by discriminative notices which point out the best sources of information, and indicate wherein their respective merits consist. The want of some such guide has been extensively felt. It is supplied in some measure in the French translation, practically a new edition, of Tiele's Outlines, but, after comparing Tiele's Bibliographical paragraphs in several instances with those of De la Saussaye, we are of opinion that the latter will be found the more practically useful.

The field opened up by such works as the present is one not only of the greatest interest, but of wide-reaching importance. More than ever it is felt that the whole course of religious development must be taken into account in the adjustment of those problems which present themselves to our minds and hearts to-day. And more than ever it is apparent that the religions of the past must be sympathetically studied, not regarded merely as exploded superstitions, as darkening and degrading influences, but in some degree as the working, however obscurely, of the divine life in the heart of man, as the struggle with error and sin of the "light which lighteth every man coming into the world." If they had their corruptions, we are not free of them ; if our faith has its guiding and sustaining powers, they were not destitute of these.

"The unseen Power, whose eye  
For ever doth accompany mankind,  
Hath looked on no religion scornfully  
That men did ever find.

Which has not taught weak wills how much they can?  
 Which has not fallen on the dry heart like rain?  
 Which has not cried to sunk, self-weary man :  
*Thou must be born again !*"

The "cry" has had very various degrees of distinctness and efficacy; but the "lifting power" of religion must have been present and made itself felt, for it is on that mainly that its permanence depends.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

**Die Bücher Richter und Samuel, ihre Quellen und ihre Aufbau. The Books of Judges and Samuel: their Sources and Structure.**

*By Dr Karl Budde, Professor of Theology in Strassburg. Giessen : Ricker ; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 276. Price M. 7.50.*

It is an encouraging feature of German criticism that the process of disintegrating the books of the Bible has latterly made way for one of reconstruction. Of this tendency Dr Budde's last book is a good example. He has not discovered any new "authors." He has simply tried to shew with greater precision how much belongs to each of those whom his predecessors have discovered. His book is not a commentary in the ordinary sense of the word, his aim being a much more restricted one than that which commentators generally set before themselves. Dr Budde attempts nothing more than to shew that the principal documents which run all through the books of Judges and Samuel are those most familiar to students of the Pentateuch, viz., J and E, and that, further, there has been a Deuteronomistic editing both of Judges and of Samuel. These general lines are, of course, familiar enough to students of Old Testament criticism, and some critics, in following them out, have gratified their fondness for learned names by speaking not merely of the Hexateuch, but of the Octateuch.

The opening sentences of Dr Budde's work shew that the author writes from the standpoint of the advanced critical school. As is to be expected of anything from the author of the now well-known "*Biblische Urgeschichte*," every page of the book bears testimony to accurate scholarship and patient industry. In the Preface we are told that this is practically a "Preliminary Study" in view of a complete Introduction to the Old Testament on which Dr Budde is presently engaged. If the Introduction is to be on anything like the same scale as this essay, it will be a most exhaustive and, indeed, colossal work. Unfortunately, like much of what is written by

German scholars, this book will be read almost exclusively by specialists. These will, as a matter of course, find a good deal of old matter in it. Still even for them it will prove not only interesting but profitable, for it gives a fresh setting to what is old, and states logically and clearly what is new.

The first section of Judges (chap. i.-ii. 5) is submitted to a most minute examination, the main result of which is that the chief strata of this section are declared to belong to the Jehovist (J). It is impossible to follow Budde into any detailed comparison of the parallel passages of Joshua. We may, however, mention one historical conclusion to which he comes, although, indeed, his veteran colleague in the professoriate at Strassburg, Dr Reuss, reached it long ago, viz., that Adonibezek, after having his thumbs and great toes cut off, did not die in the hands of his foes, but was successfully rescued by his friends, and carried off in triumph to Jerusalem, the impregnable citadel that successfully defied all the assaults of Judah. How elaborate Dr Budde's analysis of this brief but historically important section is, may be inferred from the fact that it takes up some ninety pages, or about a third of the whole book.

As to the main division of Judges (chaps. ii.-xvi.), the usual theory is adopted that an older "book of Judges" is traceable throughout. But this older book has been set in a new "frame," which the Editor gives us in chap. ii. 11-19. Both from its religious standpoint and its diction this "frame" is clearly Deuteronomistic. The Editor treated the various narratives, which he fitted into this frame of his, in a great variety of ways. Only one seems entirely due to himself, viz., the history of Othniel, which is, to the frame, what a typical example is to a theorem. This Editor undoubtedly belonged to the tribe of Judah. The original number of the Judges seems to have been twelve, five major and seven minor, twelve and forty being the author's favourite round numbers. The mention of Shamgar is regarded as due to an Editor who considered that Abimelech's conduct rendered him unworthy of so honourable a title as that of Judge. This Editor accordingly struck Abimelech off the roll, and, finding Shamgar honourably mentioned in Deborah's song, he inserted the last verse of the third chapter, and thus made up the number of Judges again to twelve.

By way of illustrating how archæological research may throw light, for some minds, on passages of Scripture that are very dark to them, we may mention an ingenious interpretation which Wetzstein gives of Shamgar's Samson-like feat of slaying the six hundred Philistines with an ox-goad. He states that some tribes south of Damascus put the ox-goad on their monuments as a symbol for the peasantry as a class. It may, he thinks, be used in Judges to indicate that the peasants, with Shamgar at their head, and without

any help either from the nobles or the inhabitants of the towns, rose against their Philistine oppressors and inflicted on them a memorable defeat.

Deborah's song Budde regards as the oldest continuous document we now possess. He maintains that it is unquestionably the work of a contemporary, and, although poetry, is far more trustworthy, even as regards historical data, than the prose narrative of chapter iv. He does not, however, think that Deborah wrote the song herself, or that she and Barak actually sung it. The tradition he explains as arising out of a very natural misunderstanding of v. 12, "Awake, awake, Deborah : awake, utter a song."

The individual histories in this book and its appendices are so numerous that it is impossible to follow Dr Budde through his analysis of them. Suffice it to say that he generally finds a double narrative, one of which he makes out to belong to J and the other to E.

The books of Samuel are likewise submitted to a searching analysis, and with a similar result. To E, for example, is due the account of Saul being chosen king at Mizpah. In this narrative Samuel is the Judge of all Israel, governing the nation in the name of Jehovah. Hence before a king can be appointed, the power has to be wrested out of Samuel's hands. According to this account, the national condition of Israel is one of great prosperity. To J, on the other hand, is due the account of Saul being chosen king at Gilgal. Samuel is, according to this narrative, a "Roeh," living quietly in the country as a private citizen. In his capacity as "Seer" he anoints Saul, and then leaves things to take their own course, although the land is suffering grievously from Philistine oppression. All through the books of Samuel, J forms a practically continuous narrative. The threads of E's narrative Budde succeeds in unravelling up to the time of Saul's death. Here E suddenly breaks off, and Budde has been unable to detect any further trace of him.

The most intricate part of Budde's theory is the number of Editors through whose hands the combined works of J and E had to pass before they reached their present form. He requires no fewer than three (*cf.* pages 164, 165, &c.), but how he comes to know what each of the three did, is a question hard to answer. His senses seem to become so preternaturally keen that, to use a German proverb, he is able "to hear the grass growing." Now it is not because critics are so marvellously acute that ordinary minds fail to comprehend their theories. They still differ so widely among themselves that cautious scholars may well hesitate before coming to a definite conclusion. As to the main facts of Old Testament Introduction it is undeniable that critics are more at one than they formerly were, but it is equally undeniable that they still

differ as widely as ever on many details of the highest moment. Of this conflict of opinion we shall give but two examples. Psalm xviii. is the only psalm of which Dr Schultz of Göttingen admits the Davidic authorship. This very psalm which occurs also in 2 Samuel chap. xxii., Budde declares cannot, by any possibility, have been written by David. The portrait its author draws of himself has no resemblance whatsoever to the picture we get of David in the books of Samuel. In these books nothing is so much insisted on as David's grievous sin and his heart-felt penitence. But in Psalm xviii., especially from verse 21 onwards, the author proclaims his consciousness of having shown himself upright, obedient to Jehovah's law, and a man of stainless purity. "The Lord rewarded me according to my righteousness, according to the cleanness of my hands hath he recompensed me." While discussing the elegy of Saul and Jonathan, Budde makes an admission that ought to be more frequently borne in mind both by himself and by many other critics. After acknowledging that the poem must be very old, he adds, "Whether a critic will acknowledge that it was written by David *depends more on psychological than on literary or critical considerations*," which is precisely what many of the orthodox assert, although they put a rather different meaning into the phrase "psychological considerations." So variously do these psychological considerations work that historians like Duncker deny, while scholars like Reuss and Stade maintain the Davidic authorship of this elegy. With such striking instances of diverse judgments before us, we cannot but admit that the day for dogmatism on many critical questions has not yet dawned. So long as trained experts differ thus widely, the uninitiated will do well to keep their minds open. In Scotland this cautious disposition is at present specially desirable, and it is to be hoped that the unbiassed study of such books as this of Budde will tend to foster such a disposition.

J. A. PATERSON.

### **A Christian Apology..**

*By Paul Schanz, D.D., D.Ph. Translated from German into English.*  
*Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. Demy 8vo. Price not stated.*

THE second volume of this work, of which the first instalment was noticed in our last, has made its appearance. Its subject is *God and Revelation*, and, as previously indicated, its pages are largely devoted to discussions on topics connected with the comparative science of religion, and with the main issues raised by Bible criticism. The author enters on the subject of ethnic religion with the conviction that the religious history of the world points to a primi-



tive revelation. He regards heathenism as a preparation for Christianity, while refusing to see in Christianity only the natural outcome and purely human development of heathen religions. The apologetic gain to be derived from the study, in his view, is that it enables one to see the superior and supreme excellence of the Christian faith. While firmly maintaining this position, however, he is far from taking a pessimistic view of the religions of the world. The account given of these religions is, on the whole, kindly, and withal very readable and interesting. They are ranged under three heads: the religions of the Indo-Germanic race, including the Hindus, the Iranians, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Teutons; the religions of the Hamites and Semites, including the Chinese, the Japanese, the Egyptians, the Semites, and the Arabs; and finally the religions of uncivilized peoples.

The author's attitude towards modern critical views on the Old Testament literature is, as was to be expected of a catholic theologian, decidedly hostile. He holds the traditional view of the Pentateuch, and does his best to refute the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis. He is, however, candid enough to admit that the old theory is not without its difficulties. "A later influence is not to be always (e.g., in Deuteronomy) point blank denied. There are some good Catholic commentators in France who consider the second parts of Isaiah more recent than the first, and relegate Daniel to the second century, because, on this head, the Church has pronounced no decisions. On the whole, however, the history constructed on the Wellhausen hypothesis is far less satisfactory than that set forth in so natural a way by the sacred writers," (p. 188).

Among the topics falling within the scope of the author's plan in this part of his work are Revelation, Reason and Revelation, Miracles, Prophecy, Inspiration. These are handled in the good old Catholic fashion, with learning, intelligence, and force, and yet in a way that must fail to interest readers acquainted with modern apologetics, the point of view being for the most part antiquated. Protestants of a strongly conservative turn, however, will find in the chapters treating of these topics much to their taste. It almost looks as if, ere long, the only apologetic works in which conservative Protestants will find any satisfaction will be those provided by Catholic authors. In the preface to the English translation of the work before us, Dr Schobel as good as says this. Having alluded to the "rationalistic" tendency of modern Biblical criticism as a just cause of concern both to Catholics and to Protestants, he characterises the apologetic efforts of leading men among the latter as "terms of surrender." As instances in point, he cites: Mr Horton's *Inspiration and the Bible*, Mr Gore's Essay in *Lux Mundi* on the *Holy Spirit and Inspiration*, and Dr Sanday's Lectures on the *Oracles of God*.

To these sentiments the "Fraternal Union" of thirty, and those like-minded, will say Amen, and we are sure that they will find Dr Schanz's Apology much more to their taste than any of the three writings above named. Of course there are incidental drawbacks in this catholic apologetic for any one brought up in the Protestant faith, such, for example, as the inclusion of the Apocryphal books in the Canon of the Old Testament, and the recognition of the authority of the Church as the supreme guide in the interpretation of Scripture.

A. B. BRUCE.

### **La vie future d'après l'enseignement de Jésus-Christ.**

*Par C. Bruston. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher. Price 2.50.*

"The Eschatology of the Gospels" would have been a more exact title for M. Bruston's latest contribution to Biblical Theology, since not more than a quarter of the work deals, strictly speaking, with our Lord's teaching concerning the future life. The author is careful to warn us that the results of his investigation do not harmonise with the recognised doctrines of the Church, nor even—which is a much more serious matter—with the teaching of St Paul. Like Luther, however, in a similar case, he appeals from the servant to the Master, from the epistles to the gospels. This attitude of M. Bruston suggests more than one difficulty, which the progress of New Testament Theology has rendered it imperative for the Church to face and, if possible, to solve. Is the teaching of St Paul in all respects consistent with the teaching of the gospels? Or, assuming the genuineness of all the Pauline Epistles, is St Paul in every respect consistent with himself? If the answers to these questions be in the negative, then which are we to follow—the gospels or the epistles? If the latter, shall it be the earliest or the latest?

But to return, M. Bruston finds that the Church has departed to an alarming extent from the teaching of her Founder with respect to the following three doctrines, not one of which was taught in the form in which it is now held by the Church, namely the resurrection of the body, the return of Christ to the earth in His own person, and the last judgment. In dealing with the first of these, our author starts from the question of the Sadducees concerning the resurrection-life (Matt. xxii. 23-33, and *parl. pass.*), but many will hesitate before accepting the conclusions which he draws from these and similar passages. Thus we are told that Jesus never speaks of the resurrection of the dead in general—not even in John v. 28 *f.*—but always of the resurrection "from the dead" (*ἐκ*

νεκρῶν, Luke xx. 35, Mark xii. 25), that is, of the resurrection of a certain portion of the dead, namely "the just" (Luke xiv. 14). After so emphatic a statement, the reader is surprised to find that, in the passage of St Matthew above referred to, our Lord's words are περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν κτλ. One naturally expects to find some explanation of the discrepancy, but none is forthcoming.

This resurrection of the just, moreover, is not a corporeal but a spiritual resurrection, and takes place immediately after death. It is a mistake to think of it as an event which is to take place once for all at the end of the world—an improbable catastrophe nowhere foretold by our Lord; it is rather an ever-recurring event, as universal in the past and in the present as death itself. The Old Testament saints and all who since then have fallen asleep in Jesus have already experienced this, their only, resurrection. It follows from this that Paul was altogether wrong and that Hymenæus and Philetus were right after all, when they said "that a resurrection is past already." Such, at least, seems to me the only inference we can draw from M. Bruston's results.

One of M. Bruston's arguments for the possibility of pardon after death strikes me as new in this connection. He starts from the continued possession by the saints in heaven of their freedom of will, "cet appanage inaliénable de l'être moral." This freedom, he argues, implies the possibility of sin: on sin must follow exclusion from the presence of God, and the passing of the "great gulf" of the familiar parable. "Why," he then asks, "should not the converse be equally true? Why, if a sinner repent, should he not in like wise be brought by the divine power from the abode of pain to the abode of bliss? This, assuredly, is impossible for all created beings, but not for God" (p. 21).

The second part of M. Bruston's work is less revolutionary. Indeed, to my mind, the most valuable part of the book is the sober and learned investigation of the figurative language of the gospel eschatology in chapters iv. and v., for until we can settle what is figure and what is not, a forward movement in this department is impossible. The author's conclusions may best be stated in his own words: "The second coming of Jesus, His coming in glory for judgment, is thus nothing else but the influence of the glorified Christ on the world. This influence is exercised in two ways, the one visible for us: namely, the extension of Christianity in the world, of which the first disciples were already the witnesses; the other invisible: namely, the judgment which the glorified Christ pronounces on all men at the moment of death. The latter must of necessity be what Jesus meant by His *parousia*" (p. 88).

I have said enough to indicate the general drift of M. Bruston's

investigations. To say that the work is by a cultivated Frenchman is to say that the style is lucid and graceful; frequent *résumés* assist the reader more clearly to note the progress of the argument; and, however perilous we may sometimes find the author's exegesis, his book deserves a careful study as the contribution of one of the most scholarly teachers of the French Protestant Church to the discussion of a great and difficult theme.

ARCHD. R. S. KENNEDY.

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### Essais Bibliques.

*Par Maurice Vernes. Paris: Ernest Leroux. 8vo, pp. xiv., 372.  
Price F. 3.50.*

M. MAURICE VERNES is the Bruno Bauer of Old Testament criticism. In other words, he is the leader of the extreme left; he is also the rank and file of the party, and the preface to his "Biblical Essays" is its latest manifesto. I observed the other day a distinguished literary critic sneering at the reviewer who composes a column of "copy" out of the "prefaces of new books which he has not read." He overlooks the possibility of a preface giving, as in the case before us, the author's more mature judgment on the topics treated of in the body of the work. M. Vernes' essays—which the present reviewer has considered it his melancholy duty to read, notwithstanding the accommodating preface—are eight in number, and have already appeared in various magazines, which accounts for the numerous repetitions to be noticed in the volume. They all bear more or less directly on Hebrew history and literature, and advocate a radical reform in Biblical, and especially Old Testament studies. They are, in short, a vigorous indictment of the methods of Old Testament criticism at present in vogue, not, however, in the interest of the traditional views. On the contrary, the critics most in repute, Kuenen at their head, are still in the bondage of traditionalism. They have been unable to free themselves from the leading-strings of the synagogue. M. Vernes shows them in these essays how to compass their critical emancipation, and how henceforth to walk alone. (See the preface and the essay: *Method in Biblical Literature*.) The result of this *Aufklärung* is to bring the whole of Old Testament literature below the exile, and to render it worthless as a history of the Hebrew people. The following is M. Vernes' latest arrangement of the literary puzzle (preface, p. ix.):—

- (1) The *Proto-hexateuch* composed from 400 (or 450) to 300 B.C.
- (2) The historical books composed from 350 to 250 B.C.
- (3) The prophetic books composed from 300 to 200 B.C.
- (4) The traditional hexateuch completed about 200 B.C.

This scheme is more elastic, and even less extreme, than that given in the essay on the date of the Bible. The essay on primitive Palestine is, to say the least, disappointing. The story of Genesis xiv. was freely invented in the fourth or third century, a statement entirely at variance with the latest research. By far the best of the essays, and, in my opinion, the only one of permanent value, is the last on the "Pentateuch of Lyon and the ancient Latin translations of the Bible," which originally appeared as a review of M. Ulysse Robert's edition of this interesting codex—the most considerable remnant, excepting, of course, the Latin Psalter, of the pre-Hieronimian versions.

ARCHD. R. S. KENNEDY.

### **Le Tour d'Orient.**

*Par Th. Roller. Lausanne : Georges Bridel et Cie. Price 5 fr.*

M. ROLLER is a French Protestant clergyman who has been tempted to put on record his impressions of the East—Egypt, Palestine, Turkey. His book is distinguished from most books of similar origin in at least two respects. On the one hand, the author does not fill his pages with halting paraphrases of his guide-books; and, on the other, the inevitable "pious reflections" are not unduly prominent. M. Roller, by the way, is a Frenchman first and a Protestant afterwards. Thus, in his interesting account of the rival educational missions at Beyrout, his sympathies are with the Jesuits who are Frenchmen, rather than with the Americans who are Protestants. The illustrations, excellent reproductions of photographs by the firm of Thevot & Co., Geneva, are much superior to the average engravings in works of this class. The French, I may perhaps add, is not by any means difficult.

ARCHD. R. S. KENNEDY.

### **Critical Studies in St Luke's Gospel : Its Demonology and Ebionitism.**

*By Colin Campbell, B.D. Wm. Blackwood & Sons. 8vo, pp. xii., 318. Price 5s.*

IN this volume Mr Campbell seeks to demonstrate that it is the aim of the third Gospel to exhibit Jesus "in the process of de-throning the devil and his angels, the demons," and to inculcate the excellence of poverty and the evil of wealth. These aims are inseparably connected, for "the dualistic view of the world which places it under the dominion of Satan, implies condemnation of "the

things of the world." This view of the aim of Luke is not new. Renan, for example, in his most brilliant volume, says "La doctrine de Luc est, on le voit, le pur *Ebionisme*, la glorification de la pauvreté. Selon les Ebionites, Satan, roi du monde, est le grand propriétaire du monde ; il en donne les biens a ses suppôts. Jesus est le prince du monde à venir. Participer aux biens du monde diabolique equivaut à s'exclure de l'autre." To Mr Campbell belongs the merit of exhibiting this characteristic of the Gospel in detail. He shows that it appears in many unsuspected places. To criticise his exegesis in detail is impossible here. There are in his volume pronounced cases of tendency-writing ; instances in which his interpretation is biassed by what he expects and wishes to find in the passage. And where an argument is built up of countless small particulars, many of which are by themselves either insignificant or doubtful, it is by no means easy to estimate the value of the whole. Besides, Mr Campbell's volume would have been more convincing, had he replied to the objections raised by Dr Abbott to Keim's ascription of Ebionite tendency to the Gospel of Luke. The reader will also desiderate guidance in endeavouring to ascertain to what extent the Ebionitism of Luke is to be referred to our Lord Himself, and what is the exact difference between the teaching of Luke and a sound doctrine of wealth. Mr Campbell might also have illustrated the doctrinal position of Luke by reference to the Acts of the Apostles. But even though there is more of the advocate than the judge in Mr Campbell's criticism, it must be allowed that he has made out a good case, a case which is *primâ facie* sufficiently strong to call for investigation. And, although his positions may require to be modified, his volume is most welcome as a specimen of the application of critical methods to the literature of the New Testament—an advanced guard which, we trust, foretells the approach of a solid and serviceable body. Mr Campbell's volume will stimulate some to work of a similar kind, and will itself be pleasant reading to all who have any tincture of criticism.

MARCUS DODS.

### **Der Glaube Jesu Christi und der Christliche Glaube : Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung des Römerbriefes.**

Von Johannes Haussleiter. Erlangen & Leipzig, Deichert.  
8vo, pp. 62. Price, 60.

THIS pamphlet is a reprint of two articles which the author contributed to the February and March numbers of the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*. It is an attempt to answer the question, What is the relation of the faith of Christ to the faith of the Christian ? In the present pamphlet the author uses only the material

furnished by the epistle to the Romans. He believes that in more than one passage of this epistle, where "the faith of Christ" or "the faith of Jesus" is spoken of, the Apostle means not "the faith of the believer in Christ," but Christ's own faith. Thus, in Rom. iii. 26, where we read "the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus," Haussleiter maintains that it is impossible that those who originally received and read this epistle could so understand the words. He further maintains that the quotation from Habakkuk, in chap. i. 17—"the just shall live by faith," is understood by Paul in a Messianic sense. It is, of course, easy to find a good deal that can be used in support of this idea; but a reader not biassed in favour of this interpretation will no doubt feel that the author is rather pressing into his service passages which do not naturally yield the meaning put upon them. It may be quite true, as he says (p. 41), that it is the vocation of modern criticism to penetrate somewhat more deeply into the mystery of our Lord's human development. And certainly his exhibition of the faith of Jesus and of his obedience is both true and welcome. That Jesus was truly man, that He prayed because dependent as we are, and that He thus became the leader in faith, is generally understood. And it is also understood that, in an intelligible sense, we are saved by His faith. Haussleiter's words will be accepted when he says: "As Jesus hangs on the cross, the eye of God is directed towards Him. It is the hour when the fate of man is decided. The first Adam fell in Paradise: will the second maintain his faith on the cross? Will His obedience bridge the frightful chasm which has opened between God and Him? He alone measured its width: He who before had been with the Father, and now hung on the tree as a curse. . . . Then learned Jesus obedience by His sufferings: then He became the beginner and finisher of our faith." This is good and true, but few will follow our author in reading this into the words "whom God set forth as a propitiation *through faith*." It is not his doctrine but his exegesis that is at fault.

MARCUS DODS.

### 1. Der Römerbrief beurtheilt und geviertheilt. Eine Kritische Untersuchung.

Von Carl Hesedamm. Erlangen & Leipzig, Deichert. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii., 100. Price M. 1.20.

### 2. Romans Dissected. A Critical Analysis of the Epistle to the Romans.

By E. D. M'Realsham. T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 100. Price 2s. WHO it is who makes this "real sham" we do not know. We do not even know, although perhaps a skilful critic might determine,

whether the author is German or English. The English essay is not a mere translation of the German, nor is the German a mere translation of the English. They are both from the same hand and follow the same lines, but each freely and independently of the language of the other. Although the English edition has every appearance of having been printed abroad, we should suppose the author, familiar as he is with the German language, is yet more familiar with English.

The intention of the writer is to burlesque the dissection of the Pauline epistles which has come to be so much in vogue in Germany. He shows how easy it is to select certain phrases and erect them into criteria of authorship, and on the ground of their occurrence or non-occurrence to distribute an epistle among various supposed authors. This parody he has carried out with most admirable industry, with considerable cleverness, and with critical power that might have been employed, perhaps, to better purpose. For clever as the *jeu d'esprit* is, it will scarcely be read. At least in this country, the original dissections of Steck and others have scarcely taken serious hold of the public mind, and to burlesque them is superfluous and premature. Probably not twenty persons in this country have waded through Völter's wearisome, though brief, essay on the composition of the chief Pauline Epistles; and if so, why thrust into public notice an essay which is its own best refutation? The expenditure of critical capacity, which undoubtedly has gone to the writing of these brochures, and the knowledge of the two languages in which they are written, might have given to the English public some such useful tractate on the same subject as Gloël's *Die jüngste Kritik des Galaterbriefes*. The writer is capable of good work, and good work is greatly needed in New Testament criticism.

MARCUS DODS.

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### The Apology of Aristides.

*Edited and translated by J. Rendel Harris, M.A., with an Appendix by J. Armitage Robinson, M.A. Cambridge University Press. 1891. 8vo, pp. vii., 118 and 28. Price 5s. net.*

FIRST, a word as to the important series of which this is the first instalment. "Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature" is a title which recalls at once the *Texte und Untersuchungen* of Gebhardt and Harnack, and the *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, the volumes of Oxford Essays which are edited by Dr Sanday. The new venture of Cambridge scholarship partakes more of the scope and character of the former series of elaborate



monographs, than of the latter collection of studies and reviews—though the distinction cannot be pressed throughout. It is a sign of the revived interest in the scientific study of Church History, which is so promising a feature of the time. And is it too much to hope that we may find in men who have doubtless been formed under Lightfoot, but who start a generation later, a blending of his painstaking scholarship and *prima facie* regard for ancient tradition in its best representatives, with the sensitive eye for all that is meant by *Dogmengeschichte*, which distinguishes the best German scholars?

The other numbers belonging to the volume of which "Aristides" is the first part, are to be, "The Passion of Perpetua, with the Original Latin of the Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs," by the editor, Mr J. Armitage Robinson; "The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church," by Mr F. H. Chase; "The Fragments of Heracleon," by Mr A. E. Brooke. There are also in preparation, "The Testament of Abraham," "A Study of Codex Bezae," and "The Witness of Hermas to the Four Gospels." All this is excellent. But few items are likely to eclipse in value the present work. It has received prompt notice from Harnack, and it is welcome for many reasons.

In the spring of 1889, Professor Harris, when on a tour of discovery in the East, came upon a MS., No. 16 in the Syriac MSS. of the Convent of St Catharine on Mount Sinai, written in two columns to the page, and dating from about the seventh century. "The book is made up of a number of separate treatises and extracts, almost all of which are ethical in character."

Among these there comes, fifth in order, the "Apology of Aristides," hitherto known only in the form of an Armenian Fragment, published of recent years at Venice. Comparison with the Syriac now shows the latter to be largely revised and expanded. It is still of value, however, for textual criticism, as coming direct from a Greek, not a Syriac form; though both it and our Syriac have a point of contact short of the original Greek, inasmuch as they show at least one corruption (ch. ii. fin.) in common. But this does not exhaust our materials for the true text. For Harris's find led, in a romantic fashion, to the discovery by Mr Robinson of the Apology embedded, as the speech of Nachor, in the "Life of Barlaam and Josaphat"—a religious romance in Greek, based on the Indian legend of Buddha, and which, though connected in tradition with John of Damascus (among whose works it is found in Migne, tom. xcvi.), "may well go back to the sixth century" at least. Of this Greek form Harnack says that, "though in details abbreviated to suit its time, and here and there expanded," it corresponds *substantially* with the autograph, and thereby shows that the Syriac (which is "half as long again as the Greek") is not a strict translation, but,

like the Armenian, a free paraphrase. On the whole then, where, as in the two important opening chapters, we have the three independent sources before us, the text can be fairly reconstructed. Moreover, the other versions of "Barlaam and Josaphat" are available to check the Greek form, a critical text of which will be the next desideratum. But where A. is lacking we cannot be so sure. For, generally speaking, "G. is abbreviated, but here and there expanded; while S. is expanded, but here and there abbreviated." Neither has a constant character. Accordingly Harnack has not so high an estimate of G. as it stands, as has its editor. He recognises that not a few passages peculiar to S. are intrinsically probable, and the reasons of omission in G. are evident. His final canon, therefore, here runs as follows:—"Where G. and S. agree, trustworthiness of transmission is as a rule to be recognised: where they differ, G. is preferable, unless the divergence can be traced to the special aim of the romancer. Where S. supplies more than G., the *præjudicium* exists, that S. has introduced the addition, except where the contents of the old Apology have become to the romancer of the seventh century too archaic, and hence uninteresting (this applies specially to ch. xv.). In many cases a trustworthy text of the Apology cannot as yet be constructed."

But the most remarkable result of this find—which in some respects is a sort of second *Didaché*—is the change in chronology which it necessitates. Here Harris and Harnack are at one, as against Robinson, who (in the inevitable absence of G.) tends to accept A.'s title "Imperatorī Cæsari Hadriano," as having the support of Eusebius. The opening in the Syriac is given by Harnack as follows:—*Deinde apologia, quam Aristides philosophus fecit coram Hadriano rege pro cultu dei. Omnipotenti Cæsari Tito Hadriano Antonino Augustis et Clementibus a Marciano Aristide philosopho Atheniensi.* Here the full name of the apologist seems a water-mark of truth, as against Robinson. Then passing by the "mere literary heading" (probably affixed by Eusebius' day), the first *crux* is "omnipotenti," which Harris thinks should be made (against S.'s punctuation) to go with God, holding that even though the S. meant to represent *αὐτοκράτωρ*, Antoninus could not be styled Emperor as well as Cæsar. Now not only is "*Imperatorī Cæsari*" found in A. (both MSS.), but Harnack assures us that Mommsen finds the title formally correct, when the following obvious changes have, as Harris suggests, been made:—(1) the plurals, "*Augustis*," "*Clementibus*," are due to the translator's taking the several names to refer to more than one person: (2) "*et*" must be erased as contrary to usage: (3) *Clemens* represents *Pius*, which then rightly follows *Augustus*.

The upshot therefore is, that it was to Antoninus Pius, in whose name "Hadrian" also occurred, not to Ælius Hadrian, the "Hadrian"

of history, that Aristides addressed his Apology. Without doing more than mention Harnack's impromptu suggestion, that similarly the Trajan, to whose reign tradition refers the martyrdom of Ignatius, was really Trajanus Hadrian, we may notice that the new date fits in with the notice of Melito (Eus., *H. E.*, iv. 26. 10) "that Antoninus Pius did actually write to Athens to suppress (illegal) persecution of the Christians." As to the place of presentation, Harnack is very dubious of Harris's ingenious advocacy of Smyrna.

But what of Quadratus, the traditional *alter ego* of Aristides on the basis of Eusebius in his *Chronicon* and *History*? Harris is inclined, on independent grounds, to accept Jerome's identification of the apologist with Quadratus, Bishop of Athens "in the reign of Antoninus Pius." He feels the freer so to do, now that the proved confusion in the name Hadrian would clear up Jerome's obvious clash with the dating of that Bishop implied in Dionysius' reference to him (Eus., iv., 23. 2.) He thinks that ἀποστόλων ἀκουστής, applied by Eusebius to Quadratus, cannot militate against this view; in that the words "are an evident deduction from the passage which Eusebius quotes from the Apology about the sick people healed by the Lord, 'some of whom continued down to our times.'" But we are glad to find that Harnack refuses here to put aside Eusebius so lightly. For he had certainly read Quadratus; while this is by no means clear as to Aristides, whom he mentions as a mere ditto, though read "even to the present day by a great many persons." Thus we regard as sound an earlier remark of Harris, that "the correct reference to Hadrian for Quadratus' Apology would have furnished a starting-point for the incorrect reasoning with regard to Aristides." May we not add that, to address two apologies to the same emperor on the same occasion, would seem, *à priori*, an unnecessary risk? If, therefore, we had to choose between the known bearers of so common a name, a case could be made for the "prophet" Quadratus, writing of the troubles under Serennius Gracianus—the very "prophetic" character of whose work might well make it fail to maintain its position in the Church.

Be all this as it may, we have here a fresh glimpse into the life and faith of Christians prior to the stage represented by Justin's Apology.

The work consists of seventeen chapters. After an *exordium* (i.) on the God of Providence or Natural Theology, Aristides (ii.) classifies men according to their possession of the truth as to God, into three (G.) or four (A. and S.) races (γένη), viz.: Worshipers of so-called Gods (*al.* Barbarians and Greeks), Jews, Christians—a Christological passage here (in G. at ch. xv.) occurring incidentally. Then follows an indictment of Barbarian religion (iii.), which leads to an exposure of all worship of the Creature, *i.e.*, the elements (iv.-vi.)

and man (vii.). Next the Grecian Olympus is mercilessly lashed, both in general (viii.) and in detail (ix.-xi.); while yet fiercer satire awaits the Egyptian Gods (xii.-xiii.), a section which *primâ facie* fits better into the scheme of G.). A description of Judaism (xiv.) leads the way finally to the Christian faith and life (xv.-xvi.), which rises, after a renewed contrast of the false and the true (S.), into the final appeal for its acceptance (xvii.).

But in using our new treasure, we must be more careful to observe the canons already laid down, than is Harris, when he speaks absolutely of "the friendly tone in which the Jews are spoken of"; or exemplifies its "continuity with Jewish ethics" from a passage not in the Greek; or again relies solely on the Syriac for general facts on the part of the Church for the benefit of its poorer members. And the same may be said as to traces of the Apostolic Symbol, *e.g.*, the unusual "He was crucified *by the Jews*." All these points call for fuller discussion; as does also the possible relation of Celsus to Aristides.

Nor must we fail to mention several questions, raised and ably discussed by Robinson in view of the Greek text in particular. For the bearing of the *Apology* on the Canon, we have, *e.g.*, p. 110, l. 21, (τοῦτο) ἐκ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς καλουμένης εὐαγγελικῆς [ἀγίας] γραφῆς ἔξεστὶ σοι γινῶναι, βασιλεῦ, ἐὰν ἐντύχῃς: but "there are no direct quotations from the New Testament, although the Apologist's diction is undoubtedly coloured at times" thereby, especially by the Epistle to the Romans. "The *Apology* and the *Didaché*," is another topic, whereby a fresh link in the history of the "Two Ways" seems laid bare. The negative form of the Golden Rule here occurs once again, and this time in a form nearest to Acts xv. 20, 29, in Codex Bezae. Robinson also discusses at length the relation of "Aristides" to the *Preaching of Peter* in the light of the *Sibylline Oracles*, the *Epistle to Diognetus*, and Celsus; and concludes that the latter knew the *Preaching* or our *Apology*.

It only remains to add that Harris prints the Syriac together with notes; while Robinson gives the Greek according to three MSS., with such variants as are at present accessible, and furnishes a convenient index of Greek words. Altogether it is an *editio princeps* of which Cambridge may justly be proud, and for which all will be sincerely grateful.

VERNON BARTLET.

**The Church : Her Ministry and Sacraments.**

*By Henry J. Van Dyke, D.D., Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn. London: Nisbet & Co. Pp. 265. Price 7s. 6d.*

WE have in this book of 265 pp. a course of lectures delivered last year at Princeton Theological Seminary. Numerous annotations and an appendix of longer notes have added considerably to the original value of the course. The book contains also a fairly complete index. In the main, the lectures are a popular exposition and defence of the chapters of the Westminster Confession which deal with the church and the sacraments; but other parts of the Presbyterian church-system are incidentally discussed, sometimes with remarkable freedom. The successive topics are the holy, catholic church, the kingdom of Christ, the unity of the visible church, the church-membership of infants, ordination to the ministry, the Lord's Supper, and the administration of the sacraments. The last lecture is somewhat miscellaneous in character; which may account for its not preceding the lecture on the Lord's Supper. At all events, with this exception, the order followed is that in which the topics are presented in the Confession. No one can fail to recognise the marked ability of these lectures. The lecturer has established his right to speak on such subjects not only by a long pastoral experience with abundant opportunities of studying and testing principles, but by a careful study of recent English and American literature. He would have added largely to the value of his lectures on the kingdom of Christ and the holy, catholic church, if he had been equally well acquainted with German literature on the doctrine of the church and its relation to the kingdom of God. Most of these lectures have the charm that lies in definiteness of thought, clearness of exposition, and vigour of style. Dr Van Dyke's criticism, while it is always trenchant, is apt to be a trifle too dogmatic. "The eternal fitness of things" is not a convincing argument when "proof texts are not conclusive." Surely in default of conclusive Scriptural proof that none but "a minister of the word lawfully ordained" may administer the sacraments, it would have been more reasonable to treat this principle as merely a matter of church order. But Dr Van Dyke's views of the church, the ministry, and the sacraments are "high," as he thinks, in the sense in which the doctrine of the Confession is so. Of course, he has absolutely no sympathy with what he aptly calls "mechanical religion." No one would contend more strenuously than he for the inwardness of true religion. But though he has read Dr Walker's *Scottish Theology and Theologians* he does not appear to have realised the serious danger of externalis-

ing religion that lies in the Confessional doctrine of the visible church. The Confession certainly stops short of Dr Van Dyke's statement that the Holy Spirit was "given to the visible church at her inauguration on the day of Pentecost as a permanent endowment." And how shall we characterise the statement that "there is no essential difference between the definitions of the visible church given by Christians of all denominations, except that which relates to the supremacy of the Pope"? Dr Van Dyke is quite aware of the "fatal imposture and force of words," and yet he is ready to run risks with such expressions as "sacramental grace," the "grace of orders," and "apostolic succession." On the other hand his views of church government, and of worship, are much less rigid than those held by the Westminster divines. The *jus divinum* of Presbyterianism is summarily dismissed as inconsistent with a candid interpretation and application of the first chapter of the Confession. "The puritan principle, that nothing is to be permitted in our worship which is not expressly commanded or sanctioned in Scripture, is itself contrary to both the examples and the precepts of Scripture." He is so impressed with the importance of the unity of the church that he is prepared within limits to subordinate to it differences in church-government and worship, and even in doctrine. He would accept the Lambeth proposals as the basis of reunion, if only the "historic episcopate" could be held as not implying that diocesan bishops are the sole depositaries of the grace of orders and the exclusive channels of its transmission. The least satisfactory of all the lectures is that on the "holy, catholic church." The relation between the visible and the invisible church is perplexed rather than explained. They are not two churches but one church under two distinct characters, one organism in two aspects; and yet he contends that "the visible church is just as much a true church as the invisible." Nay, the visible church is externally united to Christ for the sake of the invisible; and, again, this "mixed society" of real and nominal Christians "is the true Church." This is just the see-saw so common in Protestant books on the doctrine of the Church. The surprising thing is to find it in an aggravated form in one who can be so clear in thought and statement as Dr Van Dyke. The mischief comes from that low view of the visible church which finds its essential character in the mere profession of the true religion, a view which our author practically assumes and then proceeds to defend. The invisible church is to him a purely dogmatic conception; he has forgotten to explain its practical value. Here at least, and the remark has other applications, Dr Van Dyke raises more questions than he settles.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

**Presbyterian Forms of Service.**

*Issued by the Devotional Service Association in connection with the United Presbyterian Church. Edinburgh, 1891. Price 2s. 6d. net.*

THIS little work is one of the many evidences that there is a general and growing conviction among the ministers of almost all branches of the Presbyterian Church on both sides of the Atlantic that the subject of the order and methods of Public Worship demands at present special consideration and study. This conviction is combined, on the part of those who have hitherto come forward in the movement, with a strong belief in the duty and privilege of free prayer in the public worship of God, and a resolute opposition to anything in the least approaching to a compulsory liturgy such as we have in the Anglican and Romish Communions.

The views to which we refer were ably represented at the "General Presbyterian Councils" of Philadelphia (1880), Belfast (1884), and London (1888), by such men as the late President Hitchcock of New York, Dr Stalker of Glasgow, Dr Brown of Paisley, the late M. Bersier of Paris, and President Apple of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. The papers and discussions on this subject recorded in the Reports of these Councils are well worthy of being studied.

So far as Scottish Presbyterianism is concerned, the lead in this matter has been taken by the "Church Service Society," founded some twenty-five years ago in connection with the Established Church. Their "Euchologion, or Book of Common Order," published in 1867, is now in its 6th edition, and has had a powerful influence, especially among the younger ministers of the Church. In 1882 was founded the "Devotional Service Association in connection with the United Presbyterian Church," one of whose publications is now before us. In May last a "Worship Association" was formed in connection with the Free Church of Scotland, having for its general object "to promote the ends of edification, order, and reverence in family and social worship, and in the public services of the Church, in accordance with Scripture principles, and in the light especially of the experience and practice of the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian system."

The little volume before us is avowedly tentative in its character, and should be judged accordingly. As such it deserves cordial commendation. It is a noteworthy contribution towards the right solution of a question which has many sides, and which will require in Scotland long and careful study outside the Church courts before any practical proposals are sufficiently ripened to be submitted, as the preface to these "Forms" suggests, to "the Supreme Court," that it may "wisely and effectually deal with the whole subject."

The object of this work is not to supply prayers and other offices to be read by ministers, but simply to shew by concrete examples what the chief topics and general order of prayer should be under the existing system of public worship in the United Presbyterian Church, and how the various other parts of service, ordinary and special, may be suitably conducted. It is, so far, a shortened and revised edition of the Westminster "Directory for the Public Worship of God," adapted to the present day.

Our limits forbid detailed comments. Generally, we may say that the strong points of this little work are the good sense and sobriety of thought and expression which characterise it as a whole, the evangelical warmth, depth, and reverence which specially mark several of the prayers, the recognition of the place of *silent* prayer, both in the ordinary service of the Lord's Day and at the Communion, the audible repetition of the Lord's Prayer, and of the amen at the close of all the prayers, the congregational response at the Ordination Service, and after the prayer of thanksgiving and consecration at the Lord's Supper, and the repetition of the Apostles' Creed in the service for dedication of a Church. As to minor defects, which we would respectfully commend to the consideration of the editors, in view of a second edition, we may note the occasional use of superfluous epithets and phrases, *e.g.*, "We have *wilfully* done that which thou hast forbidden, and have *selfishly* omitted that which thou hast commanded," where there is an inevitable contrast with the noble simplicity and strength of the corresponding clause in the "General Confession" of the Anglican liturgy. The marriage service is undoubtedly a "*crux liturgorum*." But the forms given here seem to us to fall below the general level of the book. Let future editors beware of "the chaste espousals of Boaz and Ruth" (p. 107), and a few similar touches scattered through the volume.

D. D. BANNERMAN.

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ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΙΚΑΙ ΜΕΛΕΤΑΙ ὑπὸ ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ Π.  
 ΜΟΣΧΟΥ Δ.Φ. ἔτος πρῶτον ἀπὸ 1 Ἀπριλίου 1891.  
 ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐκ τοῦ τυπογραφείου "ὁ Παλαμήδης," 1891.  
*Price 5s. per annum.*

WE have before us, under the above title of *Christian Meditations*, the weekly issues since April of a paper published in Athens, and conducted by Dr Xenophon P. Moschow. It is a new venture, and is, we should imagine, quite unique of its kind. The Editor, who is also apparently sole contributor, has been moved by the great dearth which prevails in Greece of anything like evangelical literature, and has adopted this method of setting the great truths



of the Gospel before his countrymen. He does so with uncommon force and clearness, as might be expected of a man who is by religious persuasion a Presbyterian, who has studied theology in Scotland, who is a doctor of philosophy of the University of Athens, and who writes, with no little grace and simplicity of style and with really few deviations from the ancient models, the language of Plato and Paul. As regards the substance of these *Meditations*, they might be sermons of Mr Spurgeon or Mr Moody translated into modern Greek, they are so distinctly evangelical and practical in their character. For instance, we notice that the first and introductory *Meditation* is entitled ὁ Χριστιανισμὸς εἶναι δύναμις (Christianity is power), and the text is taken with special reference to Romans i. 16, "The Gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." It is interesting to the classical scholar to find Dr Moschow tracing the word *εὐαγγέλιον* through its meaning of *reward for good tidings* in Homer and the Attic writers, to its meaning of *good tidings* without the idea of reward or gift, which it bears in writers after the times of Alexander the Great, and in the New Testament, where it characterises the blessed truth that "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish but have everlasting life." There is not much of such reference, as Dr Moschow has an intensely practical end in view, but enough to give a classical flavour to his earnest and forcible discourse. Another *Meditation* entitled *Θεραπεία τῆς ἁμαρτίας*, discourses upon the remedy for sin under these three suggestive heads—1. *Διάγνωσις*. 2. *Θεραπεία*. 3. *Δίαιτα*. There is no need to commend these discourses to English readers for their doctrinal teaching, seeing that we have happily so many preachers who proclaim the old, old story of the Gospel with freshness and power. But we may commend them to scholars as admirable specimens of modern Greek. Addressed as they are to the better educated, they strike the happy mean between the modern Greek style which affects too closely the old Attic models, and the colloquial style of the newspaper. The scholar who has kept up his Greek by occasional dips into Thucydides or Plato or the tragedians, and who is thoroughly versed in his Greek New Testament, would be able to read these *Μελέται* with his feet on the fender. The author deserves every encouragement in his work. There is no great demand for such teaching in Greece. We observe in an *ἀνακοίνωσις* on the last page of the first number, that Dr Moschow put off the issue from September to April because of the want of subscribers. We trust his paper is now beyond the tentative stage and fairly on the way to an assured circulation. There must be readers of this *Review* who would be glad to make some acquaintance with modern Greek through such a

pleasant medium, and who would at the same time rejoice to further a cause so worthy. They might intimate their wish to become subscribers (5s. per annum is all) to Mr Charles Robertson, late of the Indian Civil Service, Redfern, Colinton Road, Edinburgh, who has lately made a tour through Greece, and knows Dr Moschow well. If further recommendation of Dr Moschow is necessary, we need only mention that when the late Dr A. N. Somerville preached at Athens and Piræus on his eastern tour in 1884-85, it was Dr Moschow who acted as the venerable evangelist's interpreter.

THOMAS NICOL.

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### Kanon und Text des Alten Testamentes.

*Dargestellt von Dr. Franz Buhl, Ord. Prof. der Theologie zu Leipzig. Leipzig: Akademische Buchhandlung. 1891. Pp. 262. 6 Mk.*

It would be difficult to find a more comprehensive, succinct, and lucid digest of the results of recent study of the Old Testament canon and text than is given in this volume. Instead of bewildering us with a crowd of discordant opinions, the author sifts the evidence and indicates the right conclusion. His tone is eminently free and impartial. He is no slave to tradition, and no lover of novelty for its own sake. The discussion in the text is kept clear by the relegation of further references and quotations to supplementary paragraphs. These paragraphs are a perfect mine of exact, detailed information.

The history of the Old Testament canon is traced first among the Jews, and then in the Christian Church. The Jewish portion, again, includes both the Palestinian canon and the Alexandrine "collection" of sacred books. The latter phrase is noteworthy as signalling the absence from Alexandrine Judaism of such a strict view of the canon as obtained in Palestine. The references to the doubts raised about the books of Esther, Canticles and the Preacher are not without interest in relation to modern controversies.

Perhaps the most valuable portion of the book is the one dealing with the history of the text. The information given in brief compass about printed editions, manuscripts, variants, the Massorah, the ancient versions, is of the greatest interest. We would specially note the account of the Massorah and the Alexandrine version. These are models of precise and careful statement. The accounts of the other Greek versions, of the Vulgate, the Syriac version, and the Jewish Targums are only less valuable.

The second section of the second part deals more briefly with the external and internal history of the text, expounding such points as the history of the Hebrew letters, the origin of the vowel-signs and accents, the divisions of the text.

J. S. BANKS.

**A Biography of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher.**

*By Wm. C. Beecher and the Rev. Samuel Scoville, assisted by Mrs Henry Ward Beecher. New and Cheaper Edition. London: Sampson, Low, Marston & Co. 8vo. Pp. 714. Price 10s. 6d.*

THIS is a bulky volume of upwards of 700 pages, but considering the scale on which biographies are now written, it cannot be pronounced too large for its subject. The execution of the work is on the whole praiseworthy. Diligence, candour, and a high moral tone are everywhere discernible, but the literary qualities are not equal to the ethical. The style is unaffected and manly, but is deficient in ease, variety, and force. Not the least important part of the duty of the authors was to select from the large store of materials at their command, such passages as would allow Mr Beecher to speak for himself. These have, as a whole, been chosen with sound judgment, but they are sometimes too long, and occasionally introduce points not strictly relevant. But we greatly regret that most of Mr Beecher's letters have been reserved for a separate volume.

The biography will certainly not detract from Mr Beecher's fame. It states hardly anything regarding him which was not more or less known, but it brings out the various aspects of his many-sided character, and sets them in their due place. Like separate stars grouped into a constellation, the different qualities of his nature appear the brighter when put into their true relations. It is, indeed, no common figure which stands out from these pages. A rich, sunny, and versatile nature; a sweet temper; dauntless courage, a vigorous intellect, an exuberant imagination; abounding wit and humour; extraordinary eloquence; a heart burning with love to God and man—such were the chief endowments of Mr Beecher. There is, however, one feature of his character as revealed in the life, which was not fully realised even by his most intimate friends. This man, so sensitive and so confiding, and who felt himself so strengthened by the sympathy of his fellows, bore his injuries and sorrows alone, unwilling to burden the hearts of those who loved him most. With exceeding thoughtfulness and rare self-repression, he resolved that they should remain ignorant of the load he had to carry. He preferred to receive into his own breast the wounds which would else have reached others; he would himself become the victim rather than allow others to suffer. This fact is the key to his actions during that portion of his life known as "The Scandal," and is the explanation of those great but noble errors into which he was then led.

Mr Beecher's father was a distinguished minister, and gave his son the usual education of a student for the ministry. At College

and in the Hall he showed no special aptitude for scholarship, but was unequalled as a speaker and debater. His contemporaries seem to have recognised from the first his extraordinary powers of apt and forcible speech. After licence, he took the first charge which offered itself—the pastorate of a congregation of twenty poor and illiterate members at Lawrenceburg, with a stipend of three hundred dollars. On the eve of his ordination, he married the wife who, throughout his whole career, was a source of such strength and peace to him, and whom he loved with all the passion of his impassioned nature. He laboured upwards of two years in Lawrenceburg, and then accepted a call to Indianapolis, the capital of the State, now a large and flourishing city, but then scarcely more than a village, with a population of about four thousand. Here he published his “Lectures to Young Men.”

After a most successful ministry of eight years, he consented, chiefly on the score of his wife's health, to undertake the charge of a new congregation that had just been formed in Brooklyn. Towards the end of 1847, he entered on the duties of his new sphere, and speedily attracted public notice by the freedom with which he expressed his opinions, whether popular or unpopular, and by the zeal, wisdom, eloquence, and power with which he spoke. He early reached, and never lost, that unequalled popularity as a preacher, which made his name a household word within and beyond the States. But it was impossible for him to be merely a preacher. He had all those qualities which enable a man to render eminent services to the State, and hence he felt compelled to take an active part in the discussion and settlement of the public questions of the day. It was not long before the people of the States recognised that in the minister of Brooklyn they had a man in whose patriotism, unselfishness, insight, and capacity they could repose confidence, and whose counsels on public affairs were bolder, more statesman-like, and more in harmony with truth and righteousness than those of the majority of politicians. For many years there were vast multitudes, who, in answer to the question: “Who is the most representative citizen of the United States?” would have replied: “Henry Ward Beecher.”

No man who ever listened to Mr Beecher could deny his title to be called a great, nay, one of the greatest of preachers. What, then, gave his words such power? He was in the first place an orator. He possessed a rich, flexible, penetrating voice, of which he had a boundless command. He could draw on its resources with the ease and confidence with which the organist draws on his instrument. Every mood of mind and heart was reflected in his tones. His appearance and gestures enhanced the effects produced by his voice. His open, sunny, and expressive face, his natural and striking ges-

tures won confidence and admiration. But his intellectual and emotional qualifications were not inferior to his physical. A wide knowledge of the human heart, a keen and vivid sympathy with man, copiousness and fluency of language, wit, humour, imagination—were all blended in his nature. But towering high above these were the lofty character and aims of the man himself. It was the man within and behind those great qualities and endowments which made him the brilliant and effective preacher. The end for which he lived was to enlist men in the service of Christ, and to fill them with that intense, impassioned, and enduring devotion to Him which swelled his own heart. Christ crucified was to him Christianity, and his aim was to unfold and apply the lessons of the life and teaching of Christ to the minds and souls of men. It is not surprising that, endowed so highly, he preached with extraordinary effect. Men heard and admired; but they did more, they repented and followed Jesus.

Mr Beecher preached extempore. His special preparation was begun only about two hours before he had to enter his pulpit. His mind was at ease as soon as he saw clearly the principal stages of the road he meant to take. He was aware that the presence of his audience would evoke all his faculties, and enable him to discover at a glance the main stages of his way. As was to be expected with such a method of preparation, many of his most striking thoughts and expressions were born of the moment. They came to him; he uttered them; and straightway forgot them. Few preachers comparatively are able to follow such an example, more especially in its details. There can, however, be no doubt that the best and most effective sermons are those which most closely resemble speeches—which are, in fact, Christian speeches on Christian topics—and that the number of ministers who can and should preach extempore might be largely increased. There is hardly a minister who could not name several of his friends who, he is confident, would, with the necessary pains and practice, make excellent extemporaneous preachers. How many ministers wish that they could carry with them to the pulpit the ease and self-command with which they speak at a prayer-meeting? Is there an essential difference between the pulpit and the desk? Does the elevation of a few feet render the brain less active and the tongue less fluent? A little courage and patience would soon enable the minister who speaks out of a full mind in unpremeditated language at a prayer-meeting, with pleasure to himself and benefit to his hearers, to preach with the same results from his pulpit.

Mr Beecher's sermons were remarkable for their variety. Perhaps no great preacher of any age spoke on so many different topics. He claimed the right to discuss all questions from the standpoint of

Christianity, and by example and precept did perhaps more than any man to broaden man's conceptions of the range of subjects which the pulpit might lawfully embrace. His method of treatment was also varied. It depended partly on the nature of the theme and partly on his mind at the time. But whether he was expounding, illustrating, enforcing, appealing, condemning, commanding, or doing all these in one and the same sermon, his prevailing aim was to effect an immediate impression: to constrain his audience to act. Every sermon he preached was preached with an object. He spoke to influence conduct as directly as a public man speaks to influence opinion.

Much has been written regarding Mr Beecher's theology and regarding his want of theology. He was certainly no systematic thinker. His intellect was intuitive rather than discursive, and he had neither the speculative power nor the learning to combine and co-ordinate truths into a system. His experience as a student and young minister during the conflict of the Old and New School Presbyterianism led him to recoil from elaborate schemes of doctrine. At a later period he felt that the system in which he had been educated did not do justice to those views of God's nature and character which were revealed in Christ, and he accordingly ceased to preach it. But it is untrue to say that Mr Beecher had no strong convictions. The articles of his creed were few but vital. They were part of his very life, wrought into the very texture of his soul. The Love of God, the Divinity of Christ, Pardon in Christ, the need of Regeneration, Regeneration only possible through Christ—these were some of the truths which he habitually taught, and by the teaching of which he won men for Christ. However defective his creed, it was certainly effective.

The question whether his sermons will live is not easily answered. They are not distinguished by any special grace of style. The language is sometimes harsh and inelegant, and the structure of the sentences and paragraphs careless. On the other hand, their teaching is pure and lofty, and they abound with passages full of striking imagery, sound sense, keen sagacity, deep insight, soaring aspiration, and rapturous love. They are worthy to live, and will, we hope and believe, be read for a long time to come. But whether they live or not as literature, they are the torches at which the torches of many preachers have directly or indirectly been kindled.

It is impossible here to do more than refer in a few sentences to the public life of Mr Beecher. His capacity, the might of his character, and the splendour of his eloquence, made him one of the greatest political forces in the States. His alliance was courted, his hostility dreaded, by statesmen. In all he did he sought the honour and welfare of his country, and he believed that its honour and

welfare could only be promoted by integrity, purity, liberty, and love. He was an early and conspicuous advocate of the cause of total abstinence. He pled for the abolition of slavery at a time when to do so endangered a man's influence, and even his personal safety. There are no more affecting pages in his *Life* than the many which describe his exertions, by tongue, pen, and purse, for the destruction of slavery. During the Civil War he was an ardent supporter of vigorous measures for the suppression of the South, and constantly urged on the Government the duty of emancipation. He visited England and Scotland while the war was raging, and did much to change the current of men's views regarding its nature and issues. And when the war was over, no tongue was so active or so eloquent as his in pleading for a policy of generosity and conciliation. There was scarcely a question of public policy or morality with which he did not deal, exposing what was base, selfish, and degrading, and calling for its destruction.

We heartily commend this volume to the attention of our readers for the light it throws on the character and attainments of one of the greatest preachers of the world, who was at the same time one of the greatest public men of the United States; for the historical information it furnishes on many points of great importance, and for its pleasant sketches of early frontier life, with its simplicity and purity, its hardships and its joys.

WILLIAM PATRICK.

### **The Two Kinds of Truth, or the Two Spheres of Truth : A Test of other Theories.**

*By T. E. S. T., an Old Life Member of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Second Edition, with New Introduction. London: T. Fisher Unwin. Cr. 8vo. Price 7s. 6d.*

THE title of this book invites criticism. We have been accustomed to think of Truth as one, as God is one, and the universe is one. Can there be *two kinds* of Truth? The author anticipates this criticism in the second edition of his book by explaining that by *two kinds* of Truth he means *two Spheres* of Truth. His contention is that all facts of knowledge may be classified as either Universal, that is, Necessary Truth, or Natural, that is, Arbitrary, Truth.

The distinction is now an old one, and it has brought with it in the history of thought gain or loss as its terms have been interpreted. What is new in this book is this—that the author claims the distinction as a Preliminary Test, to which all theories shall be subjected, and by means of which they shall be arranged.

An example from the Sphere of Nature, and of Ethics, and of Metaphysics will illustrate his position.

Take Nature. That which has neither Social Life nor Consciousness belongs to the natural Sphere of Truth ; that which has both, to the Universal Sphere. Hence *Evolution of Species* may be possible, but *Evolution of Thought* is impossible. Again, take Ethics. In man there are Instinct-Motives, such as Animal Appetites ; and Mind-Motives, such as Deliberate Convictions. The former belong to the Natural Sphere of Truth, the latter to the Universal. Hence for man *Freedom* is possible. Once again take Metaphysic. Material Organism is of the Natural Sphere ; Spiritual Life of the Universal. Man has both, hence *Immortality*.

This division is in no sense the author's, but it serves to illustrate his mode of procedure.

It will be said that the author "protests too much." There is a danger lest the criterion become a *Deus ex Machina*, and it is open to an Evolutionist and a Determinist and a Materialist to say "I deny the premises." There is truth in this, and it may be doubted if the author is sufficiently alive to the danger that lies in the subjectivity of his method. But all his positions are carefully and candidly reasoned. The deeper question remains—Whether it is worth while to expend labour in discussing *Metaphysical* questions *Psychologically*? The heart of the Problem of Knowledge and the heart of the Problem of Ethics is the question of the nature and the function of the self, and that is ultimately not a *Psychological*, but a *Metaphysical* question.

In his discussion of Scientific and Psychological Problems, every one will follow the author's arguments and illustrations with interest. The book is full of information. It consists of thirty-seven lectures, and in the course of these nearly every great question that has moved the human mind is referred to. The discursive manner in which it is written,—it abounds in illustration and quotation and anecdote,—makes it difficult at times for the student to follow the trend of its thought, but probably this will make it more attractive to "ordinary readers." For such, the author tells us, he has written, and the fact that a second edition has been called for within a year shews that the book has been appreciated. There is a good index.

ROBERT S. SIMPSON.



**Essays, Reviews, and Addresses.**

*By James Martineau, Hon. LL.D. Harv., S.T.D. Ludg. Bat., D.D. Edin., D.C.L. Oxon. Selected and revised by the Author.*  
*II.—Ecclesiastical: Historical. London: Longmans, Green & Co. Crown 8vo, pp. vi., 576. Price 7s. 6d.*

THE interesting volume of Personal and Political papers which Dr Martineau published last year, has been followed by a volume of even greater interest, in which he reproduces his earlier thoughts on various questions of importance, both ecclesiastical and historical. *Church and State, Europe since the Reformation, Alexandria and her Schools, The Unitarian Position, The Crisis of Faith, The New Affinities of Faith*, are among the subjects discussed. Dr Martineau's own theological views colour many of his papers, and give them their highest value. But most important of all in this respect is the essay entitled *A Way out of the Trinitarian Controversy*.

The reissue of this famous article may revive a discussion deeply affecting the mutual relations of two great divisions of religious thought and life. When first published it fell like a bolt from the empyrean, producing something like consternation in Unitarian ranks, and no little amazement in Trinitarian circles. That Unitarians had for ages, without knowing it, been worshipping, not the Father, but the co-eternal "Son"; that in a certain sense the Father is *really absent from the Unitarian Creed* (the italics are Dr Martineau's); that it is in Him (the Son) that Unitarians put their faith, "though under another name"; and that "then they are at one with all Christendom in the very focus and fervour of its religious life":—these were statements, coming from such an authority, as startling to Unitarian as to Trinitarian ears.

Yet no impartial reader of Dr Martineau's pages can doubt that much of what he says both of Unitarian and Trinitarian conceptions is true. The crudest notions of the Deity are widely prevalent. "Too probably," he says, "many a disciple, unschooled in the fine distinctions of a Greek theology, thinks of the Father chiefly as the God prior to the plan of the Incarnation, of the Son as the historical figure, of the Holy Ghost as the agent sent on the day of Pentecost to take the place of the ascended Christ. He fancies these acting each on the other as outside beings, and conducting a divine drama among themselves."

Dr Martineau deals fairly, and if keenly and profoundly, yet not altogether fully and satisfactorily, with Trinitarian conceptions of the Godhead as they are embodied in the Nicene Creed. To reach the "Father" you must get in thought into the "primeval solitude," go "from a full universe to an empty one," to "the poised and

brooding cloud, 'the hiding place of thunder,' whence the lightning is to flash." This "dormant potency, this infinite faculty, this perfection that hangs back and *is* but does not breathe, . . . is the 'Father': the anterior source of that which waits to be." This is Dr Martineau's rendering of the *πηγή θεότητος*, the 'Ον of the Platonists. "Let now the silence be broken, let the thought burst into expression, fling out the poem of creation, evolving its idea in the drama of history, and reflecting its own image in the soul of man; then this *manifested phase* of the Divine existence is *the Son* . . . the *Word* or utterance of an otherwise *mute* Infinitude. . . . The first is God in his primeval essence; . . . the second is God speaking out in phenomena and fact."

He seems to admit and ably explains the doctrine of the co-eternity of the Son with the Father. This, however, Clement (of Alexandria), Origen and others, had done in the early ages of the controversy. "Where is the filiation if both have ever been contemporary? What spoken word is that which does not *follow on* the thought it speaks? I believe, however," he adds with conspicuous candour, "that every thoughtful man will find himself entangled in the very same contradiction, with no happier escape. . . . Did he *ever* 'leave himself without a witness' and expression? . . . We have to confess that, seek him in what hiding-place of duration we may, there already is some vestige of his mind . . . his *Word* is *eternal as Himself*."

The separation of the Third Personality from the others, Dr Martineau tells us, "is founded on a feeling deep and true, viz., that the human spirit is not a mere part of nature" . . . "there is something diviner within us"—"akin in freedom, in power, in love to the Supreme Mind himself. . . . In virtue of this . . . we need not control simply . . . but *living communion*, like with like, spirit with spirit. To open this communion, to bring this help and sympathy to breathe on the fading consciousness of our heavenly affinity, and make us One with the Father and the Son, is the function . . . reserved . . . for the Holy Ghost."

It will thus be seen that Dr Martineau perceives a possible mode of reconciling *some* theory of a Trinity with his own distinctive doctrine of the Divine Unity; and as Trinitarians are not tritheists, but contend for unity in the Godhead as earnestly as Dr Martineau himself, there can be no *primâ facie* case, with the co-eternal Sonship as a basis of discussion, against the probabilities of success. That he should succeed must be the wish and prayer of all who worship the Father through the Son, and by the grace of the Holy Spirit. To gain so desirable an end it might be worth while in the interests of union to let many time-honoured, but not Scripture-begotten, phrases and definitions, much in use on both sides, go by

the board ; nay, to re-open the controversy itself, that the breach made in the third century may be healed in our times.

Dr Martineau, it must be confessed, deals with the crucial point of his problem with plainness and characteristic courage. "Now," he asks, having given his own definition of the "Orthodox" Trinity, "with which of these three does the One object of the Unitarians' worship coincide? Both they and their opponents will at once reply—*with the Father*. I venture to give a different answer, and to say, *with the Son*. True, we do not *name* Him so. . . . But if, freeing yourself from the snare of words, you will look at what the words denote, you will correct your first impression. . . . Everything that you" (Unitarians) "can say to convey a just conception of your God—that he spread the heavens,—that he guided Israel,—that he dwelt in the Human Christ, . . . *all* you will discover registered among the characters of the Son. It is in *Him*, therefore, among the objects of your church-neighbour's faith, that your belief is placed ; . . . you omit the first Person, and begin with the Second." . . . "The Father . . . *is really absent from the Unitarian creed*. . . . He who is the Son in the one creed is the Father in the other ; and the two are agreed, not indeed by any means *throughout*, but in that which constitutes the pith and kernel of both faiths. Let the advocates of each compare them together from this point of view, with mind open, not to words only, but to the real thoughts they contain, and with temper sensitive to sympathy rather than to divergency, and there is hope that we may yet all come into the unity of faith, and true knowledge of the Son of God."

Unless then we are utterly mistaken as to the scope and drift of Dr Martineau's arguments and teaching here, he is apparently willing that the points of difference between the Unitarian and "Orthodox" Churches should be discussed on the basis of the "Eternal Sonship." If this be so, it is unquestionably a great advance upon the Unitarianism of Channing and other leading exponents of that creed in the past. The co-eternal Sonship has ever been held by them as entirely subversive of the doctrine of the Divine Unity, in spite of Trinitarian protests to the contrary. The three Personalities of our Trinity were represented as three Gods. We were at one with them only when we worshipped the Father. But this discovery that they have all along been unconsciously worshipping the Son, and ignoring the Supreme Essence, of whom the Son is the Eternal Manifestation, and who now waits for their intellectual recognition and heartfelt acknowledgment, has entirely altered the conditions of the controversy. There is now a "Way Out" of our misunderstanding and estrangement. The difference between the Hebrew "Jehovah," in whom we meet and worship together, and Christ, is all that separates us from the unity of the faith. This is a "platform" of prelimin-

any agreement that has never been reached before ; and the warmest acknowledgments are due to Dr Martineau's candour and courage for the fact.

There are two thoughts, each suggestive of hopefulness as to a practical issue of this discussion, that have, no doubt, occurred to most readers of Dr Martineau's striking article. The first is that it is impossible for Dr Martineau, and those whom he represents, to rest satisfied with their present position ; a "*manifested phase* of the Divine Existence" cannot be a permanent object of worship. Picture it to our minds under what imagery we may,—as of the ocean in its tides, or light and heat in their radiations, as the lightning born of "the poised and brooding cloud,"—it is too transitory and evanescent, too liable to be superseded by the next "*manifestation*," to afford rest for thought or worship. The soul pants for the living God ; not only for what He does, or what He gives, or even what He promises, but for what He is in Himself ; and no *phase* of work or character that does not reveal completeness of personality will ever satisfy the immortal human spirit. It is this which makes "Robert Elsmereism" impossible.

The other thought is that Dr Martineau, in his soaring soul-flight into "primeval solitudes," has carried with him rather the eye of the scientist and philosopher than that which his life-study of Biblical phenomena should have taught him to use. Another eye, enlightened by that Spirit who has given all heavenly visions, would have seen in that centre of Infinitude,—within "that poised and brooding cloud,"—the form of One who can only be described in inadequate human language as the "Eternally Begotten of the Father," his "glorious brightness," the "Son of God." Instead of mental imagery, borrowed from Nature and the material universe, why should we not use the analogies of revelation ? That we may, in some degree, penetrate the mystery of Godhood—our eternal study—God has initiated us by the mystery of Manhood. A body, soul, and rational spirit make up our three-one humanity. We are made in the image of our Maker. Our life comes from the Supreme Source of all life—the Father ; our body is framed after the image of the Son,—one day to be fashioned like unto His glorious body,—and our rational spirit bears the impress of the Divine Spirit,—that, too, has to be recreated by His power. Why then should we not conceive of Deity after the analogy of his Image ? Why should we not think of the Supreme Eternal Life-Source as embodied and expressed in the ever visible Son—the only Image of the Invisible God,—and diffusing spirit and intelligence in His creatures through the ever quickening Holy Ghost ? Such a Divine Unity is as conceivable, and with our Bible-taught experience as credible, as that of Dr Martineau's "*manifested phases* of the Divine Existence."

But whether we adopt this or any other analogy—and they are all imperfect—once grant the Eternal Sonship as the basis of discussion, and the problem of many ages is soluble. There is then a way out of the controversy.

R. BALGARNIE.

## **Die Komposition der Paulinischen Hauptbriefe. I. Der Römer—und Galaterbrief.**

*Von Daniel Völter. Tübingen: Heckenhauersche Buchhandlung. 8vo, pp. iii., 175. Price M. 2.40.*

THE Pauline authorship of the epistles to the Romans, Corinthians i., ii., and Galatians, was until recently one of the few points on which the various conflicting schools of New Testament criticism were agreed. Baur and his immediate disciples, not only defended the genuineness of the four epistles, but regarded it as a necessary presupposition for the due understanding of the genesis and growth of primitive Christianity. Of late years, however, partly because the conclusions of the Tübingen school have become doubtful, partly because of the inevitable development of the younger school of "Higher Criticism," the assumption on which the older critics founded their reasoning has been questioned.

The new school professes to rely almost exclusively on internal evidence, and to have obtained therefrom its theory of the genesis and history of original Christianity. Grant the theory, and it follows that the four cardinal epistles cannot possibly have emanated in their present form from St Paul: they must either have passed through sundry revisions and editings, or pursuing logic to its bitter end, be the production of that distinguished limited company of authors which is supposed to have flourished some time towards the middle of the second century. Dr Völter, though perhaps a trifle more conservative than some of his predecessors and colleagues, adopts in the main the method and results of their investigations, and is therefore driven to the same alternative with regard to the writings of St Paul. The first part of the volume which lies before us is devoted to the study of the Epistles to the Romans and to the Galatians. Steck and Loman, by whom Völter appears to have been principally influenced, had already ruled the four epistles out of court. Our author inclines to a compromise, at all events, in the case of the "Romans," but his tone is fully as dogmatic. He knows exactly what St Paul could or could not have said, and what he ought to have said and done, and whenever his own Paul and that of the New Testament come

into collision it requires no prophetic insight to foretell what will happen.

The first suspicious points about the Epistle to the Romans are its length, and the difficulties as to its purport and the composition of the Church to which it was addressed. In the fifth chapter, the author of verse 12, it is argued, could not possibly have written verses 13 and 14; for, having said that death was the punishment of sin, he could not declare afterwards that death reigned from Adam to Moses, though, in the absence of law, sin was not imputed. Again, in the sixth chapter, the fourteenth and fifteenth verses, with their uncalled-for allusion to the law, are pronounced an evident interpolation. The seventh chapter is held to contain two conflicting ideas of the law; in the first part, the law is declared to have brought sin to life; in the second part, the commandment is spoken of as being "holy, and just, and good." The eighth chapter is declared to come from another pen, because it repeats and expands ideas which had been expressed in a former section of the epistle (ch. v.); besides it is inspired by a passage in Corinthians (2 Cor. iv. 5), though somewhat misapplied. The chapters ix.-xi. share the fate of the preceding chapter; there is also a contradiction between the statements in ix. 1-29 and xi.: the former reasons from a determinist point of view, the latter contemplates the subject from an ethical standpoint. The fourteenth and fifteenth chapters down to the 13th verse are copied from the eighth chapter in the first Epistle to the Corinthians. The first twenty verses of ch. xvi. are a later addition. In the end we have the original Epistle of St Paul, as reconstructed by Dr Völter, consisting of ch. i. 1a; i. 7; i. 5, 6; i. 8-17; v., vi. (omitting v. 13, 14; v. 20; vi. 14, 15), xii., xiii.; xv. 14-32; xvi. 21-23, and we see the apostle emerging into the light of day, the preacher of a pure humanitarianism and a lofty moral philosophy, unadulterated by theology and dogma.

Who are the interpolators? for there are at least three of them. The principal one is a Christian Stoic; his Christology and Soteriology are a considerable advance upon the teaching of the original epistle, and foreshadow the doctrines of the fourth evangelist. Of the other two, the first approaches more closely to St Paul than the others, but is distinguished by his strict predestinarianism; the second, the author of the eleventh chapter, is a patriotic Jew, who takes up the cudgels in behalf of his nation against the surrounding Gentiles. All the interpolators are largely indebted to the writings of Seneca and Philo. Dr Völter, who, whenever an idea or phrase is repeated in one of the epistles, describes at once the hand of an interpolator, never pausing to inquire whether the reiteration may not be caused by similarity of subject, or whether the word used, though outwardly the same, may not have a different meaning

attached to it, exercises considerable discretion in dealing with the analogies between the heathen sage or the Jewish philosopher and the Christian apostle. Between the three there are striking resemblances of thought, sentiment, and language. Stoicism has many affinities with Christianity, and nowhere are they more manifest than in the noble Roman, through whose austere philosophy runs a vein of mysticism which might well have attracted St Paul, the Apostle of the religious sentiment. The Alexandrian Plato, from his Jewish antecedents and the spirit which pervades his system, is naturally a spiritual kinsman of the Hebrew teacher of Christianity to the Gentiles. But the existence in two writers of isolated parallel passages containing similar ideas or expressions is no token that one or the other must have been a borrower. "Les beaux esprits se rencontrent" and the chapter of literary coincidences presents many startling curiosities. Besides, as the study of the context frequently shows, a verbal agreement is no guarantee of homogeneity of idea.

A few words on Galatians must suffice. Here, it is asserted, we have not only interpolations, but an altogether spurious production. The unhistorical nature of ch. ii. is sufficient condemnation: the real St Paul could never have spoken or acted as here represented. Equally misleading are the accounts of the Apostle's relation to the Galatians, and of the line of conduct pursued by his opponents. The dogmatic part of the epistle is taken from the Epistles to the Corinthians and Romans. The author is a Paulinist; his epistle is on the whole clumsily put together.

The strictures which Völter passes on others apply to himself. His criticism is of a very subjective kind; his method is vitiated by extreme arbitrariness, and his range of vision is of the most limited description. Pray, give us some breathing room; concede as much freedom to the religious as to the literary genius; allow that the master mind of the inspired Apostle to the Gentiles may have conceived things "in heaven and earth which are not dreamt of in your philosophy."

A. SCHWARTZ.

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UNDER the title of *Ernste Gedanken*,<sup>1</sup> a small pamphlet was published some time ago, which in a few weeks ran through six editions. In the opinion of its enthusiastic admirers, it was to start quite a new movement in modern Protestantism. Its very title-page

<sup>1</sup> *Ernste Gedanken*. Von M. von Egidy, Oberstlieutenant im 1. Sächs. Husaren regiment. Leipzig, Wigand. 8vo., pp. 53. Price M. 0 : 60.

took the reading public by surprise ; for its author was announced to be neither a pastor nor a professor, but a soldier, one of high rank, a Lieutenant-colonel of the Hussars, who claimed to be the mouthpiece of all Protestants of culture. His argumentation, which denies miracle, the Godhead of Christ, and the rights of the Christian Church as an organised institution, is narrow and shallow, but the warm earnestness exhibited throughout the book has secured for the new "reformer" the attention of the adherents of liberal theology and free-thought. A flood of pamphlets attacking or defending the new views has poured down upon its author. Herr von Egidy, giving up his military career and encouraged by his new friends to start a new "Church," has devoted his time and energies to this end. At a meeting held in Berlin in the week following Whitsuntide, most of the leaders of free religious thought, including various representatives of the "Protestanten Verein," made their appearance, expecting to find a powerful helper in Egidy, and an agreement was arrived at on points of negation. But as soon as any proposal was brought forward as to the positive foundation of the new Church, the discussion came to a dead lock, and Egidy saw himself left alone. The movement so far has failed. As the book shows, Herr von Egidy is wanting both in originality and in learning. Religious emotion alone has never yet made a reformer.

In Germany at present, a sceptical movement is at work which is of limited range, but of considerable power. It uses as its instrument a destructive criticism which would leave nothing on which to begin the work of reconstruction. We have an example of this in the volume by Dr Steck, professor of exegesis in the University of Bern, on *Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*.<sup>1</sup> To Steck's critical radicalism the results even of the Tübingen School are baseless. While Baur's historical construction rests on the supposition that Paul's Epistle to the Galatians is an authentic historical source, Steck considers this epistle a pseudepigraphic production. On the other hand, he assigns to those New Testament writings which take in Baur's opinion only the third rank, the honoured place of the Pauline *homologumena*. Thus his results contrast strangely with Baur's. Both have the same matter as their basis of investigation, but its valuation runs in very opposite directions. Baur explains the development of primitive Christianity by the difference between Paul and Christ's first apostles ; Steck, on the contrary, believes in their essential agreement, takes this agreement as his historical basis, and removes the conflict of opinions to a later period. His critique starts from a false standpoint. Paul, he ventures to say, either wrote more than his four epistles (Rom.,

<sup>1</sup> Der Galaterbrief nach seiner Echtheit untersucht von R. Steck. Berlin, Reimer, 386 pp. Price 8 Marks.



Galat., Corinth.), or he wrote nothing of what has been left to us. His theory is that as *the epistles attributed to him cannot all be genuine, it is likely that none of them are genuine.*

In the light of these doubtful, unscientific premises, he examines the Epistle to the Galatians, and denies its genuineness. With it fall Romans and both the Epistles to the Corinthians. In his opinion the Epistle to the Romans is not a work of Paul, but a much later compilation, and the oldest of the four. The Epistles to the Corinthians are derived or compiled from it; Galatians, again, is derived from Romans and Corinthians. All the four are preceded by Acts and the three synoptical Gospels. They are the work of a certain Christian school, and were composed in the first half of the second century. Steck is refuted, and in a very incisive way, by Dr Lindemann, and more especially Dr Gloël.<sup>1</sup>

Zöckler's *Handbook of Theology*<sup>2</sup> has just reached its third edition. This is a learned work, and proceeds on the principle that criticism is both a necessity for biblical truth and its guarantee. It has undergone some important alterations, and may be regarded as the standard work of the moderate orthodox school of German Protestantism. It is of great practical value, furnishing the student, pastor, and scholar in a comparatively small compass with a succinct and clear survey of the whole field of theology in its present state. It is conservative but not reactionary; and it handles its subjects in a very thorough way. It has also the advantage of a good style.

Of Dr Hauck's important German *Church History*<sup>3</sup> the second volume has now been given to the public. By common consent the book is placed among the best works of historical research. It is constructed on the lines laid down by Leopold von Ranke, and in respect of completeness, style, and learning, it deserves to be welcomed not only by German students but by others. While its first volume gives much new information on Bonifacius and the foundation of the Church in Germany, the second volume, covering the 8th and 9th centuries, furnishes a vivid picture of Charles the

<sup>1</sup> Die Echtheit der Paulinischen Hauptbriefe gegen Steck's Umsturzversuch verteidigt, von R. Lindeman. Zurich, 56 p. Price 1 M.—Die jüngste Kritik des Galaterbriefs auf ihre Berechtigung geprüft, von F. Gloël. Erlangen, 96 p. Price 1 M. 80 d.

<sup>2</sup> Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften, unter Mitwirkung von DD. Cremer, Grau, Harnack, Kübel, Luthardt, &c., hrg. von Prof. Dr Zöckler, &c.; 4 voll. 3d edition 1891. (Vol. I. Foundations and Exegetical Theology; Vol. II. Histor. Theol.; Vol. III. Systematic Theol.; Vol. IV. Practical Theology). Price: M. 50:80.

<sup>3</sup> Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, von Albert Hauck. I. u. II. Teil, Leipzig, Hinrichs. Pp. 650 and 758. Price 16 and 14 M.

Great and his influence on his time. Hauck shows how the general progress made in ecclesiastical, political, and social life was due to the initiative, and directed by the interest, of that mighty monarch. In his relations to the Popes of his time, to the doctrinal decisions, to the organisation of ecclesiastical institutions, and to the dissemination of Christian belief and culture, Charles comes out at the head not only of the Church but of occidental Christianity. His death was the worst blow that mediæval Christianity suffered. As long as he lived his powerful will kept the destructive forces of the time in check. After his death these forces were in the ascendant. The "Dissolution of the Imperial Church," which makes up the 5th chapter, and shows the transition of power from the Frankish monarchy to the Roman pontiff, is handled with great power. Of no less value is the closing chapter, in which Dr Hauck sums up the results of his researches into the whole religious and moral life of the time. This work should be translated.

Two valuable additions have been made of late to German periodical religious literature. The *New Church Review*<sup>1</sup> has been started under the editorship of Professor Holzhauser, by Professor Frank and Dr Buchrucker, the leading Lutheran theologians in Bavaria. This review, with quite a number of first-rate writers on its staff, has made an excellent start. It aims at making a firm stand against modern Radicalism as well as Romanism, and making itself the centre for theological study within the Lutheran Church. It handles the theological and ecclesiastical questions of the time from a positive point of view. The introductory article, by Professor Frank, of Erlangen, is an excellent piece of work. The other articles have at their head the names of men well known for their piety and their learning, and for the influence which they exert on the theological thought of Lutheran Germany.

A few months after the birth of this organ, another monthly paper was started by a number of University professors, representing the new school of Ritschlianism. Though conducted by scholars who represent the more theoretical side of theology—Professors Gottschick of Giessen; Kaftan and Harnack of Berlin; Sell, of Darmstadt; Reischle, of Stuttgart; and Hermann of Marburg, this *Journal for Theology and Church*<sup>2</sup> in the main is devoted to the investigation of questions of practical theology. As may be expected from its being in the hands of men of such note in theology, the new review will, no doubt, get the ear of the public. The school of Ritschl, which it represents, has produced able and

<sup>1</sup> Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift. Herausg. von G. Holzhauser. Leipzig, Deichert.

<sup>2</sup> Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, ed. by Prof. Dr. Gottschick, Giessen. Freiburg i. B., J. C. B. Mohr.

earnest scholars, and is still in the ascendant, having secured the adherence of many men of influence in the pulpit and the universities. We cannot speak now of its religious tendency or aspirations; in its present state it makes a powerful defence of enlightened faith against the arbitrariness of negation. In its theology it shows a more practical turn, and endeavours to get a hold of the masses by a somewhat new method of presenting the Gospel.

Though not of a strictly theological character, another new publication may be noticed, namely, *The Art Treasures of Italy*,<sup>1</sup> edited by Dr Karl von Lützow. It should command the favour, not only of lovers of art, but also of the student of Church history. It exhibits in a singular degree the profound influence which religion and theology have exercised on art. It is a magnificent volume, "the standard work of German art-literature." For the moderate price of 55 sh. it offers fifty first-rate etchings and 348 illustrations (engravings and woodcuts representing the best works of the great Italian artists, Church architecture, paintings, monuments, medals, &c.). The text is by Lützow, one of the first art critics in Germany. There is a general agreement as to the sterling value of the work, which does honour to the modern typographical and technical arts.

RUDOLF BUDDENSIEG.

### **Our Father's Kingdom.**

*By Rev. Chas. B. Ross, B.D. T. & T. Clark. Pp. 189.  
Price 2s. 6d.*

### **Short Studies on St Paul's Letter to the Philippians.**

*By Rev. W. L. Ker, M.A. W. Blackwood & Sons. Pp. 276.  
Price 5s.*

### **Summer Sundays in a Strathmore Parish.**

*By Rev. J. G. M'Pherson, M.A. W. Blackwood & Sons. Pp. 215.  
Price 5s.*

### **The Great Alternative.**

*By Rev. Chas. Moinet, M.A. Hodder & Stoughton. Pp. 292.  
Price 5s.*

A SERIES of twelve lectures on the Lord's Prayer make up the first of these volumes. Considerable emphasis is laid on the inter-dependence

<sup>1</sup> Die Kunstschatze Italiens, geschildert von Carl von Lützow. Engelhorn, Stuttgart. Cheap edition. 502 p. folio. Price 55 Mark.

of the several petitions, and the same contributes force to the hortatory matter. The author is wide awake to contemporary thought, and difficulties are seriously discussed. Points in Pantheism are alluded to; and with Christ's teaching he confronts the Socialist. There is, perhaps, no distinct contribution to the questions discussed; but the arguments—of Agnosticism, for example—are freshly put and frankly met. When he thinks of Nature being "red in tooth and claw with ravine," he has his answer (p. 30); nor does he see merely the rosy side of human nature. He acknowledges facts, and is not dismayed. The lectures are generally wholesome reading; terse, and sometimes chaste in their expression. Many will decline to follow his teaching, no doubt, on "The Final Reign" of Christ, where he takes sides with Bonar, Saphir, &c.; but none will withhold admiration of the spirit in which he expounds his thought. "I have tried to hold up the glass of prophecy with which to see the gates of the palace. . . . My hand has trembled like those of the pilgrims of old, while I have tried to look: and the picture I have described may not be wholly accurate" (p. 124).

A chapter on Introduction, and then an "Explanatory Translation," preface the second volume, which consists of some twenty expository lectures. The object of the re-translation is doubtless that the thought be freshened, and brought home to the conscience. To some extent this is accomplished; but often it is little more than a diluting of the original. There are lectures on "Sources of Apostolic Joy," "Holy Living," "Winning Christ at any Cost," &c. We have noticed an unhappy turn given to the thought here and there (*e.g.*, p. 141).

"Summer Sundays" carry our thoughts away to the Sabbath stillness of the hills, to the musical murmur of the brooks. The poetry of rural life is inexhaustible to city people; it has many echoes in Mr M'Pherson's book. Indeed, the fragrance of poesy pervades it. The discourses are full of local colour. Vivid sometimes are the touches, as if the reader were in the strath and saw its glory. At times a thought is struck out that gleams upon the page, as when the suggestion is made that the purest love on earth is that of father for daughter. At times we discern a curious alarm at the presence of Evangelical aggressiveness (p. 12). But a fine humanliness, homely and wistful, glows in the sermons. There are occasional blemishes in phraseology. The author has given us a taste of his own poetic quality, venturing to round off each discourse with a sonnet of his own.

Some of the highest qualities belonging to sermonic literature are present in Mr Moinet's discourses. The tracking in them of action and thought back and down into the heart's recesses is suggestive of Newman. The pellucid calm of Newman's English, to be sure, is

wanting. There is instead a style vigorous, terse, nay, too uniformly intense. We imagine the most serious criticism to which the work will be exposed will be really an excess of virtue. The sermons are almost monotonously intense. The pages are full of thought; and if the language is on occasion somewhat diffuse, the words are never those "that wear out ideas." There is a breadth and catholicity of knowledge which gives a fine balance and completeness to the teaching, not without its own rare impressiveness. Clearness is characteristic. Often we come upon a generalisation, or an aphorism, which tells of fire, and anvil, and living workman. "Obstacles never paralyse effort till hope dies or begins to languish." "The disposition which towards man is selfish, is towards God profane" (pp. 112, 129). In his analysis of character Mr Moinet is deft and sure. "The Character of Esau," and again, in "The Unrighteous Mammon," the analysis of the unjust steward, show the preacher in his strength. These are in the best sense modern sermons. They are addressed to the thoughts and the troubles of contemporaries. The social instability and the non-Christian thought of our time, not obtruded in any case, lie behind the exposition. Thus in the sermon which gives its title to the volume: "Christianity is not to be resolved into light and sweetness. It is not merely an impalpable essence, but spreads itself through society, raising its general moral temperature, and importing into it a certain improved flavour and aroma but utterly incapable of being condensed into a substantial corporeity . . . there needs . . . the committal of your whole nature into the hands of a Divine Person, out of whose deep, inexhaustible being it shall henceforward draw its succour and support" (p. 7). And so of the unrest in society. "Order is never safe that does not spring out of the orderliness of the community itself; and long immunity from violence does not imply that violence will never come" . . . (p. 224). "We do not need new discoveries in social economics for solving the problems of our time. We only need faithfully to apply the teaching of Christ to our own lives and to labour to procure its recognition in the lives of others" (p. 239). He is no less forcible in urging acceptance of the paradoxical sayings of our Lord, insisting on these as perhaps the most searching tests of spiritual life. But we have said enough. A Scotticism will be found peeping out (p. 4); and "deemed" (p. 238) is obviously a misprint for "denied."

W. B. COOPER.

**Pilgerschaft und Vaterhaus.**

*Predigten von Erich Haupt. 2te Aufl. Halle: Max Niemeyer. 8vo, pp. vi. and 154. Price not stated.*

THIS is the second edition of an exceedingly valuable volume of sermons. The author—known to us by his work on the First Epistle of St John—tells us that the work was published partly as “a small contribution towards the building of a new church,” and partly as a greeting and remembrance to his students, old and new. The sermons are ten in number, grouped, as the title indicates, round the ideas of pilgrimage and home. An idea of the contents may be gathered from some of the headings—“The Love of God” (Titus iii. 4); “The Pilgrim’s Travelling Expenses” (1 Kings xix. 7, 8); “Egypt and Canaan” (Matt. ii. 15); “The Thorn in the Flesh,” “Jacob’s Wrestling,” “The Widow’s Mite,” “Israel’s Restoration under Samuel” (1 Sam. vii. 2-6, 10-12). The sermon on St Paul’s “Thorn in the Flesh” is one of the most interesting and practical in the volume. The author describes this experience of St Paul’s as “the Gethsemane of his life.” Paradise is defined as “the most undisturbed and most blessed fellowship between God and man.” Such a state St Paul was in; and our author endeavours to find the connection between “the Paradise” and “the Gethsemane” of St Paul’s life. Spiritual dangers, he shows us, are connected with “the Paradise,” such as the imagination that we are more advanced in grace than others, and the disposition to abstain from the active work of earth. The corrective of these dangers was and is “the thorn in the flesh.”

WILLIAM BEVERIDGE.

**Evangelium in den Episteln.**

*Ein Jahrgang Predigten nach der Textwahl von Thomasius und nach der Schriftauslegung v. Hofmanns. Von Detlev Zahn. Gotha: Gustav Schloessmann. 8vo. pp. viii. and 597. Price M. 6.*

THE title of this volume of sermons explains itself. The discourses are evidently the work of a minister alive to present needs, and supremely anxious to apply the Gospel of Christ to them. The titles give one a fair idea of their contents, if not of their character: “The Power of the Belief in the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ” (1 Tim. vi. 11-16), “Conscience and the Gospel” (Rom. ii. 14-16), “Christian Holiness crowned in love for the Brethren”

(1 John iv. 7-17), "The Power of the Death of Jesus" (Heb. ii. 10-18), "The Victory of Missions" (Acts xvi. 12-15), and so on. The simplicity of treatment is often very remarkable: for instance, a sermon dealing with Missions, and based on Acts viii. 26-39, has this simple division—(1) The Commission, (2) The Execution of it. The two sermons which have struck us most are the second in the volume and the thirty-eighth. The one is entitled "The Power of the Belief in the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ." The author says: "A Christianity without the Second Advent is entirely unthinkable. Our whole position as Christians is regulated by the fact that here we are simply pilgrims. Take away the hope of Christ's return, and the Church becomes like a house without a roof, a beginning without progress and without a climax" (p. 14). He proceeds to show (and we must content ourselves with the mere statement) that the power indicated manifests itself in two directions: first, in affording light for the understanding of the present; and, secondly, in making one zealous to lay hold on eternal life. The other sermon which interested us specially is one with the title, "The contribution of the Church to the solution of the Social Question," based on Acts iii. 1-10—the story of the healing of the lame man by Peter and John. This lame and poor man the author regards as the picture of the social need: and his contention is precisely this—"Silver and gold" is not the weapon at the disposal of the Church for the world's help; it is "the name of Jesus of Nazareth." Among other illustrations of his contention he refers to the Roman Catholic Church, and uses, in one passage, these words: "Where to-day the Romish Church develops her power, there social misery shrieks to heaven, as in Belgium and Ireland" (p. 371). We shall all, surely, agree in the prayer, "Preserve, O Lord, Thy Church from deceit and from extravagance, maintain it in discipline, in lowliness, and in wisdom, that Thy counsel may be executed in the world" (p. 366).

WILLIAM BEVERIDGE.

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### **Introduction to Philosophy. An Inquiry after a Rational System of Scientific Principles in their relation to Ultimate Reality.**

*By George Trumbull Ladd, Professor of Philosophy in Yale University. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 8vo., pp. 490. 12s. 1891.*

THE growth of interest in philosophical studies is quite a marked feature of American life at the present day. It is part of a general movement which embraces every branch and phase of the culture of

the ideal. Those who are used only to hear America spoken of as the land of the "Almighty Dollar," will perhaps wonder at the statement just made. But wonder is often the daughter of ignorance. Material interests do undoubtedly absorb chief attention ; but how could it be otherwise in a new country, where millions of the industrious and enterprising, though poor and prospectless of other lands, are founding new homes ? Material interests, however, are not everything, even to those who seem absorbed in them. Not to refer to what is being done in the domain of religion and theology, —which are surely *par excellence* concerned with the ideal ; or in that of popular education ; or for technical training,—what enormous sums of money have been given not merely by the State Authorities, but also by private individuals, for the establishment and equipment of Libraries, Museums, Scientific Institutions, Colleges, and Universities ! And how remarkable is the devotion of Americans to pursuits which have only a very remote connection with material prosperity, such as Mathematics, Astronomy, Geology, History, Philology, and Archæology. Nothing like it has ever been seen before ; unless, as far as art was concerned, in Greece. If Europe does not look to its laurels, she will find them ere long transferred to other and worthier brows in the West.

No subject is attracting more earnest attention than philosophy —philosophy, too, in the wider and more exact sense now generally put on the term. The provision made for teaching it in such Universities as Harvard, Yale, Johns-Hopkins, New York, and others, is of the amplest, compared with ours in Britain ; and the teachers are exhibiting a zeal and capacity that cannot but bring success.

Take for example, *Yale*. There are no fewer than five teachers, the senior being the well-known Ex-President Porter, the next, Professor Ladd, who alone lectured last year on History of Philosophy, Philosophy Proper, Philosophy of Religion, Physiological Psychology, and Pædagogics. In the light of such facts, one can understand the issue of a work like the one under notice, to which, so far as I am aware, there exists no British parallel of, at all events, this century's production.

The treatise is styled an "Introduction ;" but if any one takes it up in the expectation of facing an easy wicket-gate into the enchanted land of philosophy he will be grievously mistaken. It bristles, in fact, with difficulties ; some of them, as we are compelled honestly to remark, those of style and method ; largely, however, such as are inseparable from the attempt to grapple with the great subjects touched upon, sufficiently to initiate an earnest student into their significance and scope.

The pages of the work are strewn with evidence of the author's



wide reading, not only in his own special branches, but also in the sciences generally. Indeed, his conception of philosophy involves an accurate acquaintance with the methods and results of the various sciences; for, as he remarks, "The truth of philosophy lies involved in the truths of science. Without the teachable mind towards these latter truths, it has no means of acquiring material upon which to build, as upon a verifiable basis, its structure of supreme and rational truth." Not that any amount of knowledge of science will necessarily make a philosopher; for "positive, so-called exact knowledge, is the least of the things required. It is not knowledge which constitutes the philosopher, but thinking, concentrated, thorough, and methodically trained. To this the sum-total of scientific attainment is but a premise, with which it starts in its search for the last abstractions and highest ideas."

The general scope of Professor Ladd's work will be best learned from a summary of the table of contents. After an introductory chapter on the history and meaning of the term "Philosophy," he treats of the sources and problem of philosophy, and its relation to the particular sciences—specially to psychology. Then follow chapters on the Spirit, Method, and Divisions of Philosophy; and on the mental attitudes towards it, designated respectively Dogmatism, Scepticism, and Criticism. The succeeding sections are determined by the author's own division of Philosophy, *first*, Philosophy of the Real or Metaphysics in the wider meaning of the word, including also Theory of Knowledge, Philosophy of Nature and Philosophy of Mind; *second*, Philosophy of the Ideal, including Ethics and Aesthetics; and *third*, The Supreme Ideal-Real, or the Philosophy of Religion. By way of Epilogue there follows a chapter on "Tendencies and Schools in Philosophy." His definition of "*Philosophy—as—the progressive rational system of the principles pre-supposed and ascertained by the particular sciences, in their relation to ultimate reality*"—which he advances as a "provisional attempt to gather into a single sentence all the essential truths in the four classes of conceptions" which have appeared in history, and which he passes in review,—seems to me to have the fault of being too abstract, even if it fairly cover the subjects included under it. That of *Wundt*<sup>1</sup> to which Professor Ladd's rendering scarcely does justice, and which runs:—"The combination of the individual branches of knowledge into a view of the world and life, which shall meet alike the claims of the intellect and the needs of the heart" (*Gemüth*),<sup>2</sup> is preferable. Still more, that of Mr Herbert Spencer, "Knowledge of the lowest

<sup>1</sup> *System der Philosophie*. 1889.

<sup>2</sup> See *Wundt*, p. 2; *Ladd*, p. 26.

kind is *un-unified* knowledge; science is *partially-unified* knowledge; Philosophy is *completely-unified* knowledge;" provided that we include in the objects of knowledge, Reals as well as their Relations; and do not exclude from the Reals the Primal Real-God; nor from the Relations those between God and other Reals. But this would give us a true *Welt-Anschauung*—meaning by *Welt*, the Cosmos, and including in it God as well as its spiritual and material factors; that, too, both in their *Seyn* and *Werden*—being and development. But the limits assigned to this review cry, halt!

Only one other point shall I be able to notice. If Professor Ladd reckon himself to any school of philosophy it is to what *he* would understand by Monism; not, however, of the materialistic type of Noiré or Haeckel or Clifford. He distinguishes "two principal forms" thereof—the Realistic and Idealistic; and is of opinion that "neither of these, to the exclusion of the considerations upon which the other is based, can be looked to for a satisfactory philosophy: it must be a Monism that shall do justice to the facts and truths to which both Realism and Idealism appeal." "A purely realistic or a purely idealistic system of philosophy cannot be maintained. Every such position is but a point marked in the progress of the human mind toward a final and satisfactory Monism—a Monism which will find the unity of all Being and Knowledge, the World-Ground, in an ideal Reality, a realized Ideal. Such an One is nothing else than some rational, self-conscious, and personal Life." As to this last postulate, I thoroughly agree with Professor Ladd, though I am not sure that his use of the word Monism is not open to criticism. Monism, at all events in its recent forms, identifies the ultimate ground of the world with the ultimate Reals that constitute the world, be the Reals conceived as material only or as material and a sort of protoplasmic spiritual, both, however, coordinated. If a philosophy is to embrace *all the facts*—and unless it do so it is no true philosophy—it must, with Christianity, recognise, *first*, an eternal, living God; and *then*, a creation by the living God, in relation to which He is alike transcendent and immanent.

Professor Ladd's method and style, as I have already hinted, are not all that could be desired; but he is a vigorous, constructive thinker, and scrupulously fair in his exposition and criticism of divergent views. His work deserves a hearty welcome and careful study.

D. W. SIMON.

**I. International Journal of Ethics.**

*Devoted to the Advancement of Ethical Knowledge and Practice.  
Issued Quarterly. No. 3, April. London: T. Fisher Unwin.*

**II. Id. No. 4, July 1891.**

I. OF the six essays of this number, three are by Americans—Professors C. H. Toy, William James, and Simon V. Patten. Professor Toy's article on *The Religious Element in Ethical Codes*, which strikes us as the best in the number, is an historical survey of the relations that have obtained between ethics and religion. The main thesis is, that the two are at first identical, afterwards become separated, in spite of the conservative influence of the priesthood (the analysis of which, by the way, ought to interest, if it does not flatter, clerical readers), but are ultimately reunited in the conception of a conscience, which knows no authority apart from its own ideals in "the life of man, which is the highest revelation of God" (pp. 310 f.). Professor James' article on *The Moral Philosopher and the Moral Life* is an exceedingly acute statement of what may be called ethical realism, the position, *i.e.*, that there is no such thing as an ethical ideal that is not the ideal of somebody. Some readers will be staggered by the statement that, "in point of fact there are no absolute evils, and there are no non-moral goods" (p. 349); but that, Professor James will assure us, is because they are not philosophers. Professor Patten's article, *Another View of the Ethics of Land Tenure*, is something more than a "judicious blend" of the conflicting views of Mr Henry George and Professor Clark (art. in No. 1 of the *International Journal of Ethics*). It is an exceedingly able and carefully-balanced statement both of the economical and the ethical problem. Mr Leslie Stephen's article on *Social Equality* may suitably be referred to along with Mr J. S. Mackenzie's review of "*In Darkest England*" on the wrong tack (B. Bosanquet, M.A.: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co.), as forcible statements of the position that "in Utopia every human being" ought to be "so placed as to be capable of preparing himself for any other position, and should then go to the work for which he is best fitted" (p. 278). Mr Bosanquet's book (72 pp.)—eminently earnest and respectful in tone—certainly deserves careful consideration from General Booth and his friends. Miss Clara Collet's article on *Moral Tales*, as a means of pædagogic, is charming reading, although her confession of the "infinitesimal impression left on me then (*i.e.*, in childhood) or since by any sermon or ethical discourse" must be somewhat disheartening to moral philosophers as well as to clergymen. The *School of Applied Ethics* is an an-

nouncement of an exceedingly enticing programme of what seems to be a kind of ethical conference, to be held (now actually being held), "beginning early in July and continuing six weeks, at some convenient summer resort in New England or New York." *School* is a more exact name, for there are lecturers and fees. The subjects are to be treated in three departments—Economics, History of Religions, and Ethics; and these are to be headed respectively by Professors Adams, Michigan; Toy, Harvard; and Adler, New York. The announcement is repeated with more details in No. 4. (below). The place of meeting is Plymouth, Mass., within an hour from Boston. Professor G. V. Gizycki's article on *The Right Final Aim of Life* insists that that aim is best defined as the greatest possible happiness of all, not as the satisfaction of one's own conscience. Professor Gizycki objects to the "unprovable assumption" involved in the introduction of any such third category as the "will of God," or the like, but his article seems to us to prove the complete impossibility of deciding between the altruistic and the egoistic category apart from the "unprovable" transcendental third of the religious consciousness. One falls back without shame upon the shorter Catechism (Q. 1).

II. This number comes to us too late to be noticed as it deserves. Readers of the first article—by Professor E. Caird—will await eagerly the publication of the author's Gifford Lectures, of which *The Modern Conception of the Science of Religion* is the first. The next two articles are papers of great solidity on *The Functions of Ethical Theory* and *The Morality of Nations* by Professors J. H. Hyslop and W. R. Sorley respectively. Mr James Ward's article is a trenchant criticism of J. S. Mill's projected but unfulfilled scheme of a science of "Ethology," in which human character was to be treated as a piece of mechanism, whose movements might be foretold with mathematical certainty. Mr R. W. Black's article on *Vice and Immorality* is perhaps not unfairly characterised as a statement in terms of dogmatic *philosophy* (instead of *theology*) of the doctrine of universal depravity. It is queer, but not unsuggestive. No one, who respects the authority of age, should miss reading the truly weighty words of the venerable F. W. Newman on *The Progress of Political Economy since Adam Smith*. There is something peculiarly refreshing in the radicalism of an octogenarian, who writes without bitterness, and who tells us that "our new claim of economists is to learn and to diffuse a sound knowledge of just and wise tenure of the land for the benefit of all, a topic which even Mrs Fawcett seems very little to understand" (p. 482). The paper headed *Discussions* makes, in a short essay on the moral aspect of "tips" and "gratuities," a good beginning in a direction, which will insure the interest of readers, who may find the longer articles

stiff reading, that, viz., of a condescension on the lighter minutiae of conduct by masters in the science of ethics. On the whole this is the brightest, and, in its range of topics, most varied number of the *Journal* that has yet appeared, and a perusal of the reviews of books in the small print at the end leaves us wishing that the editors had allowed more space for such excellent work. May it be hinted that the influence of our "cousins" in the matter of orthography is perhaps a little too prominent in all the numbers of the journal?

LEWIS A. MUIRHEAD.

### **Theologische Studien und Kritiken.**

1891. *Drittes Heft und viertes Heft.*

EACH of these numbers contains three articles of immoderate length. The first in Part III. is by J. Kaftan, "Towards a Proof for the Truth of Christianity." The writer thinks that the philosophy of Kant offers no sufficient or permanent basis for the proof of Christianity. The true proof starts, not from the *a priori* (as Kant does)—a course which inevitably leads to the neglect of history and the rationalistic view of Revelation—but from the common consciousness, the knowledge of daily life, which gives generally valid results. Kant's view of the *a priori* moral law and the consequences of this view abolish the significance of history and make religion an adjunct of morality. But to the Christian his relation to God is the great thing, and salvation is bound to historical facts as a revelation in Jesus Christ. In the proof for Christianity there are two elements: the history and the personal factors, the personal appropriation. This individual factor is the product of history—the two are inseparable. We have to show that faith can be united in consciousness with all that is true, and has its natural place in our whole spiritual life and consciousness.

The next article is on the place of "Property in the Faith and Life of the Post-Apostolic Church," by H. Haller. After a list of his sources, the writer deals with four points. I. *The Estimation of Property* at the time. The prevailing view of the world was that of something evil, the Christian's enemy. It was set in sharp contrast with the future world, was under the power of the devil, and would soon be destroyed. The result was an uncompromising hostility to the present system and everything connected with it, a strict renunciation of its goods, voluntary poverty and abstinence from ordinary pleasures. II. *The Economic Position of the Christians*. The number of poor people was very large and was increased by persecu-

tions, confiscations, loss of worldly calling, and the care of widows and orphans. The "Widow Question" was the burning problem of the early church, which had quite sufficient otherwise to employ all its powers. Its position was thus not very happy, and necessarily became worse as the number of its converts rose. III. *The Active Charity of the Christians*—one of the chief features of their life. Their generosity is attested by many witnesses, and was shewn by the readiness to share their goods with any who were in need. At first the motive of this had been the purely religious one of love to brother men resting on love to God. But in the Post-Apostolic church this motive gave place to others. Among these were the sense of belonging to a common brotherhood, the changed view of "good works" as a means to salvation, the strong hope of a reward in the heavenly kingdom which was so near, and the power of alms to clear the giver from sin. In these motives are to be found the germs which later developed into peculiarly Roman Catholic doctrines. IV. *The Church Support of the Poor*. The Church undertook the duty as a church. This was no imitation of heathen societies, which were more like our insurance companies. The public alms was a sacrifice in the Christian service, a religious act of dedication. All who were out of work or incapable of it, widows, orphans, aged, weak, prisoners and travelling brothers, had a right to this charity. A special form of it was the community of goods. This did not mean (as with the Essenes) that no man could call anything his own, but was rather a high form of voluntary offering given for the good of all. The organs of this public charity were different at different times, from the "seven men" of the primitive community to the monarchical Bishop of Ignatius. Generally speaking, it was the head of the community who distributed the fund, and this act was his most important function. The article is furnished with many quotations from contemporary literature in support of its contentions.

The second article in Part IV. is an interesting discussion of James ii. 14-26, by G. Schwarz. The usual reading of the passage is that James sees in Faith and Works two different principles whose common working conditions justification. The writer's view is that to James, Faith is the principle of Works. In v. 14 the subject is a certain *assertion* made by some one that there is a faith without works. This assertion, the Apostle says, is senseless, and his meaning is that whoever has no works can have no faith. He does not admit a faith apart from works. What of the next clause then: "Can Faith save thee?" The meaning here is: If this man says "I have faith," it is a mere assertion; and "faith" in the question is used ironically—"Can this mere assertion save you?" The example in v. 15-16, proves this. The empty claim to have faith is compared to the

empty order, "Be clothed." The ground thought then is: Faith is the principle of works and *necessarily* produces them. The separation of them is mere assertion, empty words. Hence (v. 17), Faith without works is dead in its own nature (*καθ' ἑαυτήν*); it has no life-power. To the false objector in v. 14 is now opposed an apologist for the true view in v. 18, the whole of which belongs to the new speaker. Here the true relation of Faith and Works is set out. The latter half of the verse contains two assertions—(1) Where faith is works must be, and (2) where works are faith must be. From both points of view the same conclusion is reached, that Faith is the sole principle of works. This conclusion is illustrated and enforced in the following verses, where the connection is as follows: (1) Your "faith" is a mere recognition of doctrine, like that of Devils—an ironical statement (v. 19); (2) this boasted "faith" is no faith (v. 20); (3) the general truth illustrated from the Father of Faith. The presupposition here is that Abraham was justified by Faith, and the objector would rely on this. The Justification by Faith is common ground and affords the implied major proposition. The minor is v. 21, "But Abraham was justified also by works," and the conclusion is that his faith was one with works (v. 21); (4) this is confirmed by what follows, the meaning of v. 22 being: "You see that Faith and Works are an inseparable thing, that Faith is always active and develops itself in this activity. Hence the two conclusions: (a) God reckoned Abraham's faith for righteousness. This could only be so if works are already included in it. Hence in this scripture Faith is represented as the principle of Works (v. 23); and (b) a man is justified not by mere confession of doctrine alone—"Faith only"—but by a faith which is an active power (v. 24); (5) another example, Rahab, who is similarly treated (v. 25); (6) the conclusion (in v. 20) confirmed by an illustration. Mere belief without living power is like a body without the spirit (v. 26).

The other articles are: in Part III., "Luther and Bigamy:" in Part IV., "Eupolemus as Chronologer, and his References to Josephus and Manetho," and "Johann v. Goch."

FREDERICK J. RAE.

### Notices.

SEVERAL additions, each of value in its own way, have been made of late to the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*. One of the best of these is Dr Perowne's volume on the Epistle to the Galatians.<sup>1</sup> The exegesis is exact and cautious throughout. It is at its

<sup>1</sup> The Epistle to the Galatians, with Introduction and Notes. By the Rev. E. H. Perowne, D.D., &c. Cambridge, at the University Press. Fcap. 8vo, pp. xxviii., 91. Price 1s. 6d.

best in the most testing passages, as in the closing verses of the second chapter. The paragraph on Hagar and Sarah in the fourth chapter is discreetly handled. But in the catalogue of the graces which make the *fruit of the spirit* (v. 22, 23), is it according to the context to make "faith" include both *fidelity* and *trustfulness*? The questions of the *place* and *date* of composition are considered with due regard to the indeterminate nature of the *data*. The former is left without a decision between Ephesus, Corinth, and some place "on the journey between Macedonia and Achaia." With respect to the latter, Dr Perowne fixes upon the year A.D. 57, placing Galatians a little later than Second Corinthians and a little earlier than Romans. It is to be noticed that, in looking at the question of date, he disowns the importance attached by some of our best interpreters to the "so soon" in i. 6. He takes this phrase not as a particle of time, but as an adverb of manner, "readily, hastily, or rashly."

The Commentary on the Epistles to the Thessalonians<sup>1</sup> which appears under Professor Findlay's name was assigned originally to Dr Moulton of Cambridge, and his valuable assistance has been enjoyed to some extent in the preparation of the volume. The book contains much that is both just and suggestive, alike in the exegesis and in the discussion of literary and doctrinal questions. We commend to notice the excellent statements in the third and fourth chapters of the introduction on the nature of Paul's Gospel, its adaptation to the case of the Thessalonians, the occasion of his writing, his presentation of the moral issues of the Gospel, and in particular the place given to the doctrines of Christ's *Parousia* and the final Judgment. An interesting Appendix gives an outline of the history of the doctrine of Antichrist both as it appears in Scripture and as it is developed in the theology of the Church. On this subject and on the general interpretation of the Apocalyptic sections of the New Testament, there is much in common between Professor Findlay and the late Mr Simcox in his scholarly, modest, and most careful study of the Book of Revelation.<sup>2</sup> With Mr Simcox he takes the *woman* of Rev. xii. to be the Jewish Church. The *ten-horned beast* of John is "the secular antagonist of the Man-child," the son of the *woman*. The second wild-beast of Rev. xiii. has a *religious* part assigned, "resembling that of a corrupt

<sup>1</sup> The Epistles to the Thessalonians, with Introduction, Notes, and Map. By the Rev. George G. Findlay, B.A., Professor of Biblical Literature in the Wesleyan College, Headingley. Cambridge, at the University Press. Fcap. 8vo, pp. xliii., 183. Price 2s.

<sup>2</sup> The Revelation of S. John the Divine, with Notes and Introduction. By the late Rev. William Henry Simcox, M.A. Cambridge, at the University Press. Ex. fcp. 8vo, pp. lx., 174. Price 3s.



Church, serving a lawless, despotic State ;” and the *harlot-woman* is the imperial city of Rome. In this part of the subject Professor Findlay agrees largely with Hofmann’s interpretations, and with the views of Dorner and Alford. His own view of the Pauline section on the *Man of Sin* is that it has a progressive fulfilment. It is a prophecy, as he puts it, which is “carried into effect from time to time, under the action of Divine laws operating through human history, in partial and transitional forms, which prefigure and may contribute to its final realisation.”

The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press have laid all Biblical scholars under a great debt of gratitude by the new edition of the LXX.,<sup>1</sup> which they have in progress, and of which we have now, after the lapse of four years, the second volume. It would be difficult to produce anything better in form, in clearness of type, or in accuracy. It bids fair to hold its ground for many a day as the best manual edition of the Septuagint. The difficulties of the task, which is in the careful hands of Dr Swete, are of no ordinary magnitude. They can be understood only by those who have some experience of the textual criticism of the version. The time has not yet come for the production of an ideal edition. There are some no doubt who would, if possible, anticipate that time. To them it may be a disappointment that there has not been a larger and bolder application of the critical process, and that the Editor has not allowed himself the liberty of correcting a number of passages in which the MSS. seem clearly at fault. But it will be generally granted that in view of the existing condition of things, a wise discretion has been exercised. It is satisfactory at the same time to have the Sinaitic text, as well as that of A and B, in the case of the book of Tobit (the secondary character of the former, however, being indicated by its being printed in smaller type beneath the latter) ; and to find the proper order of the chapters of Ecclesiasticus restored. The right course has also been adopted in breaking up the Psalter into its several books, and in following the stichometrical arrangement in the case of the Poetical Books. Where the MSS. differ in the number of lines or in the grouping of words, the variations are carefully chronicled in the notes. As regards the singular difference between the Greek version and the old Latin in the arrangement of Ecclesiasticus xxx.-xxxvi., Dr Swete adopts Fritzsche’s explanation that in the *exemplar* from which the existing Greek MSS. of that section seem to have been taken, there had been a transposition of the pairs of leaves, while the Latin version

<sup>1</sup> The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press by Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., &c., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Regius Professor of Divinity. Vol. II. 1 Chronicles—Tobit. Cambridge, at the University Press. 8vo, pp. xv., 879. Price 7s. 6d.

has been taken from a copy in which this had not occurred. Believing, therefore, that the Latin text represents in this matter an older and sounder text than that of our extant Greek MSS., he has given the Latin order. In addition to B & A other three uncials are used for the Psalms—the *Graeco-Latinum Veronense* (of the Western type, and perhaps of the sixth century), the *Purpureum Turicense* (a superb codex, probably of the seventh century), and the *Fragmenta Papyracea Londinensia* for which Lagarde claims the highest antiquity. In the other Poetical Books the testimony of the great Paris palimpsest, *Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus Parisiensis*, is used along with that of B & A. A preface of eleven pages furnishes much interesting information on the characteristics of these documents, and on the critical sources generally. Dr Swete and his coadjutors are to be congratulated on the successful completion of the second volume, and in particular on what they have done for the Greek text of the Psalter.

Professor Kirkpatrick's volume on the Psalms<sup>1</sup> will take a place of its own. With all that we have on the Psalter, there has been a want of a handy Commentary, exhibiting in compact form the results of recent scholarship, and at the same time taking us into the living spirit of the book. In this instalment of his work Professor Kirkpatrick has done much to supply the want. But he has done more than that. He has given us the fruits of his own independent studies, and these we are glad to have. He has reached conclusions of his own on many points of interest. These are always modestly stated and carefully reasoned out. He claims a "certain weight" for the Titles of the Psalms. In terms it may seem more than most will grant. In point of fact, it cannot amount to much, in face of the concessions that these Titles "cannot be supposed to give certain information as to their authors," and that "many of the Psalms bearing the name of David or Asaph cannot have been written by them." He notices Ewald's ingenious conjecture, but only to reject it, that li.-lxxii. originally followed xli., the Davidic Psalms as a whole making a collection by themselves, and the Levitical Psalms following in the three sub-divisions of Korahite, Asaphite, and Korahite Supplement. He points to Jer. xxxiii. 11 as a witness to the fact that the Doxology which occurs only in the later books of the Psalter (Ps. c. 4, 5; cvi. 1; &c.) had been in use before the Captivity, and makes the reasonable supposition that "some of the Temple Psalms in the later books of the Psalter may have been revivals or adaptations of ancient

<sup>1</sup> The Book of Psalms, with Introduction and Notes. By the Rev. A. F. Kirkpatrick, B.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; Regius Professor of Hebrew. Book I. Psalms i.-xli., Cambridge, at the University Press. Extra fcp. 8vo, pp. lxxix., 227. Price 3s. 6d.

hymns." On the subject of age and authorship he disavows, of course, the uncritical spirit which claims the mass for David; but he thinks the new criticism goes beyond the mark in its disposition to "refer the whole Psalter, or at least the greater part of it, to the period after the Return from Babylon." He makes short work of the alleged irreconcilable difference between the David of the Psalms and the David of history, and claims some regard for the Jewish tradition, which, in his opinion, can scarcely be altogether at fault in "assigning the foundation of the Psalter to David." He attaches more importance to the not infrequent references to David in the later books of the Old Testament in connection with institutions and the service of the sanctuary; to the allusion to the "songs of Zion" (Ps. cxxxvii. 3, 4) as songs well known to the Babylonian captors; and especially to the incorporation of Ps. xviii. in 2 Samuel. While he admits, therefore, that some Psalms may date from the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, that some may be from the pen of Jeremiah, and that with the Return from the Exile there was a great revival of Psalmody, he is opposed to the views of Reuss, Wellhausen, and others, and takes the case to be one which should make us "hesitate to assign Psalms to the Maccabean period, except on the most cogent internal evidence." His remarks on these questions are sober and well considered. He leaves us uncertain, however, how far he is prepared to go. That will appear only in connection with the exegesis of each particular Psalm of the later period. Two of the most important chapters in the Introduction are the viiith and ixth, which treat of the *Messianic Hope* and *Some Points in the Theology of the Psalms*. There are several things in these which might tempt us into a lengthened discussion. The statement on the idea of the *Future Life* is one of the best things in the book. The general result is that, while death is never regarded as extinction of being, "the continuance of existence after death has no moral or religious element in it;" that the hope of a resurrection from the dead does not appear: that, nevertheless, such Psalms as xvi., xvii., xlix., lxxiii. have in them the "germ and principle of the doctrine of eternal life" in what they affirm of the fellowship of God; and that "there is nothing which comes to light in the New Testament which does not already exist in germ in the Psalms." We cannot enter here into the details of Professor Kirkpatrick's interpretations. It is enough to say that the exegesis is in sympathy with the spirit as well as the letter of the Psalms, and generally helpful. It also keeps well within the proper limits of exegesis, notwithstanding the principle, so capable of misapplication, which is expressed in the Introduction (p. xii.), namely, that for us the meaning of the Psalms "is not limited to the 'original sense,' if by that is meant only that which the writers could recognise in their own words."

The small volume contributed by Dr Wright<sup>1</sup> on a very large subject to the *Theological Educator* series contains a remarkable mass and variety of information on the Old Testament books. The plan adopted is to record in briefest form the ascertained results of criticism, and to furnish therewith the necessary references to authorities. The lists of works bearing on the different points stated are very full, and will be of much use to those who wish to go further into these inquiries. The book is written in a wise and courageous spirit. It indicates no leaning on the author's own part to extreme positions, but it is alive to the necessity of hypotheses, and to the fact that even theories which have ultimately been given up have yet "frequently been productive of great results." The Graf-Wellhausen theory is handled with great candour and perfect fairness. Dr Wright recognises the repugnance which it is apt to excite on the part of the orthodox expositor. But he points out that it "does not necessarily make the Pentateuch a mere fabrication of designing priests, as is sometimes affirmed," and that this should be borne in mind in setting forth its supposed consequences. Other matters at present in contention are dealt with not less judiciously. The accounts of the several books of the Old Testament are prefaced by a series of chapters which give condensed reports of the state of the Hebrew Text, the history of Hebrew punctuation, the Massorah, the Targums, the Syriac, Greek, and Latin versions, &c. There are some statements in these to which exception might be taken. But the book as a whole gives an accurate and informing survey of an immense field.

The last contribution made to the same series by the late Mr Simcox<sup>2</sup> is also a book of value. It is printed from the author's MSS., under the superintendence of his brother, Mr G. A. Simcox. It forms the second part of his work on the Language of the New Testament, and in several respects this part seems to us superior to the first. Mr Simcox's exact and delicate perception finds its proper field in these analyses of the distinctive styles of the different New Testament writers, and not less in the determination of affinities between different groups. The editor calls special attention to the evidence furnished of the fact that "in vocabulary, though not in style, St Luke stands closely related to the disputed or disputable works of St Paul on one side, and to the so-called Catholic epistles" on the other. The table which is drawn up in one of the appendices in

<sup>1</sup> An Introduction to the Old Testament. By Charles H. H. Wright, D.D., Ph.D., &c. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Fcp. 8vo, pp. xvi.-226. Price 2s 6d.

<sup>2</sup> The Writers of the New Testament. Their Style and Characteristics. By the late Rev. William Henry Simcox, M.A., Rector of Harlaxton. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Fcp. 8vo, pp. viii., 190. Price 2s. 6d.

illustration of this, deserves close consideration. But there are many things less elaborately handled, which are also of great interest—the purity of the Greek in the epistle to the Hebrews (which, in Dr Hort's opinion, is about as little Hellenistic as is that of Polybius), the individuality of Peter's style, the Hebraism of the Apocalypse, the Hebraistic elements in the Synoptical gospels, and various others.

We are glad to receive new editions of Mr Horton's book on Inspiration,<sup>1</sup> and Dr Dale's on the Gospels.<sup>2</sup> The former, a careful and reverent inquiry into what can be gathered from Scripture itself on the subject of its own claims and character, deserves a good reception. It is the kind of book that to some may seem at first to speak strange things, but which will be found a better aid to a strong and intelligent faith the more it is studied. The latter is a volume which shows some of Dr Dale's many great gifts at their best. Nothing could be better put in its own way than the statement in the first part of the book on the argument from experience; and it would be hard to find a more luminous exposition of the main points in the historical argument, than is given in the last ten chapters. It requires a strong hand to do either of these things, and they are both done with admirable lucidity here. There is, however, a yet more difficult thing to do. That is to adjust the relations between the experimental and the historical, and we cannot say that this is accomplished in Dr Dale's volume. On the contrary, we confess to taking away the impression that, as far as the argument of this book goes, splendid as that in many respects is, the religion in question might be one of ideas rather than of historical facts, and that the *written* Word need have no place or only a subordinate place. The Reformers saw farther into this question than their successors have done. Dr Dale may have more to say on this subject. In any case, he has done a public service in exhibiting the historical trustworthiness of the Gospels, as we see it done in this volume, in a way to commend it so powerfully to others as well as Masters of Arts.

Among new editions we notice a second and revised issue of Mr Lias's very useful discussion of the problem of Miracle<sup>3</sup>; and a

<sup>1</sup> Inspiration and the Bible. An Inquiry. By Robert F. Horton, M.A., &c. Fifth Edition. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 8vo, pp. xiv., 256. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> The Living Christ and the Four Gospels. By R. W. Dale, LL.D., Birmingham. Second Edition. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 312. Price 6s.

<sup>3</sup> Are Miracles Credible? By the Rev. John James Lias, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii., 280. Price 3s. 6d.

third edition of *Natural Religion*<sup>1</sup>—a very able book, which has fascinated some only less than *Ecce Homo*,—the real scope of which, however, probably remains imperfectly understood, notwithstanding the protest made by its author in the important Preface to the second edition, that his ideas are Christian ideas, unmistakable Biblical ideas, taken at first hand from Scripture itself. We mention also with great satisfaction the new issue of the memorable “Letters of Samuel Rutherford,”<sup>2</sup> a book so dear to the piety of Scotland. The introductory notices from the sympathetic pen of Dr Andrew Bonar, are of great interest. The volume is an exceedingly handsome one. The publishers have left nothing undone to make it the richest in contents and the most superb in style of all the editions of Rutherford, and these amount now to a large number. The new volume of the *Expositor*<sup>3</sup> is equal to any of its predecessors in solid value. It contains fewer papers of detailed or popular exposition than some of the former. But it has more for the scholar. Those by Professor Ramsay, Professor Sanday, and Professor Marshall, not to mention others, are of great value to the New Testament student. The contributions of the last-named scholar on the Aramaic Gospel, are sufficient of themselves to give character to the volume. We welcome also the first *Annual Index of the Review of Reviews* (London, Mowbray House, Norfolk Street), a volume costing much labour and making an excellent guide to an immense storehouse of information. We hope it may be the first of a long series. In a modest spirit Mr Cameron<sup>4</sup> writes on the question of Revelation, with the view of bringing into the foreground the “special personal agency of God, which really lies behind all the critical questions regarding the Scripture writings themselves.” The opening chapters deal with the possibility and need of Revelation; and the closing chapters discuss the trustworthiness of the Bible in respect of its agreement with science, its historical accuracy, &c. The strength of the argument is in the chapters which treat of the Bible as the Record of Revelation, the Divine Element in the Record, and the Nature of Inspiration. Dr

<sup>1</sup> *Natural Religion*. By the Author of “*Ecce Homo*.” London: Macmillan & Co. Globe 8vo, pp. xii., 252. Price 6s.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters of Samuel Rutherford. With a Sketch of his Life and Biographical Notices of his Correspondents*. By the Rev. Andrew A. Bonar, D.D. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Demy 8vo, pp. xx., 744. Price 10s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> *The Expositor*. Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. Fourth Series, Vol. III. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo., pp. 476. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> *Revelation and its Record*. By the Rev. A. B. Cameron, M.A., B.D. Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii., 294. Price 4s.

Rankin's work on the "Creed in Scotland,"<sup>1</sup> has a practical object in view. It is the result of much inquiry into the when, how, and why of the disuse of the Apostles' Creed in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. It is a plea for its restoration to the place it once had among us. Whether all that Dr Rankin expects to be gained would actually be gained is doubtful. Even this formulary has its contested clauses, and contains much that is provocative of controversy, if it contains still more that serves to unite. But there is much to be said in favour of its re-introduction into our congregational services, and Dr Rankin says it with all the force of the strongest conviction. He brings together at the same time much matter bearing on the history and doctrine of the Creed. This is of interest, though there are some controvertible points in it. A good index is greatly needed. We miss evidence, too, of acquaintance with important German literature on the Creed. In Dr Taylor's work on the *Miracles*<sup>2</sup> we have an excellent specimen of pulpit exposition, full of sense and practical power, but proceeding all the while on exact study. It makes no pretence to rival the works of professed scholars, but seeks rather to supply the homiletical element that is wanting in these, and this it does with the skill of one who knows the preacher's art. The Bishop of Manchester gives a scholarly account of some important aspects and circumstances of Christ's *Teaching*,<sup>3</sup> the nature of its inspiration, its relation to contemporary beliefs and practices, its master-thought, its ethical perfection. The first two chapters are of great interest, discussing as they do in a free but reverent spirit the questions of the inerrancy of Scripture and the limitations of our Lord's knowledge. On both questions he repudiates the *a priori* or dogmatic method, and considers them in the light of specific test-cases. On the former he concludes that "inspiration guarantees not the special human authorship of a passage, or the unimpaired preservation of a formal institution, but the divine origin and increasing spirituality of the religious truth which these are made to symbolise or express." On the latter he holds equally by the perfection of Christ's Divinity and the integrity

<sup>1</sup> The Creed in Scotland. An Exposition of the Apostles' Creed. With Extracts from Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism of 1552, John Calvin's Catechism of 1556, and a Catena of Ancient Latin and other Hymns. By James Rankin, D.D., Minister of Muthil. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi., 366. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> The Miracles of our Lord expounded and illustrated. By William M. Taylor, D.D., LL.D., &c. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi., 449. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> The Teaching of Christ: Its Conditions, Secret, and Results. By the Rev. J. Moorhouse, Bishop of Manchester. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi., 167. Price 3s. nett.

of His humanity, affirming that the latter implies the emptying Himself of "all those Divine attributes which would have interfered with the reality of His Manhood," and consequently a certain measure of nescience. That is the unmistakable meaning, not only of some of our Lord's sayings, but of certain facts in His life. It is to be taken, however, with the conditions which these words and incidents themselves suggest. It is so construed by Dr Moorhouse, and beyond this he justly deems it vain to speculate.

We have an elaborate study of the Apocalypse by Mr Garland, Rector of Binstead,<sup>1</sup> which proceeds upon the principle that fulfilled prophecy is the chief key to the interpretation of the book. A table is given (pp. 497-98) of the symbolical meanings which the author assigns to the numbers and periods of time. Some of these are reasonable enough. Others (*e.g.*, 100 = the cosmic superficial area regulated by Law; 1000 = perfected cosmic comprehensiveness regulated by Law) are far-fetched. The practical aspects of the symbolism are often well put. One of the most interesting things in the volume is an Essay in the Appendix, the object of which is to show that science and revelation are not in antagonism as the subject of the eternity of matter. Under the title of *Gethsemane*,<sup>2</sup> Mr Newman Hall brings together a series of meditations, designed for the consolation of the afflicted. Written in the devout spirit and direct style to which we are accustomed in their author, they are admirably adapted to the object they have in view. America sends us an interesting study of Saul of Tarsus in poetic form.<sup>3</sup> The blank verse is not always of the best. Some of the minor incidents and characters suffer from a certain lack of probability or proportion. A strained view is taken of what Saul was in his Jewish days, a man beguiled into resistance of God's Spirit by the selfish ambition of connecting his name with a revival of Israel. There is, however, no want of life in the poem. The figures of Stephen and Gamaliel are powerfully drawn. There are passages, some noble, some pathetic, and some subtle, which cannot fail to please in the portraiture of the hero himself. Bishop Westcott's volume on *Religious Thought in the West*,<sup>4</sup> though it consists of matter already before the public in

<sup>1</sup> *The Practical Teaching of the Apocalypse*. By the Rev. G. V. Garland, &c. London: Longmans & Co. Cr. 8vo., pp. 498. Price 16s.

<sup>2</sup> *Gethsemane*: or, Leaves of Healing from the Garden of Grief. By Newman Hall, LL.B. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo., pp. viii, 336. Price 5s.

<sup>3</sup> *The Epic of Saul*. By William Cleaver Wilkinson. New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls. 8vo., pp. 386. Price 10s.

<sup>4</sup> *Essays in the History of Religious Thought in the West*. By Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., D.C.L., Lord Bishop of Durham, &c., London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo., pp. vi, 398. Price 6s.



another form, more than justifies its existence. We are glad to have these valuable essays in collected form. They are on very different subjects—from the myths of Plato to the relation of Christianity to art. Yet there is a certain unity in them. For one thing they make a somewhat elaborate vindication of the Greek spirit, and in particular of the Greek type of theology as contrasted with the Latin. Bishop Westcott's sympathies are with Origen and Clement, rather than with Augustine. We are not sure that he quite does justice to the Bishop of Hippo. Nevertheless the essay on Origen, which is largely a pleading in behalf of the Greek theology, seems to us the best in the book—an essay which of itself would have given worth to any volume. We are entirely in sympathy with the appreciative paper on Benjamin Whichcote. The essays on *Æschylus* and *Euripides* expound with great skill the prophetic vocation of the former, and the religious teaching of the latter. As we might expect, too, Bishop Westcott says something to purpose on Browning's "View of Life."

S. D. F. SALMOND.

## Record of Select Literature.

### I.—OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE.

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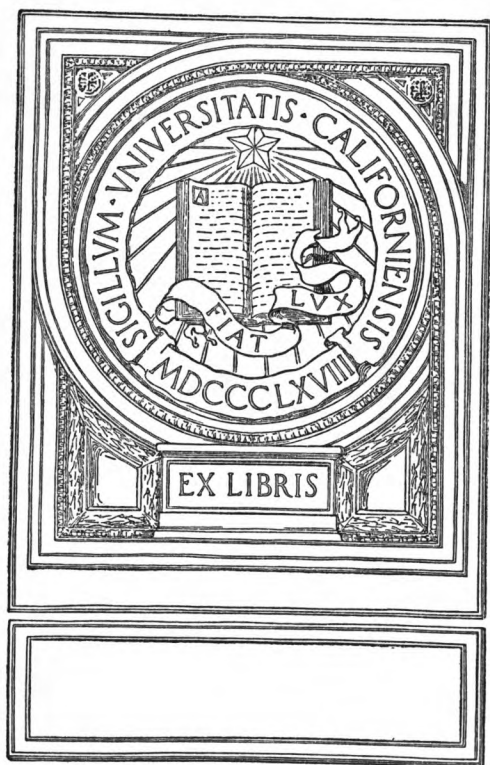
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# The Critical review of theological and philosophical ..















THE  
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**3. Die Ritschl'sche Theologie kritisch beleuchtet.**

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THE third of these books may be regarded as an appendix to the other two, and these two are respectively the German and English versions of one work, though, as we shall yet see, the versions differ considerably. Professor Pfeiderer is well qualified for the task he here essays—viz., to be the interpreter of German theology to English students, and of English theology to German. He knows his own field as cultivated by his own people; while his most characteristic work has been in the department of Biblical theology, yet the most meritorious portions of his *Religionsphilosophie* were those concerned with the history and criticism of German religious thought. And he knows us, or ought to know us, for this is the second work he has expressly written for the instruction of our insular ignorance. Yet these two are his least satisfactory books, and are marked by the defects of work done to order; they want the fresh, thorough, sympathetic treatment which distinguished what he had spontaneously undertaken. Of course, Pfeiderer is too independent and penetrating a critic to write a feeble or ineffective book; but a vigorous book may yet be quite unworthy of both subject and author. The field, so far as it relates to German theology, has been well tilled, and by men of all schools and tendencies. It more than once exercised the fertile and analytic genius of Baur, and the caustic yet graphic pen of Schwartz; Kahnis admonished the theology of his own day by writing its history; and Dorner, by

doing the same thing, tried to encourage and direct theology. Pünjer exhibited the attempts of the modern mind to construct a philosophy of religion; and Landerer sketched its dealings with Dogmatics. Indeed, the end of the century has been very much a history and criticism of the philosophies that reigned at its beginning, and the consequent theologies of its middle period. And in this a real need is expressed—the need of detaching the vital and permanent ideas of the transcendental movement from what was accidental and mortal in their form, and of appreciating at once the change they effected in theology, and the gain they brought to it. This is a work which has not yet been done in a really historical spirit, and Pfeiderer's book has not made it any less necessary.

The German edition is a great improvement on the English. It is corrected, enlarged, and brought down to date. A new chapter is added, *Die Restaurationstheologie*—i.e., the theology of the Lutheran revival—and into it Ch. von Hofmann has been removed from his old anomalous position, where he stood as an “eclectic mediating theologian” sandwiched between Lange and Schenkel; while places have been found for Harms, Hengstenberg, Thomasius, Philippi, Gess, Frank, Tholuck, and Beck. This indicates a considerable change in the writer; he has departed from his rather narrow idea of development, and approximated more to the notion of a history, with the result that he does his thesis more justice. If “development” be a living process, then the study of it must be the study of a science in all the fields and branches of its activity. Movement, in a matter so complex as thought, is not uniform, even though in all the sections of its serried yet advancing lines the same tendencies may be more or less embodied. So no historian can exhibit the “development” of theology as Pfeiderer appears to have meant to do, as a sort of logical process, explicative and deductive, starting from certain premisses and working to certain conclusions; to the historian it is a process biological rather than logical—i.e., a process where many distinct yet related organisms, all conditioned by their environment, struggle for life. And in order to live, there are some who will endeavour to modify the old into harmony with the new; others will seek to incorporate the new in the forms of the old; and others still will think they best resist all change by standing by old forms. But these, as all belonging to the life of theology, all contribute to its development; and Pfeiderer, by his new chapter on the *Restaurationstheologie*, recognises this truth within his own period, and confesses that the Lutheran revival was as lineal a descendant of the new philosophy as any one of the speculative theologies. But this ought to have carried him much further. He has nothing to say of the new Catholicism; yet Franz Baader was but a more mystic and theosophic Schelling; Möhler owed more to

Hegel and Schleiermacher than to any thinker of his own Church ; and the school of the Catholic Hegelians has as distinctive and distinguished a career as any in Germany. To omit all reference to them is, therefore, to write a one-sided and defective history of theology in our century.

But other changes and improvements in the German edition may be noted. Rothe has been removed from the speculative theology to the more congenial society of the Vermittlers, while a brief reference is introduced to the *Anfänge* ; and the *Theologische Ethik* is happily described as a work that may challenge comparison with Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*. But the sketch is still wanting in completeness ; the *Anfänge* had higher significance than was due to its theory of the Episcopate, while Rothe's method in Church history and attitude to dogmatic were too characteristic to be overlooked. Rothe's strength, it is said, "lay more in the heart and the imagination than in the critical understanding," but his imagination had the insight and the realism that made it often more helpful to critical students than almost all the pragmatic criticism of the period. Of the men more adequately noticed in the German edition we may mention the following :—Wilhelm Vatke, by virtue of his *Freiheitslehre*, now takes his place among the speculative theologians, while before he was dealt with only as a critic, but the precise value of his speculative for his critical views ought to have been more clearly indicated. The relation between them, indeed, was a signal illustration of how easily a philosophical theory may become an historical hypothesis that anticipates inquiry, and is later confirmed by the inquiry it had anticipated. The sentences that are added to the account of Biedermann complete what is perhaps the most sympathetic and genial characterisation in the book ; while Reuss is now recognised in his significance for the criticism of the New as well as the Old Testament. The many-sided and always acute yet sober-minded activity of Hase—so memorable to many as the last professor of the old style—is more worthily appreciated ; while the erudition and dogmatic thoroughness that lay beneath Julius Müller's scholasticism are not, as in the English version, dismissed in a short, shabby, inaccurate sentence. Finally, the importance of Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte* is acknowledged in a much more detailed exposition and criticism, frank alike in the recognition of its merits and defects.

When we turn to the English part we find similar additions, but mainly in the way of bringing it down to date. *Lux Mundi* is noticed, and its concessions to inquiry described as the fruit of "a happy illusion, which gave the High Church editor courage to dare the first step in the path of historical criticism. The rest will follow." Hatch's *Hibbert Lectures*, Cheyne's *Bampton Lectures*, and

Carpenter's *Three First Gospels* are also noted. As a whole, this is the least satisfactory part of the book; and for us it would have been, if well done, by far the most interesting and valuable. We need to see ourselves as others see us—only the others must be those who see us as a whole, and so in living perspective, and not simply in fragments and apart. There is something almost grotesque in the proportions of some of Pfeiderer's representations and judgments. Neither Driver nor Sanday is mentioned, but Carpenter's little book on the Gospels has two and a half pages all to itself. The late Bishop Lightfoot has less than half a page, and Westcott very little more, but "Supernatural Religion" occupies two pages. It is as a mere appendix to the latter work that Lightfoot appears; there is no word as to the significance of his "Apostolic Fathers" or his "Commentaries." This is the more extraordinary, as no works by an English scholar have received so cordial and unqualified recognition in Germany, and none so strikingly exhibit the influence of German scholarship in England. They have many most manifest defects; they are too polemical to be fairly critical, the mass and masterliness of their learning have overborne judgment rather than carried conviction; but they are by far so much the most eminent and characteristic works of English theological learning in our day, that the omission of all reference to them is fatal to the adequacy or accuracy of Pfeiderer's sketch. Were we to attempt an enumeration of the minor oversights, this notice would become too like a wearisome catalogue of names. But I must be allowed to express my regret that there is no reference to one who did so much to liberalise the theology of Scotland as Dr James Morison, or to one who could amid unreasoning fear write so reasonably of German theology as Mark Pattison. On the whole, this section of the book shows Pfeiderer at his weakest; where his sympathies are not enlisted, his judgment becomes partial. He understands theology when cultivated within the traditions of the chair and in independence of the Church, but he does not so well understand it when cultivated through loyalty to the Church, and in independence of the chair. It is characteristic of the two countries, that in England differences of religious thought bear ecclesiastical names, but in Germany their names are theological. Here we have High Church, Low Church, Broad Church; there they have "Die Speculative Theologie," "Die Restaurationstheologie," "Die Vermittlungstheologie." And these differences express the radically dissimilar tempers and minds of the two countries. To the English mind the fundamental question is one of polity; to the German, one of thought and belief. The former articulates his creed into a theory of the Church, but the latter constructs his into a theology. The Englishman can seldom be just to Germany, because it will not fall into any of his ecclesi-

astical categories ; and Pfleiderer is an example of how hard the German feels it to understand England, because it does not follow his theological method. But the function of the international scholar is to make divided peoples intelligible to each other. An admirable example of what may be accomplished on this field, was given by a scholar and critic of a very different school from Pfleiderer—Lechler, in the essay on Anglo-Catholicism, he contributed just fifty years ago to the *Studien und Kritiken*. Its critical weight was largely due to the reality of its religious sympathy. All the more do we regret the defects of Pfleiderer's section on theology in Great Britain, because it will do so little to lessen the confusion as to our insular mind in the mind of the Fatherland. But why should the work have been limited to these two countries ? Have not both Holland and France a right to recognition ? Surely a book dealing with the "Development of Theology" leaves out some essential chapters if these are forgotten. Scholten in dogmatic theology, and Kuenen in Old Testament criticism, Rauwenhoff in the philosophy of religion, and Tiele, Dozy, Kern, and the younger Chantepie de la Saussaye in its history, ought not to be passed over in silence ; while Renan deserves more than a note, the school of Strassburg had more than a single name, its Paris successor is not officered by obscurities, and the ancient Seminary of Montauban is not without illustrious sons. Indeed, the defect of Pfleiderer's book is due to his failure to feel the community of all our modern theologies. No country is now isolated, insular prejudice is every day becoming more powerless against international intercourse, and to the penetrative eye even the High Church movements of England stand in organic connexion with the speculative spirit and critical tendencies of Germany.

All that my space allows me to say of the brochure on "The Theology of Ritschl" is that it is a penetrative criticism of a system that attempts to make up for its speculative agnosticism by its historical acuteness and activity. We may, while admiring the work of the Ritschlianer in history, dislike the philosophy which underlies their attitude to doctrine and its construction. This philosophy is as marked a retrogression from the standpoint and spirit of the older German schools as the Ritschlian historical method is an advance on that alike of Berlin and Tübingen.

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### **The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter.**

*Bampton Lectures for 1889, preached before the University of Oxford by T. K. Cheyne, M.A., D.D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 8vo, pp. xxxviii, 517. Price 16s.*

DURING the last ten years of a laborious and productive life, Prof. Cheyne has been specially engaged in the solution of the most difficult of all the problems of Old Testament literature to which he has devoted himself—the religious hymns of Israel. The first-fruits of his work on the Psalms were published about eight years ago in the tasteful little volume of renderings executed for the Parchment Library. In 1888 appeared a revised rendering, with a complete commentary and appended critical notes, in the admirably lucid and compact style with which readers of the author's well-known commentary on Isaiah are familiar. In this work it was announced that the deeper questions of the Higher Criticism were left untouched, because they were reserved for separate treatment. The fulfilment of this promise is contained in the Bampton Lectures, which awakened deep interest and some controversy at the time of delivery, and they have at length been given to the world in the book before us.

Probably no European scholar, now that Delitzsch has gone, certainly no Englishman, has a more thorough command of, not merely the nuances of Hebrew idiom—for that is a formal element to which ordinary patience and industry can attain—but also of the underlying ideas that live and move in Hebrew literature. Within the brief compass of ten pages in the Introduction to these lectures, deeply interesting, and not without elements of pathos to all who love to hear of unwearied high endeavour in the search for truth, we learn something of the path—probably the only path—by which such high results can be achieved. The present work is many-sided, and appeals to diverse tastes. Of Semitic philology we have enough and to spare in these days. It not only crowds the German *Zeitschriften*, but overflows in dense masses into the commentaries. The Germans have taught us to delight in these things, and even to complain of their absence. In this volume, as in the Commentary that preceded it, the most exacting *philolog* will find much to whet his appetite. A running sequence of valuable notes is appended to each lecture, and exhibits the widest and most varied research. In addition to these, we have two valuable appendices; the second, on the linguistic affinities of the Psalms,<sup>1</sup> is perhaps the most solid

<sup>1</sup> On p. 469 (on Ps. xxix. 10) I take exception to the combination of מִבְּרָא with Assy. *abûbu* suggested by Haupt ten years ago. Surely this is

contribution to this side of the literary problem that has appeared since the days of Hupfeld. But we are more grateful to the writer for the insight and freshness of his treatment in the lectures of a well-worn, and, at the same time, obscure and baffling theme, the Chronology of the Psalms. And yet where the author awakens most powerfully our imagination and interest, we are conscious that we are being carried into regions replete with elements of controversy and dissent.

Like a skilful advocate, Professor Cheyne first takes us to ground where controversy is least likely to arise. He begins with Books iv. and v. Here we are in the midst of Psalm-groups, which evidently belong to the Greek period, and we willingly acknowledge that the writer has often made out a strong case. Take Ps. cxviii. as a favourable example. His contention, that the exuberant spirit of independence and martial ardour in this Psalm harmonizes with no historical event in Israel's post-exilian history so well as with the purification and reconsecration of the temple by Judas Macca-bæus in B.C. 165, is, in our opinion, powerfully urged and rendered highly probable. And we are also disposed to follow his guidance in assigning Pss. cxvi. and cxvii. to approximately the same date. How pathetic the sad thankfulness of cxvi. 12-15 becomes when read in the light of the immediate past of suffering and victory described in 1 Maccab. i.-iv. ! We cordially agree in assigning Ps. lxxiv. to that same period of struggle and triumph (p. 93). Nearly as cogent are Canon Cheyne's arguments in favour of placing the composition of Ps. cx. about 142 B.C., when the rule of Simon gave to Judæa the possession of undisturbed peace. We should likewise concur in attributing that most intellectual of all Psalms, cxxxix., to Greek influence, and a true critical insight cannot but follow our author in discerning in the "heptad" of "New" Songs, xciii., xcv.-c., a period but little subsequent to that of the Deutero-Isaiah. Why not include Ps. cvii. ? Comp. cvii., 33 foll. with Is. xli. 18.

But as we are carried back along the Psalter into the third book, serious misgivings begin to arise. Indeed, they have risen already, for we cannot agree in combining Ps. ci. with cx., and Grätz's arguments for a præ-exilian origin are not to be lightly set aside. Let us, however, rather note at the outset our further agreement with Canon Cheyne and many another older exegete (including his favourite Theodore), in admitting that Ps. lxxix., despite its remarkable parallel in the lament of an ancient Babylonian hymn (Zimmern, Busspsalmen, p. 74), is probably to be assigned, at least in its present questionable philology. The facts are correctly given in the author's Psalm-Commentary, p. 380. Comp. Delitzsch's "Hebrew Language," &c., p. 67. Schrader C.O.T., ii. p. 293.

form, to the Maccabæan epoch (about 168 B.C.). It might, indeed, be an extension of an earlier hymn of the Exilian period. To Psalm lxxii. are devoted some of the most interesting pages in the book, and we must confess that Hitzig's combination of the ideal portraiture of this Psalm with the personality of the enlightened friend of the Jews, Ptolemy Philadelphus, strikes us as very attractive, and far from improbable. The place of Cyrus in the Deutero-Isaiah affords us a fair parallel. It might be urged that the anti-hellenic wave of sentiment which came in the following century, should make us pause.<sup>1</sup> Surely so remarkable a panegyric of a ruler of Javan would have been known as such in the days when the reaction set in. Would the Chasidîm of that later time have allowed it a place in the Psalter? On the other hand, it is not inconceivable that its present place and title were due to the attempt of some of the more cultured Sopherim to reconcile national prejudice to the preservation of so splendid a monument for the religious use and enjoyment of posterity.

And now our course becomes a thorny road. For, as we enter into the problems of Books i. and ii., controversy thickens at every point. Psalm l., with its anti-ceremonialism, we hold to be far more in harmony with præ-exilian prophecy (Isaiah and Jeremiah) than with orthodox post-exilian piety. The author's pleading on pp. 151 foll. is, in our opinion, singularly wanting in cogency. Nor do his arguments on the linguistic side (p. 452) carry much weight. Surely the reference to Zion in verse 2 stands in close relation with such passages as Is. ii. 2-4 (Mic. iv. 1-4); iv. 5, 6; xxxiii. 20. In the third revised edition of his Commentary all these passages are regarded by our author as præ-exilian, and on p. 315 of the present work Is. ii. 2-4 is called an "old prophecy."<sup>2</sup> Here, on the other hand, Stade wields the critical besom (*Zeitsch. für A. T.-liche Wissensch.* 1884, pp. 149, 292) that sweeps all the præ-exilian documents clear of every literary vestige that stands in the way of a high-handed *a priori* theory. And we are glad to note that Canon Cheyne in this instance has not been carried away by the tempting lure. His view, however, respecting Ps. l. appears to be partly

<sup>1</sup> Of such an objection Canon Cheyne is fully aware. See p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> I much regret, however, to read the note on p. 184, where Is. xix. 18-25 is assigned to the age of Ptolemy Lagi. Surely the use of the term *massebah* in verse 19 is incompatible with such a date, unless all canons of literary criticism are to be flung to the winds. If "the religious reorganisation of the people in Ezra's time was too complete to allow any considerable influence to archaic liturgical formulæ" (p. 194), the same principle must surely apply with two-fold force to *ritual* formulæ. That Palestinian exiles in early times migrated to Egypt under the stress of Assyrian invasions, is indicated by Hos. ix. 3, 6; Mic. vii. 12 (?); comp. Jer. xli. 17, 18; xliv.



based on his conception of Is. lxx., lxxvi., as a later appendix—hardly a strong foundation to build on. I should regard Zech. vii. 4-12 as firmer ground. And does he not place weapons in the hands of critical adversaries when he writes: "History does not follow the course prescribed by theory. We must allow for the varieties of religious sentiment; . . . the author of Ps. l. may have belonged to a somewhat different school from that of the great reformer"? We can well imagine the satisfaction with which the late Professor Delitzsch would have welcomed such an admission of a principle capable of wide application to periods earlier than the post-exilian.

The arguments by which the author (pp. 194, 213, foll.) seeks to establish the position, that the musical art of the præ-exilian days was of the very crudest, and temple-psalmody practically unknown, appear to me extremely one-sided. Doubtless the songs of præ-exilian Israel would seem to our modern taste very crude. But would not the Greek melodies of even the third century appear much the same? Professor Mahaffy does not speak very favourably of them (*Antiqq.* p. 55). But admitting that the music of Hellas was a great advance on all that went before, surely we may claim for Semitic religious songs, Canaanite-Hebrew as well as Babylonian, a higher relative artistic merit than the Bampton Lecturer is disposed to admit. The passages cited from the præ-exilian prophets do not by any means exclude the possibility that a trained class of priestly functionaries carried on the service of song in the Jerusalem sanctuary. As for the Arabic *tahlil*, it is hardly conclusive as to the meaning of its Hebrew cognate in the late regal period and in the temple sanctuary. The oracles of the eighth century are crowded with references to the advanced civilisation and increasing wealth of the Palestinian towns. Surely the growth in luxury and refinement must have been accompanied by growing culture in religious art, especially with a race so receptive to sensuous impressions as the Canaanite-Hebrew. The local worships may have remained primitive, but this can hardly be true of Samaria and Jerusalem.

Even the ordinary reader, who remembers his Layard (Nineveh and Babylon) will not fail to recall the vivid bas-reliefs from Koujunjik with the procession of harpers and flute players (*Abridged ed.*, p. 253); and the student of Fritz Hommel's *History of Babylon* (p. 243) will find a harpist playing upon an instrument of twelve strings depicted on a monument assigned to the age of king Gudea (*circa* 3000 B.C.). We know that the Babylonians possessed several kinds of wind and stringed instruments. It is certain that the Phœnician culture, which undoubtedly exercised a profound influence over Israel, at least from the days of Solomon downwards, did not lack the charm and refinement of music. And, when we

recollect that the Greeks owed not only their alphabet but their *ναῦλον* or *νάβλα* to the Phœnicians (I suspect *κιθάρα* is a loan word), we shall hardly be disposed to underrate the musical culture of even the ancient Hebrew of the eighth or ninth century B.C. Let us not forget the Jehovistic extract (Gen. iv. 19-24). Significant, too, in this connection is Isaiah's quotation (xxiii. 16, comp. Ezek. xxvi. 13) of a melodious snatch from a popular Tyrian song in his day, which travelled far south to Palestinian towns, well known, probably, in the symposia of Jerusalem graphically described by the prophet (v. 11, 12):—

Take up the harp,  
Pass round the city,  
Forgotten coquette,  
Touch the strings deftly,  
Sing many a song,  
That thou be remembered.

We are reminded of the μέλη ἀρχαιομελισιδωνοφρυνιχάρα that charmed the ears of the Athenians in the days of Aristophanes. Who can doubt that "forgotten coquette" was a well-known melody as much as *aijjeleth haššahar, mûth labben*, or *jonath elem rehokim* which survived in the memory of Israel at least as many years as the "sweet old songs of Phrynichus"? Of the song *Al Tašhith* we have probably a reminiscence in Is. lxv. 8.

It is certainly a difficult task to decide how far Assyrio-Babylonian traditions, which operated, perhaps, during the reign of Ahaz or Manasseh, contributed to shape the forms of Hebrew lyrics and their cantillation. If comparatively late Babylonian influences moulded the Jehovistic narratives, as Canon Cheyne quite unnecessarily assumes (pp. 279, 391 foll.)<sup>1</sup>, surely Babylonian influences might be assumed with equal confidence to have moulded Hebrew Psalmody. But on such a subject dogmatism is inadmissible until our knowledge both of Babylonian worship and of Phœnician lyrical ritual has become far more intimate than it is. Meanwhile it should be noted that *לְהַלְלֵהוּ* is not improbably to be connected with the Assyrian *šigû* meaning "litany," and *לְהַלְלֵהוּ* with *sullû*, meaning

<sup>1</sup> It is one of the unfortunate results of the great wealth of material brought to light by Assyriology, and the comparative poverty of our knowledge of Phœnician and early Aramaic culture, that it gives a very one-sided view of the ancient Semitic world, and even a false bent to historic investigation. As a corrective to pp. 270, 279, let the reader peruse Dillmann's Essay on the Origin of the Primitive Historical Traditions of the Hebrews, translated in *Biblioth. Sacra*, July 1883, p. 433 foll.; and Schrader *Cuneif Insc. and Old Testament*, Vol. I., Preface, pp. xvii.-xx., and also pp. 28-39, 41-45, 48-55; Professor Ryle in *Expository Times*, June and Sept. 1891. Professor Sayce, *ibid.* Dec. 1891, suggests new possibilities. Let us hope that Glaser's researches in Arabia will help to redress the balance.

"to pray."<sup>1</sup> Very significant, too, is the cessation of musical titles in Books iv. and v. For this proves the antiquity of the musical tradition preserved in the previous books quite as much as the displacement of that tradition by the new Hellenic influences. Even a time-honoured tradition decays in the course of centuries, and its technical terms become emptied of all meaning. But if this be true, is it altogether safe to treat the musical title of a psalm as a negligible quantity in estimating the antiquity of the poem? To my own mind a definite clue of this kind ought at least to make us hesitate to assign Ps. xlv. to the Greek period.

This leads me to emphasise what I regard as the cardinal defect of Canon Cheyne's work on the Old Testament,—a defect shared by him with many adherents of the more advanced school of the higher criticism, viz., that he underrates the præ-exilian and national period of Hebrew life. Archæology alone can cure this. For the curious spectacle presented by the advanced criticism is that while its tendency is to post-date the literature of the Old Testament by centuries, archæology is ante-dating the origins of Semitic culture by millenniums.

And yet the acknowledged præ-exilian literature of the Old Testament that remains ought surely to arrest our progress to such an extreme conclusion as that to which Prof. Cheyne would conduct us, that *Ps. xviii. is the solitary præ-exilian Psalm, and even that is not earlier than the age of Josiah* (p. 266). What is there improbable in the supposition that the age which produced such a sentiment as Amos v. 8, or, later still, Jerem. x. 12-16, could also have given birth to Ps. xix. 1-7, or xxix? Has not our author himself drawn attention to Wellhausen's reconstruction of a poetic fragment belonging to the age of Solomon, 1 Kings viii. 12 (pp. 193, 212), where kindred ideas are expressed? And is there any antecedent improbability that Hebrews and Canaanites possessed their own poetic analogues to the impressive Babylonian hymns to Šamaš and Merodach?

In our opinion, too little account is taken of the possibility, suggested by Vatke (p. 193), that old poems or poetic fragments, written, perhaps, originally from an individual standpoint, became afterwards adapted to liturgical uses, and then, as in Psalm xxii., the individual traits became merged in the universal. The parallel between Ps. xxii. and Isa. liii. is obvious to even a superficial observer. But the rapidity with which the ancient Hebrew passed from the nation to the individual, and *vice versa*, is best understood when we note how readily his language expressed the nation or tribe under the

<sup>1</sup> Muss Arnolt in Academy, June 14, 1890. Compare Zimmern, *Buss-psalmen*, p. 41. 16 on the Pael *sullā*. Such a signification is well adapted to the combination סלה הניח in Ps. ix. 16.

form of an individual name. Moreover, additions to an earlier song might easily be made. Probably it was made in xiv. 7, and possibly in li. 20, 21. Clear examples may be found in Ps. lx. and cviii. (probably containing a Davidic fragment). Why should not Ps. lxxx. be a poem of the closing days of the Ephraimite kingdom? With the metaphor in verses 9, 10; 15, 16, comp. Isa. v. 1-7; and with the artistic strophes and their concluding refrain, comp. Amos i. 3-ii. 8, and the beautiful and elaborate poem, Isa. ix. 8-x. 4. Like Ps. xlv., it may be one of the few literary survivors from the awful national wreckage of Northern Israel, reserved for the eternal service of humanity in its worship of the King of kings. Such a view is no more uncritical than that which is entertained by most scholars respecting the collection of appended older oracles—Zech. ix.-xiv.—redacted probably, and adapted, if we follow Stade, in the third century. As to the specialities of diction, let us remember Canon Cheyne's own sound words of caution (Isaiah ii. (1884) p. 138). "Granting that בָּרָא [Isa. iv. 5] is an Aramaism, does it follow that every Aramaism in Isaiah is a corruption? Ryssel has pointed out how growing an influence was exerted by Aramaic from the time of Ahaz downwards." Probably the influence of Aramaic in Judah was comparatively slight and sporadic in præ-exilian times,<sup>1</sup> and dated from the conquest of Hazael at the close of the ninth century. In Northern Israel that influence existed both earlier and to a greater extent.

I much regret that space prevents me from discussing Dr Cheyne's valuable chapters on the theologoumena of the Psalms. The influence of Persian ideas in shaping Israel's doctrine of the future state is a profoundly interesting problem. On this the author has contributed three useful papers in the *Expository Times* (June, July, August, 1891). Here, again, matters of controversy arise respecting Pss. xvi. and xvii. But of controversy the reader will have had enough. Putting this *vexata questio* aside, we would express our gratitude to the writer for his fearless inquiry in a difficult region, full of fascination and hitherto insufficiently explored. The eighth lecture, Part II., is perhaps the most stimulating and instructive in the whole volume.

Let not this paper be misjudged as too severely anticritical in its tone. If it has emphasised points of difference, it is because a work, like these Bampton Lectures, by so eminent a scholar, and setting forth definite and positive results on a department of literature so difficult and uncertain as the Psalms, requires to be met not with complaisant or admiring acquiescence, but with careful scrutiny. And this is no useless truism. Were Prof. Cheyne's reputation far

<sup>1</sup> We know from Isa. xxxvi. 11 that the ruling classes understood it.

less than it is, such otiose acquiescence, though reprehensible, would perhaps work no very serious mischief. But at the present time, if we mistake not, there is special need for the observance of a critical attitude towards the work of the more advanced school of the Higher Criticism. Just now the wheel has come half cycle round, and the religious world, as reflected in many of its weekly organs and reviews, is willing to accept all that the most "advanced" Biblical critics will tell them, with a docility most uncritical. May we venture to remind our readers that the day for proving all things, even when it comes under the aegis of the authority of our most renowned Biblical scholars, is not yet past? Certain assured results in Pentateuch criticism Kuenen and Wellhausen have, I admit, attained. Nor will a serious scholar venture to assert that the book of Daniel, in its present form, is *præ-Maccabean*, or that Isaiah and Zechariah are not composite books. But let not these admissions involve the weakness of yielding to Kuenen's conclusions as to the antiquity of much of the *contents* and *ideas* of Israel's literature, and especially of that ethical-spiritual monotheism which it is the fashion of the hour to regard as the startling product of the eighth century. And let it be remembered that there are eminent Semitic scholars, like Dillmann, Schrader, Nöldeke, König, Baudissin, Bähgen, Strack, and Kittel, whose views respecting the evolution of Israel's religion are very different from those which are now in the ascendant.

We do not deny that many of the literary achievements of the regal period became obsolete because they did not harmonize with the severer canons of religious taste that prevailed during the exilic and post-exilic period. Much more perished in the awful tornadoes of destruction that swept over the Palestinian lands from Assyria and Babylon. The extent of this destruction of the literature of Israel we can only surmise from the scantiness of the remnants preserved in the Judæan recensions of the Old Testament. And how much of this is really Ephraimite? Is the Elohistic document or the Oracles of Hosea or the Song of Deborah really Ephraimite? That Judæan literature suffered likewise we cannot doubt. How much was lost, how much abandoned to oblivion, we shall never know. But if we can surmise anything, we may surely assume this: that the Hebrew exile would least willingly relinquish the strains of the earlier time, both of the more prosperous times of Solomon and Jehoshaphat and of the darker days when Isaiah and Jeremiah prophesied. Some, at least, of the lyric poetry must have been treasured in written scroll or in an enthusiastic loving memory. To ignore such a probability is to do violence to human psychology.

I fear that it must in candour be acknowledged that, despite all the wealth of learning and ingenuity with which these lectures are crowded, we even now know very little about the historic background

of the Psalms. In the work before us many an imaginary background has been painted for us with rare artistic grace and skill. In some cases we recognise the vista as probably the true one. In other cases it seems fairly harmonious in form and colour with the lyric fragment before us. Fortunately the religious value of the poem does not depend on the particular historic reference. For the Psalms have long passed into the universal consciousness of the Church and of humanity. Their spiritual greatness transcends all relations of place or time.

Dogmatism on these historic questions is worse than useless. It is misleading. For it is built over yawning chasms of ignorance. Despite archæology we have but little definite knowledge of the ninth century of Hebrew history on its internal side, and even less of the centuries that precede. And we know only too little of Judaism during the Persian period. Speaking broadly, therefore, we must follow Hupfeld in confessing that our verdict respecting the chronology of the Psalms must, to a large extent, remain a *non liquet*. In this respect I prefer the tone of judicial caution respecting the Psalms to that of sanguine expectancy of definite results.

But, while we regard this as the least conclusive of Canon Cheyne's contributions to Old Testament study, let us not be thought to disparage its value though we dissent from many of its results. The Psalms, owing to their external form and contents (for poetry is necessarily archaic, and bears fewer definite traits of time and place), must prove the supreme task of the historical and critical exegete. This last work of Canon Cheyne is, measured by its almost inaccessible goal, no less worthy than those which have preceded. It is one among the few produced by Englishmen on the Old Testament of which an Englishman may be proud, as revealing on every page laborious, independent research, and as a distinct contribution to the elucidation of a most baffling problem. On numerous later Psalms the author has thrown fresh and welcome light, and where he has not produced conviction he has at least opened up inviting paths for future inquiry.

“ Auch so geben die Götter vergängliche Gaben und locken  
Mit erneutem Geschenk immer die Sterblichen an.”

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

**Canon Driver's Introduction to the Literature of the  
Old Testament.**

*Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo. Pp. xxxvi., 532. Price 12s.*

UPON few theological works has such general interest been concentrated as upon this important work from the pen of Canon Driver. Few books, I venture to think, will have rendered such signal service to the cause, so dear to all Christian students, of the reverent, thorough, and painstaking study of Holy Scripture. Messrs T. & T. Clark may well be congratulated upon having been able to open their "International Theological Library" with a volume of such remarkable merits.

In every respect its appearance at the present time is most opportune. For some years past public attention has been aroused by the problems of Old Testament Criticism. The necessity for a restatement of views has forced itself upon thinking minds. It was impossible to read the best recent works upon the Old Testament (and to mention but a few, I mean such works as Cheyne's "Isaiah," Driver's "Books of Samuel," Spurrell's "Genesis," Davidson's "Job," Plumptre on "Ecclesiastes," Kirkpatrick on "Samuel" and "Psalms," C. H. Wright on "Ecclesiastes," Robertson Smith's "Old Testament in Jewish Church," and "Prophets of Israel"), without feeling how invaluable would be a volume that would summarise the best Christian criticism upon the Literature of the Old Testament. It is this service which Driver's "Introduction" has done for us. He has collected together into a "focus" the reasonings of modern criticism, the *data* on which they are founded, the results to which they probably lead.

But as a help to study it is likely to be even more valuable than as a guide for opinion. English students have long deplored the want of such a book. It has been the reproach of English theology that it has produced no work dealing with Old Testament literature that was at once accurate, complete, and up to date in respect of scholarship and criticism. For years we have had to be content with reproductions or translations of German work. In this department of Biblical study the Germans have been far in advance of us. It is not a matter of whether we approve of their particular views; that, by comparison, is of slight importance. But the Germans have shown us the way in close biblical study, examining the text itself verse by verse, with concordance and grammar by their side. When we look into the work by Eichorn at the end of last century, and of the great men of the present century, De Wette, Ewald, Bleek; when we see the numerous critical helps to students that have appeared in the last half century, the "Introduction"

of De Wette, edited by Schrader, that of Bleek, edited by Wellhausen, the reactionary "Introduction" by Keil, the excellent work on the Old Testament by Strack in Zöckler's "Handbuch," the reverent treatment of the subject by Riehm, and the indispensable commentaries of Delitzsch and Dillmann, we are forced to confess that English work has by comparison been sadly backward in this particular department.

If Canon Driver had not made use of German works, he would have rejected the aid of some of the best literary machinery that lay at his disposal. The value of Canon Driver's work consists in the perfect independence of his judgment, and the real genius of his scholarship. The excellence of his workmanship is not due to the tools he has employed, but to his skill in employing them and his knowledge how to use them for the best. What he gives us is no mere slavish transcript of the German opinion to which he stands most clearly allied, that of Dillmann, of Riehm, of Baudissin, of Kittel. Nor is it a series of polemics against the most advanced or the most reactionary school of criticism. He uses all and serves none. He is able to make the best use of the mass of information to be obtained from the acute and invaluable analysis of the Pentateuch in the monumental works of Kuenen and Wellhausen; but he is equally willing to make use of the most obscure "brochure," provided it is a piece of genuine work and a real contribution to the study. The authority of a scholar's name does not bias his own judgment. He is as likely to agree with Dillmann on one question as he is with Wellhausen on another. He gathers together all the available material, and sifts it in a calm judicial spirit. He reinforces the work of other scholars with the results of his own patient and skilful study. What he repeats he repeats, after he has verified it; what he borrows, he borrows because, after examining the whole range of available literature, he finds it most exactly expresses what he wants to say.

The reader has always the satisfaction of hearing both sides of an argument summed up quietly and lucidly. Often the writer honestly confesses he has not yet been able to make up his mind, but he does not hesitate to say that his judgment inclines him somewhat more in one direction than another (*e.g.* p. 47—the Law of Sacrifice, pp. 290, 291, the Date of Joel, p. 435, the Authorship of Lamentations).

To attempt to review in the limits of a single notice a work which covers such a range and contains such a mass of detail, is a task which I have not the presumption to undertake. I prefer rather to give some description of it, and to commend it most earnestly to all who are interested in Biblical Theology as teachers or students.



For this purpose it is needful to describe the scope of the work, and the method pursued in it. For by virtue of its scope and method it certainly occupies a unique position in the literature of English Theology. Canon Driver in his preface calls the attention of his readers emphatically to the *limited scope* which he has set, or which has been set before him. "An introduction to the literature of the Old Testament," he says, included according to the conception he had formed of it, "an account of the contents and structure of the several books, together with such an indication of their *general* character and aim as I could find room for in the space at my disposal." The space at his disposal may well have deterred a less courageous man. He had one volume allotted to him for his task ; he completed it in 520 pages. Some perhaps will grudge the imposition of such limitations upon a scholar of such powers. But the way in which with marvellous self-restraint he condenses the substance of chapters into pages, and the substance of pages into sentences, has enabled him to furnish us with more material in a single volume than most men would spread over a dozen octavos. His success in condensation is largely due to his rigid pursuit of the primary scope of his work. Doubtless we, some of us, feel inclined to grumble that he could give so little space to some special subject that has engrossed our attention. One student would like to know his view upon Genesis xiv. ; another would complain of the brief analysis of Leviticus i.-xvi. ; a third may object that the Minor Prophets had received but scanty treatment. But there is no real ground for complaint. The cause for wonder is that the writer has been able to keep so closely to the proportion that was necessary for the observance of the limitations under which he wrote. To the Hexateuch we have 150 pages allotted ; to the Prophets, 186 ; to the Hagiographa, 184. And if the reader will take the trouble to compare these figures with the corresponding pages in the Bible, he will be struck with the probably self-denying action of the writer in dealing with different portions in as far as possible an equally thorough and yet concise manner.

Carefully, however, as the contents and structure of the books are made to occupy his whole attention, the reader cannot complain that any important element subsidiary to the argument has been wholly disregarded. The discussion of *historical* questions affecting the date and authorship of a book will be immensely helpful to the student, and no one can read what Canon Driver has written under this head in his account of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, and Daniel, without a sense of the additional life which a few vigorous and accurate touches of the history, taken from the best sources, infuse into the description of the contents. Similarly, though the Theology of the Old Testament does not strictly fall within his province, the discussion of the religious ideas, *e.g.* of Isaiah, pp. 228-230—Job,

pp. 385, 386, 394—Ecclesiastes, p. 443, and in numerous other passages, reminds us that the literary scholar has never for a moment forgotten the spiritual purpose which the literature was selected to subserve. A treatment of Hebrew poetry (pp. 337-343), comes in naturally before the Psalter; and the discussion of numerous special passages arises naturally in the process of the analysis (Cf. note on Psalm xxi., p. 307; on Psalm cx., p. 362).

The *method* pursued in the introduction to each book is perfectly simple and direct. A few sentences are spent upon the writer and his period; and then, section by section, or chapter by chapter, the contents are briefly analysed, and any important feature in the structure is made the subject of especial remark. The arguments in any controversy upon the structure are succinctly stated. The reader is thus provided with a running analysis of every book in the Old Testament, and, in addition, with a careful summary of the discussion upon any disputed question bearing upon the present condition of the text. Doubtless, to many a reader the method adopted will appear dry, tedious, and technical. But, on the other hand, it is the only way in which the character of each work, and the purpose of its composition, can be fully appreciated. To many intelligent English readers, the methods adopted will perhaps for the first time reveal the true nature of the critical questions which beset the structure not of the Pentateuch only, but of so many other books of the Old Testament.

Still it is to the treatment of the Hexateuch that many will first direct their attention. Whatever views be held upon the origin of its structure, Canon Driver has here rendered the English-speaking Bible student a really great service. He has stated, with admirable conciseness and with great judgment, the arguments upon which he considers the departure from the traditional view, and the adoption of the new critical position, to be justified by reason, and to be required by candour. The arguments will very possibly fail to convince a certain number. But their statement has again and again been demanded during the past few years; and, whether acceptable or not, the advantage of having them ably and clearly stated will be a gain from whatever side it be regarded. Canon Driver, with a wise self-control, resisted the temptation to make a fragmentary reply. He has waited till he could put forward a complete, although necessarily a condensed, defence of the views for which he has frequently been censured. His statement is likely to have at once an educating and a re-assuring influence upon Christian opinion. It will, only too probably, be a new light to many to learn that the criteria, by which the component documents of the Hexateuch are to be distinguished, are not limited to the use of the sacred names. The treatment of the distinctive characteristics of the Priestly Law

and the Priestly Narrative (pp. 118-128) can hardly fail to convince the unprejudiced reader that if there be anything in the view of compilation (and the most conservative critics admit its presence in Genesis), then the characteristics of the Priestly Narrative are as clearly recognisable in Exodus or Numbers or Joshua, as in Genesis. By a happy and ingenious method the results of the compilation process in the Hexateuch are presented to us at the head of each section in turn. It is only possible to find one fault with it, and that is, that it is often not clear at first sight where a new chapter begins; and, of course, the merit of the device lies in the promptness with which the eye can seize the results of the interlacing of the different narratives. A couple of instructive instances may here be given:—

*Genesis* (p. 14).

[P 27, 1-9]		[28]						
J	10	13-16	19	2-14	24	29	31-35	
E	11-12	17-18	20-22.29, 1	15-23	24-28	30		

*Numbers* (p. 57).

P 13, 1-17*	21	25-26* (to Paran)	32*	14, 1-2	5-7	10	26-38	
J E	17 <sup>b</sup> -20	22-24	26 <sup>b</sup> -31	32 <sup>b</sup> -33	3-4	8-9	11-25	39-45

Even an English reader, quite ignorant of Hebrew, who at first sight is startled, if not indignant, at this attempt to trace the component elements of a Book of the Bible, will find, by patiently following out such examples as these, verse by verse, that the threads of two or more versions of the narrative become plainly distinguishable, and possess, moreover, clearly marked characteristics of style. He will see the meaning of the author's wise opening words in p. 3, explaining the methods of a Hebrew narrative-writer.

It will be observed that J and E of the *Genesis* passage appear as JE in the *Numbers* passage. The practical commonsense of the writer is here apparent. He has no doubt of the original distinctness of the two documents represented by these names. But he grants that, after their compilation together, the data are often lacking upon which it is possible to determine whether a passage has most affinity to the characteristics of E or of J (pp. 109, 110). Similarly it was probably a wise step to refrain from the employment of such symbols as P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>2</sup> P<sup>3</sup> to represent the different strata of the Priestly Code (p. 45 n.); for the existence of the different strata is admirably brought out in the analysis of the Laws, and the introduction of such signs, where there must be considerable uncertainty in their application, would have needlessly bewildered the ordinary reader.

To those who have attempted to follow the controversy respecting the date of the Priestly Code as compared with the Laws of

Deuteronomy and the Code of Ezekiel, Canon Driver's treatment of the subject (pp. 128-148) can hardly fail to be welcome. For lucidity of statement and moderation of expression, it is a model of the way in which such questions should be discussed. While it is tempting to give many extracts, the following summary of results deserves especial attention. "These arguments are cogent, and combine to make it probable that the *completed* Priest's Code is the work of the age subsequent to Ezekiel. When, however, this is said, it is very far from being implied that all the institutions of P are the *Creation* of this age. The contradiction of the pre-exilic literature does not extend to the *whole* of the Priest's Code indiscriminately. The Priest's Code embodies some elements with which the earlier literature is in harmony, and which indeed it presupposes: it embodies other elements with which the same literature is in conflict, and the existence of which it even seems to preclude. This double aspect of the Priest's Code is reconciled by the supposition that the chief ceremonial institutions of Israel are *in their origin* of great antiquity; but that the laws respecting them were gradually developed and elaborated, and *in the shape in which they are formulated in the Priest's Code* that they belong to the exilic or early post-exilic period. In its main stock the legislation of P. was thus not (as the critical view of it is sometimes represented by its opponents as teaching) 'manufactured' by the Priests during the exile; it is based upon *pre-existing Temple* usage, and exhibits the form which that finally assumed. Hebrew legislation took shape gradually, and the codes of JE. (Ex. 20-23, 34, 10 ff.), Dt., and P. represent three successive phases of it" (pp. 135, 136).

While the treatment of the Hexateuch will thus enable the student to understand the historical growth of its structure, a similar process is shown to have been at work in the composition of the other narrative books, and of certain Prophets, notably Isaiah, Micah, Zechariah, and of books in the Hagiographa, the Psalter, Proverbs, Job. The discussion of some of the books which have not been the subject of sensational controversy, belongs to some of the best part of this "Introduction." The treatment of Judges, of Joel, of Lamentations, of Song of Songs, have all admirable qualities to make them interesting to any intelligent student. The discussion of the Song of Songs no one will regret to see so fully handled. Similarly Job and Ecclesiastes receive very ample and sympathetic treatment. For an example, however, of Canon Driver's methods it would be difficult to find a better case than is presented by the treatment of the Book of Daniel. For more reasons than one he is here moving on very delicate ground. Nowhere are his caution and his capacity for weighing arguments displayed to such advantage; while the management of the argument based upon the

language, cannot but excite admiration, both for its thoroughness and the masterly manner in which the facts are grouped. The treatment of the language, as might be expected, frequently forms one of the best features in the discussion of the individual books.

There are two points which, in a notice like the present, it is desirable to emphasize and to give due credit to. One is the enormous industry, the other is the unflinching courage displayed by the writer of such a work. The industry of the work appears in every page, it appears in the thoroughness with which every large work and every special monograph have been consulted; it appears in the care with which every reference has been verified; not least does it appear in the lists and tables, the accurate preparation of which must have cost an amount of labour quite unsuspected by the ordinary reader. Under this head, attention may be drawn to the admirable synopsis of the Laws of Deuteronomy (p. 68), to the tables illustrating the characteristics of the Deuteronomic style (pp. 91-95), the Priestly Narrative (pp. 123-128), of the compiler of the Book of Kings (pp. 190-193), and the chief elements in the structure of Chronicles (pp. 487-493).

The moral courage shown in this book deserves full acknowledgment. Canon Driver states fearlessly the conclusions which his premises compel him to adopt. We feel that there is no overstating of the case, no exaggeration of difficulties, no fondness for merely speculative theories. On the contrary, he states his opinion so cautiously and circumspectly, with such a rigid regard to the quality of the evidence, that we feel that he is more likely to keep within the mark than to go beyond it, and that where he asserts himself positively, he does so because he feels the ground is firm under his feet. With this scholar-like caution we do not always associate the qualities of courage and fearless frankness: much needed as they always are, these are qualities which we more than ever value when they are found in a man who has attained a position of responsibility and is trusted as a master of his subject.

All lovers of truth will therefore honour Canon Driver for not shrinking to record the results of his researches. He gives his data, and he then declares what appears to him to be the most candid conclusion to be obtained. In doing so he cannot fail to come in for much obloquy; he is sure to give offence, sure to be misunderstood. If he had chosen an easier and less straightforward line, he might have escaped much that he is likely to be the victim of at the hands of those who are really ignorant of the problems, or who are unskilled in estimating the true weight of evidence. All true scholars, whether agreeing with his conclusions or not, will do credit to his care, his thoroughness, and his reverence of tone. Leaving out of our reckoning the treatment of the Hexateuch, the

reader will find utterances apparently fully justified by the evidence, which many a student will be most grateful for finding honestly recorded, but which it was no light matter for the Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford to assert. A few examples will suffice: the *probability* is stated that the book of Jonah was composed in the fifth century B.C. (p. 301): "Qohéleth," it is said, "takes a false view of life" (p. 442); "the Book of Daniel was not written earlier than c. 300 B.C. . . . the opinion a *probable* one, that the Book, as we have it, is a work of the age of Antiochus Epiphanes" (p. 477); the Book of Esther can "hardly be pronounced altogether free from improbabilities" (p. 452); "It does not seem possible to treat the additional matter in Chronicles as strictly and literally historical" (p. 500). These are instances of distinct but guarded opinions, which many have shared and have yet hesitated to express. We have no fears for the results of candid historical criticism, so long as it is conducted on the lines and in the spirit of the present work. The real source of peril to the Church of Christ would arise from the timid suppression by men of learning and responsibility of conclusions to which they had come after years of patient study and anxious thought. Worse than any heterodoxy is that fear of appearing heterodox that sacrifices truth to fancied orthodoxy.

Canon Driver has written with dignity and self-restraint. Controversy he for the most part avoids. Every now and then he alludes to those who have differed from him, but uniformly with great moderation. His remarks upon the "Journal theory" of the Pentateuch, as represented by Principal Cave, are gently expressed, though firmly (pp. 144, 149); though one feels a less kindly critic would have handled in a far more unsparing way a theory that applies to precisely the same phenomena different explanations according as they happen to occur in Genesis, in Exodus, in Deuteronomy, or in Joshua. A few sparks of righteous severity are occasionally let fall, *e. g.*, p. xviii. n., and p. 471, n. 2; but only where a much more stern rebuke would not have been altogether unmerited.

The necessity for compression has a little impaired the freedom of the style. The necessity also of guarding against wrong inferences and, therefore, for using terms that could not be capable of perversion, sometimes accounts for a cumbrous form of expression. As a rule, the writing is a model of close packing without loss of intelligibility.

A notice of the book would be incomplete which did not call upon the reader on no account to overlook the Preface. It deserves to be carefully studied. Many in the present day dread the influence of the free literary criticism, which is applied, in such a book

as this, to Holy Scripture. Let them gather courage from the expression of unwavering Christian faith which closes an admirable Preface with these words:—

“Criticism in the hands of Christian scholars does not banish or destroy the inspiration of the Old Testament; it *pre-supposes* it; it seeks only to determine the conditions under which it operates, and the literary forms through which it manifests itself; and it thus helps us to frame truer conceptions of the methods which it has pleased God to employ in revealing Himself to His ancient people of Israel, and in preparing the way for the fuller manifestation of Himself in Christ Jesus.”

Since the above was written, I have heard, with the utmost pleasure, of the appearance of the Second Edition. That a work of such a severely scholarly character should have so rapidly found favour with British and American readers, speaks eloquently both for the need that was felt for such a work and for the successful manner in which it has been met by Canon Driver's treatment of the subject.

HERBERT E. RYLE.

### Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Alban.

By William F. Skene. Vol. I., *History and Ethnology*; Vol. II., *Church and Culture*; Vol. III., *Land and People*. Second Edition. Edinburgh: David Douglas, pp. xvi.-509; xix.-510; xv.-530. Price 15s. per vol.

THE publication of a new, though substantially unaltered, edition of *Celtic Scotland* affords us an opportunity to estimate and acknowledge the value of the author's contribution to the history of his own country. Mr Skene was the first, or among the first, to apply the results of a really scientific philology to the materials left us by our Celtic forefathers or predecessors; he possesses an unequalled knowledge of our earliest chronicles; and he was also the first to lay the Sagas under contribution for the purposes of Scottish history. When he undertakes to guide us through an obscure and confused period, we may follow him with confidence; at the same time, we need not bind ourselves beforehand to accept all his opinions. Whether Conn of the hundred battles is really Constantine the Great; whether Niall of the nine hostages and Dathi are really Theodosius and Maximus—on these and many other minor questions we desire to retain the right of private judgment. The main outlines of Celtic history stand out clearly enough; and no writer has done more to make them clear than Mr Skene.

Recent inquirers are agreed in holding that these islands were occupied, during the Neolithic age, by a long-skulled, curly, dark race, who buried their dead in caves and chambers. It is to this, the so-called Iberian race, that we must assign some elements in the population of Wales and Ireland, which are still occasionally described as "characteristically Celtic." Mr Skene identifies this pre-Celtic element with the Silures of Wales, the Cornish tin-workers, known to the Phœnicians, and the Fírbolg of Irish tradition. The true Celts bring in the age of bronze; they are of Aryan race, and resemble the Germans and the Gauls; their skulls are round, and they bury their dead in round barrows. Among the Celtic invaders of these islands, we are to distinguish two groups of tribes: the British or Brythonic people, who are strongest in Wales, Cornwall, and Strathclyde; and the Gaels, who are strongest in Scotland generally, and in Ireland. The Gaels, again, are of two types. There is a race of fair, large-limbed men, whom Mr Skene has identified with the Picts of Scotland and Ulster, and with the legendary Tuatha de Danann; among the Picts of central Scotland he discovers an admixture of British blood. There is also a race of fair, brown-haired Gaels, "sons of Miledh," Milesians, or Scots. Whether the Scots were the best of their race or not, they were certainly the most successful. For, in the first place, they imposed their name on the tribes of Ireland, so that for centuries the sister island was known as Scotia. Coming over into Argyle, they made a kingdom there, and this kingdom flourished until the name of Scotia was transferred to, and retained by, our own country: an early and undoubted injustice to Ireland, which we acknowledge with due contrition. We may accept this account of the tribes who contended for mastery in these islands, subject to the general observation that race-names are always to be used with caution. "Picts" and "Scots" were names of mere description, given to certain tribes by their neighbours; their significance may have changed from time to time; the Scots, for example, who invaded the Roman Empire in the fourth century, may, or may not, be connected in blood with those who settled in western Scotland four generations later.

Of the beliefs and customs of the primitive Celts of Britain and Ireland not very much is known. They worshipped gods who resided in earth, air, and water; they set up pillar-stones; and they had a class of priests or Druids, who knew how to propitiate the supernatural powers. We must beware of applying what is said of the Druids of Gaul to the probably much ruder mystery-men of the Irish tribes. It has been supposed that the name of Baal was known to the early Celts; but this opinion seems to rest on no better evidence than one or two doubtful etymologies. From the success of the first Christian missionaries we may infer that the



Celts were naturally religious, and also that there was nothing in their native beliefs so definite or so firmly established as to offer an obstacle to the reception of a new faith. The old gods retired into the background, and there is much in the popular superstitions of Scotland and Ireland which perpetuates the memory of the primitive Nature-worship. Celtic Christianity has a character of its own, and Mr Skene has well shewn how the phases of its progress are reproduced in the legends of the saints. The pioneers of the faith are secular priests, founding churches, and converting nations. Their successors are regular clergy, founding monasteries, which assimilate and reproduce the tribal organisation of the people among whom they work. St Patrick is the model of the first order of missionaries, St Columba of the second. Monachism is introduced into Ireland from Whithorn in Galloway, and from Brittany through Wales. Throughout the Columban Church, the monastery is the unit of administration; the Abbot is the leader in religious work, and the Bishop occupies a comparatively subordinate place. But the Celtic Churches held to the Catholic view of orders; they preserved to the Bishop his spiritual function, though they did not assign to him a prelatial jurisdiction. We must take note of these ecclesiastical tendencies to understand the political history of the time, for the founders of monasteries were also the true founders of principalities and kingdoms. It was under the influence of men like Columba that the tribes drew together, and began to form nations in the modern sense of the word.

At the close of the sixth century, there were, according to Mr Skene's reckoning, four peoples within the limits of Scotland. The Britons were, for the most part, Romanised or half Romanised; their fortune was to fall under the rule of the Scots. The Picts were to form a considerable kingdom in the north—a kingdom whose destiny was determined more than once by the primitive rule of maternal succession which prevailed among its chiefs, a rule which Mr Skene, following McLennan, would account for on the theory that maternity, in the earlier stages of social development, is more certain than paternity. We should prefer to say that the rights of a child, in primitive society, depend on the house in which he is born—the house, in other words, to which his mother belongs. The Picts also are brought under the influence of the Scots by Columba and his followers, and the rule of maternal succession finally gives them a Scottish chief. The Scots themselves follow the Irish custom of tanistry; and this is the rule which Kenneth Mac Alpin brings with him when, in 844, he becomes master of the Pictish Kingdom. His accession is followed by an immigration of Scots, lay and clerical, into Pictland—the beginning of the move-

ment which made the *Alban* of the ninth century into the *Scotia* of the tenth.

Britons, Picts, and Scots were not left to fight out their battles among themselves. Before the end of the fourth century, if Mr Skene is right, the Saxons were among them; by "Saxon" we are to understand men of Teutonic race; the name is wide enough to include the Angles, who founded a great kingdom in Northern England and lowland Scotland, and the Frisians, from whom the Firth of Forth derived the name of the Frisian Sea. Arthur, the hero of the British Celts, has to make head against the Gael and the Teuton; the last but one of his twelve battles is fought at the Mount Agned—*i.e.*, Mynydd Agned or Edinburgh, then held by Picts who may have been in league with the Saxons. Edinburgh, in fact, marks the boundary between the races; Edwin of Northumbria gives it his name, and makes it an outpost of the Angles; three centuries later Indulph, king of Scots, makes it an outpost against the Angles. If the Avon or the Esk had remained the southern boundary of the Scottish kingdom, the Celts of the north might ultimately have been incorporated with England by hard fighting, like their British kinsmen in Wales. But the kings who dwelt at Scone or Dunfermline were too strong to be reduced into vassalage. They regard Lothian and Cumbria as lying within their "sphere of influence;" they acquire titles to jurisdiction over these regions good enough to satisfy feudal notions of right. William the Conqueror finds that the union of lowland and Celtic Scotland is too strong to be disturbed, and the border line is drawn between him and his neighbour King Malcolm very much as it remains to this day. When power passes to the sons of Malcolm and his Saxon Queen, Margaret, the boundaries of the northern kingdom are not altered, but its attitude, so to speak, is changed; it is no longer a kingdom of Scots pressing southward; it has become a kingdom of Anglo-Normans pressing northward. David I. is to all intents a Saxon like his mother, and his policy is to re-fashion the institutions of Scotland, in Church and State, on the model of feudal and Catholic England.

Celt and Saxon are thus inseparably combined in the structure of the Scottish nation, but there were other tribes which contributed something to the final result. Towards the end of the eighth century, the Northmen began to be the terror of these islands: the Finngail (white strangers, Norwegians) and the Dubhgaill (black strangers, Danes) harried our coasts, seized the harbours that suited them best, built and fortified towns for themselves, and exercised lordship over their neighbours. Thus, many of the Scots of the west became "Gallgaidhel," Gaels under the stranger. Mr Skene tells us that the same name was given to the Picts of Gallo-

way at the time when they were subject to Anglian rule: Galloway is, in fact, the same as Gallgaidhel. The Norwegians and the Danes founded no enduring kingdom in this part of the world, but they took their full share of what fighting there was to be had, acting sometimes in alliance with the Celtic powers, sometimes against them. Thus, for example, Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, and vassal of King Olaf, marries a daughter of the King of Scots; but at the great battle of Clontarf in 1014, Sigurd is slain fighting on the side of his kinsmen, while the Scots army shares in the victory of Brian Boromhe and the Irish tribes. Thorfinn, son of Sigurd, is at war with King Duncan, but when Duncan is killed by his general Macbeth, the usurper is content to claim the Scots kingdom, leaving the north to Thorfinn. Earl Siward of Northumbria places Malcolm, son of Duncan, on the Cumbrian throne, and thus sets him up as a rival to the King of Scots; Macbeth, who had slain his master, is himself slain in battle with his master's son. Malcolm was twice married, first to the widow of Thorfinn, and afterwards to the Saxon Margaret. These events are not merely of personal and dynastic interest; they help us to understand the process by which tribes and races were welded into nations.

The second volume of Mr Skene's work is devoted to an account of the Celtic Churches. It would be easy to criticise the arrangement of these volumes, but if the author's plan has involved him in some repetition, it has the advantage of enabling him to deal more systematically with the history of institutions than is possible in a chronological record of events. The monastic Church of Ireland deserves separate study. It had its origin in a movement which spread over western Europe in the fourth century; in the sixth century it is strong enough to furnish missionaries and teachers for many other countries, so that Scotland and great part of England stand indebted to Ireland for their first lessons in the faith. If the whole of England had been converted from the same quarter, a homogeneous Church might have been formed, strong enough to hold its own against Roman interference.

But there is in truth no reason to regret the victory of the Church of Augustine over the Church of Columba. Great as the services of the Irish Church were, its organisation was essentially weak and defective. The Irish have always had a genius for preaching and controversy; they stirred the mind and moved the heart of western Europe as no other kind of men could have done; but their ideas of order and policy were far behind the new ideas that were being introduced from Rome. There was a Roman party in the Irish Church itself, and Bonifacius, who brought the Picts into line with the rest of Christendom, is now believed to have been an emissary of this party, although the fabulists have chosen to represent him as

coming straight from Rome. Another tendency which helped to weaken the monastic system was the movement towards asceticism among those who had embraced the religious life. They deserted the monastery for the cell, and became anchorites or hermits. These solitary exercises were not unknown to the Columban Church, but it is only after the Romanisation of Scotland, after the expulsion of the Columban monks, that there arose an order of anchorites known as Ceile De, Culdees, companions of God. The Culdees, says Mr Skene, were clerics, and might be called monks, but only in the sense in which anchorites were monks. They were in the long run brought under the canonical rule, together with the secular clergy, retaining to some extent the nomenclature of the monastery, until the name of Culdee became almost synonymous with that of secular canon. This version of the facts is less picturesque than that which has found its way into popular histories, but Mr Skene holds that the silence of Adamnan and Bede proves that no order of Culdees was known to them as existing, or having existed, in the Celtic Church.

The greater part of Mr Skene's third volume is devoted to an account of the evolution of tribe and sept in Ireland, and to the corresponding evolution of tribe and clan in Scotland. The tribe precedes the clan: we begin with a tribe of about 700 fighting men, holding the tribal land in common, but allotting portions of it to the king or chief and his officers; other portions are allowed to become the inheritance of subordinate chiefs. It is the subordinate chief who forms a sept or clan of his own, consisting of his relatives, of his free and bond tenants and old adherents, and of the strangers and broken men who place themselves under his protection. In Ireland, the kindred form the sept, in a narrower sense of the word: they are arranged in an arbitrary group of seventeen persons, divided into four smaller groups, according to a rule which has been the theme of much controversy. There is less to be said in detail of the development of the Scottish clan, but the same influences which caused the formation of the sept were at work in this country; clans were formed, and the clans maintained their independent existence after the tribes, out of which they arose, had disappeared, and the tribe-lands had become feudal lordships. The genealogies of the clans have been worked over, and more or less falsified; first to bring them into harmony with the legendary but long accepted version of Scottish history, and also to furnish the chiefs occupying land with titles which would satisfy the feudalists. The clans have disappeared; the Court of Session has declared that they exist only "for peaceful pageantry, social enjoyment, and family tradition;" but we still have to take a practical interest in forms of land-tenure which grew out of the old tribal system. The land occupied by a

clan was divided into townships; some held by tacksmen, with cottars or sub-tenants under them; others held by a body of small tenants jointly. The tenants and sub-tenants of a township formed a kind of village community, holding their arable land in runrig, and their pasture in common. The runrig tenure was not favourable to agricultural improvement, but it possessed one advantage—the joint interest which it created tended to the discouragement of subdivision. But, in process of time, the runrig land was permanently divided into separate crofts. Fatal facilities were afforded for subdivision and subletting; and thus was created the class of crofters and cottars whose condition has lately engaged the attention of every politician. Mr Skene has given us a clear and sober picture of the facts, and his last chapter contains a most interesting description of the runrig system as it survives in the Outer Hebrides, from the pen of Mr Alexander Carmichael.

It is not easy, within the limits of a review, to do justice to such a book as *Celtic Scotland*. It is the fruit of many years of patient research, and the author may be sure that his labour has not been thrown away. All students of history are deeply indebted to him; and if we venture to criticise, it is only because he has himself supplied us with the materials of an independent judgment.

T. RALEIGH.

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### **Einleitung in das Alte Testament.**

*Von C. H. Cornill, Professor an der Universität Königsberg.  
Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh:  
Williams & Norgate. Pp. 325. Price 5s.*

THIS is the first of a series of "Scientific Outlines" projected by the enterprising firm of J. C. B. Mohr. The series is intended primarily for students, being designed to furnish them with a trustworthy sketch of each subject of study to which they can refer when hearing lectures more extended and filled with details. The idea is a very happy one, and scholars of the best repute in their various departments have been secured as contributors. The author of the present work is already well known by his scholarly book on the Text of Ezekiel. The compass of the manuals naturally precludes extended discussion, but the writers will not be expected merely to register results attained by others, they will offer independent contributions. In a subject like Old Testament Introduction, where all the questions have already been investigated in every aspect of them, there is little left for a new writer to do but exercise his judgment on the diverse conclusions that various scholars have reached, and adhere to one or other of them. The present author will probably be con-

sidered to err in the direction of excessive analysis. The differences which he founds upon as indicating separate authors or interpolations often seem too slight to sustain such conclusions. This is particularly apparent in the section on Deuteronomy and the passage dealing with the elements entering into the document J: (Jehovist), though, in the latter case, he reposes upon the fuller investigations of Budde. The same tendency is manifest in many other parts of his work, as in his analysis of Isaiah i. His sympathies are generally on the side of those who carry disintegration to an extreme. Perhaps, in producing a manual for general use, it would have been better if the author had put himself under some restraint, and given results which were generally accepted, throwing the minuter details which approved themselves to him and some others into notes. It must be confessed that the results of criticism pushed so far as he pushes it, when presented in the bald abstract form of an outline like the present, have a repulsive appearance, and seem little probable. The criticism of the Pentateuch is a great historical drama which needs to be put upon the stage with appropriate scenery and circumstance. When performed by a company of puppets called J. E. D. P., with all their little ones down to J<sup>3</sup> and P<sup>x</sup>, it loses its impressiveness. It will not be strange if some spectators mistake the nature of the performance, and go home with the impression that they have been witnessing a farce.

The book leaves the impression that the author's scholarship is sounder than his judgment. He is perhaps less to be trusted when he is conservative than when he is negative. His defence of the originality of the speeches of Elihu is more interesting than convincing. He thinks that the rôle assigned to Elihu was that of bringing Job back to reverence and reason, and that he was successful. But, if so, where was the need of the Divine speeches from the storm-cloud? The author permits himself to describe these speeches as "devilish mockery." By the use of such language he criticises himself better than any one else could do. And he fails to perceive that, if these speeches were addressed to a sufferer already brought back by Elihu to humility and contrition, they become ten-fold more diabolical. In spite of drawbacks, however, the book will prove a handy and useful compend. The two historical sketches of the progress of the science of Old Testament introduction, and of the criticism of the Pentateuch are extremely good and clear.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

**Die Klagelieder des Jeremias.**

*Erklärt von Dr Max Löhr. Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, Göttingen ;  
London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 102.  
Price 3s.*

THOUGH too greatly neglected, the Book of Lamentations is one of the most instructive in the Old Testament. The details which it gives of the terrible sufferings endured in the siege of the city, the hopes of the people of help from Egypt, and their disappointments, and of the scenes of blood enacted within the walls by rival factions, are fresher and more full than anything supplied by history ; while the glimpses offered by it into the religious feelings and condition of mind of the generation surviving the fall of the city,—the profound sense of humiliation among the nations, the prostration under the calamity, and the weight of the unparalleled sin which had drawn down so unexampled a chastisement, more terrible in its prolonged miseries than that of Sodom which perished in a moment, and the flickerings of a faith in the future which looks almost as if it would expire, but which dies down only to leap up again higher than before—have a value second to nothing in the prophetic scriptures. With the exception of perhaps a few psalms, and some chapters in Ezekiel, this book alone casts any light on the state of the national mind during all the dark period stretching from Jeremiah to the second part of Isaiah. Any new contribution, therefore, to the understanding of it is very welcome, particularly a contribution so scholarly, and, at the same time, so lucid and concise as this commentary of Dr Löhr.

In an introduction, brief, but full and clear, Löhr discusses the usual preliminary questions of date, authorship, and place of composition. He considers that the affinities of the book with the language of Ezekiel prove conclusively the acquaintance of the author or authors with the prophet's writings, and he would fix the year 550 approximately as the date of composition. The last that we hear of Ezekiel is in the appendix from his own hand to his book of date 570 (ch. xxix. 17). So long as twenty years would hardly be necessary to make his book known, particularly if the Lamentations originated among the exiles in Babylon ; and the freshness of the pictures in the book is not so probable at so great a distance as thirty-six years from the fall of the city. If, however, so late a date could be assumed, some light might be cast on the difficult passage Isaiah lxiv., where there is the same vivid picture of the desolation of Jerusalem and the temple, and which has induced some scholars to assume—contrary to the natural sense of the words, and without any historical support—a second burning of the temple, possibly of the time of Nehemiah.

The question of authorship is complicated. As early as 2 Chr. xxxv. 25, a tradition connected the name of Jeremiah with the little book. The same tradition appears in the superscription to the book in the LXX., and has been transmitted to the present time. There is no support in the Hebrew text for the tradition, and in the Palestinian Canon the book was never connected with Jeremiah as in the Greek; and several things in the book, such as reference to the cessation of prophecy (ii. 9), the very favourable mention of king Zedekiah (iv. 20), and the trust in Egypt which the author shared (iv. 17), appear incompatible with Jeremiah's authorship. The diversity of opinion among modern scholars regarding the authorship of the various chapters is extraordinary, and nothing shews better the helplessness of criticism when it has to rely on internal evidence alone. Of Ch. iii., Steinthal remarks that "it forms the moral climax of the whole," while of the same chapter, Nöldeke says, "It has least value, and must in any case be assigned to a distinct poet." "That the writer of Ch. ii., iv.," says Thenius, "cannot have written Ch. i., iii., and v., it needs only a very moderate share of æsthetic feeling to perceive;" while Budde says, "I see no ground for denying that the author of Ch. ii., iv., wrote Ch. i." Stade and Budde agree that the author of Ch. i., ii., iv., cannot have written Ch. iii., but neither sees any ground for depriving him of the authorship of Ch. v., while Löhr attributes Ch. ii., iii., iv., to one author, but considers it impossible that he can have written Ch. i., v., the former chapter being wanting in clearness and the latter in contents. How shall he who occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen here? Of course, scholars must form their conclusions on the evidence which they think they perceive, and some may be right and others wrong, but the conflict of opinions is such that small weight is due to any of them. The arguments of Löhr, in favour of his particular view do not appear worth more than the arguments of others in favour of views altogether opposed to his. Perhaps Reuss is not far wrong when he finds in the attempts of scholars to distribute the five chapters among different writers nothing but a "prodigal waste of ingenuity."

Löhr advances an interesting theory as to the idea of the book. The proper kernel of it he considers to be Ch. ii.-iv., Ch. i. and v. being later additions made for the purpose of adapting the whole for public worship. He thinks it evident that Jeremiah is the hero of Ch. iii., and his theory is that when news of the death of the prophet reached the exiles in Babylon, one of his like-minded companions conceived the idea of bringing the beloved master into connection with the national catastrophe, and he introduces him as admonisher and comforter of the people in their misfortune, which is regarded as a Divine judgment for sin. Hence, in Ch., ii.-iv. he



addresses the city, testifying to it and comforting it as a prophet. The theory is not very natural, and this action within an action withdraws the real author from close relation to the people to whom he speaks, detracting from the earnestness of his work, to which it gives an air of artificiality. Löhr remarks that in Ch. ii.-iv. the speaker everywhere addresses Zion. But this is scarcely exact; in Ch. ii. Zion is for the most part spoken of, just as in i. 1-11, and in ii. 20 she speaks herself, as in i. 12, and uses the same words, *Behold, O Lord* (i. 20); and the community speaks also in iv. 17. There does not seem the slightest difference in manner between Ch. i. and ii.-iv. Further, if the real author makes Jeremiah the speaker, he puts into his mouth all those expressions and sentiments which modern scholars find alien to Jeremiah's mind, and upon which they decide that the composition is not his.

The part of Löhr's work devoted to Commentary is very careful though succinct, special attention being devoted to the affinities or differences between the language and that of Jeremiah. A more useful book could hardly be got.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

### Beiträge zur Aufhellung der Geschichte und der Briefe des Apostels Paulus.

Von Max Krenkel. *Braunschweig, Schwetschke und Sohn; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.* 8vo, pp. vii.-468. Price, M. 9.

THERE are various points of interest connected with this book to which, before looking at the special nature of its contents, it may not be amiss to advert for a moment. The first of these is the fact that such a book should have been published at all. A goodly 8vo volume of 468 pages is devoted to certain details connected with the person and personal history of St Paul that would hardly appear, at first sight, to call for the laborious investigation to which they are here subjected. That they are full of importance to the biblical student is unquestionable, but they hardly touch any great question as to the construction of the books of the New Testament, or the religious life. The scholar may love to pore over them. The minister or preacher of the Gospel, searching daily for hints for sermons, will naturally turn to other sources for the supply of his wants. The book could hardly have been published in Scotland. With all our professed esteem for theological and biblical enquiry, it would have obtained too few readers. In Germany food of the kind here supplied must either be much more cheaply accessible than among us, or there must be an appetite for it of which we

have little experience. The latter is probably the true explanation, and we cannot but envy a land where a diligent student may publish enquiries of the kind here presented to us with a calm and hopeful confidence that he will find men to read them.

Another point of interest connected with this work is the illustration which it affords of the spirit of German theological study, and of the laboriousness with which it collects from every quarter whatever may promise to throw the least ray of light upon the question discussed. It would be an excellent discipline for any Scotch divinity student to work his way through such a paper as that in this volume on St Paul's "Thorn in the Flesh," to turn up in the original every quotation made in it, and to judge for himself how far the conclusions drawn by the writer are to be justified or not. He would learn what that quiet study is which, under the pressure of endless organisations for all conceivable purposes, has almost disappeared from among us. Perhaps he would even learn to love it.

Once more, a third point of interest associated with this volume may be referred to, strikingly characteristic of the spirit of German investigation, though not so creditable to it as those already mentioned—its fondness for out-of-the-way conclusions, and its haste in coming to them. Who would expect, *e.g.*, that, after having proved to his own satisfaction that St Paul's "thorn" was liability to epileptic fits, the author should endeavour to make out that the Apostle's vision of the Risen Lord on the way to Damascus was nothing more than one of these? How could one liable to fits of the kind, who would be aware when the fit was coming on, and who could hardly fail to be acquainted with the symptoms of its departure,—symptoms entirely different from those then experienced by him,—be so greatly mistaken as to the experience through which he had passed? An epileptic fit could scarcely have changed the whole course of the Apostle's life, or been that of which he ever afterwards boasted that it had made him what he was.

Krenkel's book consists of eight papers of very different lengths—The Birthplace of the Apostle; Was St Paul originally named Saul?; Was the Apostle ever Married?; The Thorn in the Flesh spoken of in 2 Cor. xii. 7-9; The Fight with Beasts at Ephesus, 1 Cor. xv. 32; The Personal and Epistolary Intercourse of St Paul with the Church at Corinth; Elucidations of certain passages in 1 Cor.; and The Genuine Parts of the Pastoral Epistles. It is impossible to speak of so many papers individually. One or two only need be noticed, and from them the general character of the book may be inferred.

The second paper of the series is occupied with the question which has so often and so long interested inquirers as to the

original name of the Apostle of the Gentiles. When circumcised, did he receive from his father the name "Saul," and, if so, when and why was he afterwards named "Paul"? Krenkel's conclusion is that he must have received a Hebrew name at his circumcision, though what it was we have no means of knowing. It could not have been Saul, because that name represented to a pious and strict Jew, such as the Apostle's father, not a noble and divinely-favoured hero of Jewish history, but one whose hands were stained with the murder of God's priests, and who had been pursued to his destruction by the Divine wrath which he had so justly provoked. The name "Saul" rather sprang from the horror with which the *Christian* community regarded the persecutor of the infant Church. What story of the Old Testament would live more in the minds of men than the story which told of Saul's repeated and cruel persecutions of the lion-hearted yet tender David? And now, again, the true David, the true King of Israel, was suffering at the hands of a cruel persecutor, of another Saul: let him bear the odious name. The name "Paul," again, was given to commemorate the victory of the Apostle over Sergius Paulus recorded in Acts xiii., just as conquerors sometimes took the name of the nations which they subdued as a name of honour to themselves.

The theory is ingenious, but not convincing. We have no space for a lengthened argument, and shall therefore only say that what seems to us the view to be taken of the important words *ὁ καὶ Παῦλος*, in Acts xiii. 9, is at once fatal to Krenkel's argument, and suggestive of the explanation of this whole matter. As generally interpreted, the words now quoted are supposed to mean simply that Saul, who had just appeared before the Proconsul, received from this time onward another name, and that we must be careful to identify him with the Paul of whom, and of the success of whose mission, we are to read in the remainder of the book. The *καὶ* of the words is thus understood to refer only to the *Σαῦλος* immediately preceding. This view of the situation fails to do justice to the light in which the writer of the Acts beholds it. The *καὶ* leads us to the thought, not of *Σαῦλος* only, but of the Proconsul Sergius Paulus in ver. 7; and here is the scene. To the eye of the writer of the book,—who, it must not be lost sight of, is dealing with facts as they occurred,—the Proconsul represents the powers and dignities of this world. In the Apostle he sees the representation of the power of the Kingdom of God, just sent forth upon its mission to overcome the world (ver. 2); while Elymas suggests to him the kingdom of lies and darkness. Elymas stands between the Proconsul and the Apostle, endeavouring to persuade the one to listen to him and resisting the other. The writer of the Acts is struck with the fact that the two who constitute, as it

were, the side-figures of the picture, have the same name. It heightens to him the interest of the spectacle. If we see one *Paulus* in danger of yielding to demoniacal powers raging for their prey, we see also another *Paulus* who strikes the sorcerer blind, driving him back into that kingdom of darkness to which he belongs, and so bringing the Proconsul to the light that "he believed, being astonished at the teaching of the Lord" (ver. 12). Such seems to be the force of the *ὁ καὶ Παῦλος*; and, if the remarks now made are correct, it is obvious that it is distinctly implied in the words that the Apostle had been known by the name "Paul" before this time.

It is indeed difficult to think that that name could have been given him only now. Had it been so given, the historian would certainly have brought out his meaning with greater clearness. The mode in which he expresses himself rather implies that "Paul" was a name as really belonging to the Apostle as "Saul." "Saul" was, no doubt, what we should call the baptismal name; but the child was "free-born" (Acts xxii. 28); the boy, the youth, grew up possessing the privileges of a Roman citizen; "Paulus" is a Roman name; and, as it so closely resembled "Saulus," differing from it by no more than a single letter, nothing would be more natural than for the future Apostle's companions to change the one name into the other whenever they would reproach or ridicule him. The interest of the inquiry consists in this, that if there be truth in what we have said, the name "Paul," borne by the Apostle, and which he so often applies to himself, was a name by the use of which it was customary to depreciate rather than exalt him. In his very name he bore a cross like that of his Master, who had been called "The Nazarene."

We can do no more than notice one other of the papers in this volume—that on "St Paul's Thorn in the Flesh," spoken of in 2 Cor. xii. 7-9. The paper is one which illustrates in a greater than ordinary degree both the strength and weakness of the writer. In the elaborateness of its investigations, in the multitude of its references, and in the almost startling conclusiveness with which some of them appear at first sight to establish the point which the author has in view, the paper could hardly be surpassed. Take, *e.g.*, the manner in which the word *ἐξεπτύσατε* in Gal. iv. 14 is dealt with, "And that which was a temptation to you in my flesh ye despised not nor rejected" (Gr. *spat out*. R.V. margin). Some illness is obviously alluded to; but Krenkel finds no example in Greek of the language used of it. Plautus, however, is known to have drawn largely in his plays from the lower Greek comedy, and in one of them he speaks of a disease *qui sputatur*. A disease of this kind, we further learn, was epilepsy, in the presence of which men were accustomed to spit, in order that they might keep away the

chance of infection from themselves. When, therefore, St Paul, in passing through Galatia, was attacked by this disease, the Galatians showed their regard for him by not undervaluing him on that account, and by not resorting to the act of spitting, which in other circumstances they would certainly have done. Such is the argument, and it is illustrated by a wealth of quotation from ancient writers, both medical and other, bearing striking witness to the author's industry. Yet it is not conclusive. Its foundation even is weak, for the language of Plautus, "*Et illic isti qui sputatur morbus interdum venit*," suggests the thought, not of spitting by bystanders, but of the sick man himself. Or, there is even a possibility that the spittle may have been regarded as a means of cure. It is at least well known that spittle was so used in ancient times. (Comp. Mark vii. 33, viii. 23, and the writer's commentary on St John's Gospel, chap. ix. 7) ; and the physician Hieronymus speaks of a kind of ulcer, *quod sputo curetur* (see Krenkel, p. 75). In this light, the various reading *insputatur* is also worthy of note. Not only, however, is the foundation of Krenkel's argument thus weak, there is a want of proof that spitting on the part of those brought into proximity with disease was resorted to in the case of epilepsy more than in various other complaints. It appears rather to have been a refuge of persons alarmed by the presence of any contagious illness, and the expression might therefore have been appropriate to many other "infirmities of the flesh" beside that with which the Apostle is thus credited.

From what has been said, it must not be imagined that Krenkel rests his case upon this point alone. There is much else upon which he lays weight, but it is hardly more conclusive. Symptoms common to epilepsy with other diseases do not prove that the patient who exhibits them is epileptic. For ourselves, we must confess that the view which supposes St Paul's "thorn" to have been some serious affection of the eyes possesses much more probability than this epileptic theory ; and nowhere is that view set forth in a more interesting and, if we may speak of conviction in the case, a more convincing manner than in the late Dr John Brown's Essay on the subject in his *Horæ Subsecivæ*.

To whatever extent, however, Krenkel may, up to this point, win the approval of the student, it is surely too much to endeavour to persuade us that the Apostle's vision on his way to Damascus was simply an attack of this epileptic disease to which he was subject. That he then falls to the ground but is able to rise again with assistance ; that he loses his sight for three days ; and that after three days, the interval of rest prescribed by the physicians of the time for a patient who had had an epileptic fit, he takes food and recovers, is but a frail basis upon which to construct the theory. That an

incident so circumstantially narrated, bearing not the least resemblance to an epileptic attack, and pregnant with such mighty consequences to the person immediately concerned in it, should have been no more than the outburst of a disease alike weakening to mind and body, involves such improbabilities that it would need the strongest evidence to establish it. If ever there was a life bearing no marks of being touched by epilepsy, it would seem to be St. Paul's. Not only before, but after his conversion, this poor victim of so prostrating a malady has the clearest convictions as to the end at which he aims, and the most determined tenacity of purpose. His intellectual eye undimmed; his words weighty and powerful; his reasoning sweeping everything before it in its rush; his affections, his emotions, his passions of love and pity, of praise and scorn, instead of being dulled, of the swiftest and the keenest kind! And then his labours, his burdens, his sufferings, never complained of, never ending, each lending him a fresh impulse with which to rise more joyously over the next swelling wave! What a sight does it all present to us! Let any one read the eleventh chapter of 2 Corinthians, and say whether the man who wrote that was an epileptic, and whether the event in his life to which he constantly traced the beginning and the spring of his new career was a fit of epilepsy. Certainly he would himself have known it, and himself have told it. Most men will need stronger evidence to make them believe this than the facts that, should an epileptic fall, he may rise again if some one help him, that an epileptic may be blind for three days after an attack, that the doctors recommend food after three days are past, and that all this happened in the case of Saul at the ever-memorable period of his conversion.

Our space will not permit us to say more of this interesting book. We can only commend it as a work of rare industry, and as never failing to throw light, even when its conclusions may not be accepted, upon the questions to which it is devoted.

W: MILLIGAN.

### Natural Theology.

*The Gifford Lectures, delivered before the University of Edinburgh in 1891, by Professor Sir G. G. Stokes, Bart., M.P. London, A. & C. Black. Cr. 8vo, pp. 272. Price 3s. 6d.*

THERE are few men of science in Europe whose utterances carry with them greater weight than Sir Gabriel Stokes. Even when his discourse concerns matters outside those domains in which he is our highest authority, it commands our respectful attention and consideration. He who, in so many respects, and so worthily, has followed in the footsteps of Sir Isaac Newton, shows also this like-

ness to his great predecessor, that he bears his testimony to the belief that science and the religion of Christ are in no ways incompatible.

The ten lectures contained in this volume constitute Sir G. Stokes' first course of Gifford Lectures. If we may judge from numerous passages in these pages, the task of their composition under the conditions imposed by the trust was neither easy nor congenial to the author, who seems to have felt the limitations prescribed in the will of the founder to be serious hindrances to the setting forth, in a continuous and united sequence, of his views on the subject of Natural Theology. Indeed, at the outset, he gravely doubts the possibility of attaining the noble object of Lord Gifford in the manner indicated by the terms of the bequest. Here and there in the lectures he goes to the utmost limit permitted, in drawing for hints concerning things spiritual on those sources of information which are derived, not directly from Nature, but from Revelation ; using them, however, in a perfectly legitimate way as suggestive of means of deducing lessons from Nature. It is probably owing to this sense of restriction that the matter of the lectures often appears to be in some degree disconnected ; but the careful reader will, without much difficulty, perceive the undercurrent in the mind of the lecturer which forms the real, although not the expressed thread of connection in the succession of thought.

The examination of the evidence furnished by Nature of the existence of God, is the first portion of the lecturer's work. The sense of personal responsibility which is so widespread, in fact almost universal, among men of all degrees of civilisation, implies the recognition of a power outside ourselves to whom we are responsible. Hence the belief in the existence of such a power is equally widespread, being the objective correlative of this subjective sense of obligation.

Following out this line of thought, the lecturer then develops in a simple and forcible manner the argument from causation, and the relation which we cannot help assuming between the laws of Nature and a lawgiver lying behind the remotest causes. From the existence of free will in ourselves he argues that we cannot deny a similar freedom to the great First Cause ; and this being granted, the possibility of miracles, which are forth-puttings of free-will on the part of God, necessarily follows.

As there are certain conditions of matter which cannot occur, because they involve geometrical impossibilities, Sir G. Stokes surmises that there may be similar limitations in other spheres, such as the moral and spiritual ; limitations having their origin in the nature of things, and barring the possibility of certain occurrences. Such limitations may be causative of conditions (such as the need for

suffering), which at first sight seem to be incompatible with our conceptions of a perfectly loving God. This portion of the theme is suggestive, and would bear expansion.

When the lecturer takes the argument from design into consideration, he is naturally led to consider what bearing the evolution hypothesis has upon the belief in final causes. To many minds the force of any teleological argument is undoubtedly weakened by the adoption of any form of the theory of development. It is difficult to free ourselves from anthropomorphic ideas when we contemplate the creation of the universe, and hence we have a tendency to assume that the fundamental qualities which render evolution possible lie outside the sphere of the evolution. Sir G. Stokes points out that it is in the existence of these qualities in the initial stage of matter that the design has its real origin and seat, and therefore, although evolution puts back the stage at which there was an immediate working of creative power to the beginning, yet it cannot eliminate it altogether.

Having defined evolution as a process or chain of successive effects, he considers that we have no right to assume that the process is capable of an infinite extension backwards. He assumes that there was an initial stage of primordial homogeneity, and does not take into consideration the hypothesis of cycles of successive integration and disintegration extending backwards indefinitely into the by-past eternity.

It is interesting to note that, as a physicist, the lecturer perceives the force of the arguments in favour of cosmic evolution, and definitely accepts that view of the origin of the universe; while those facts in organic life which furnish to the biologist equally unanswerable arguments in favour of organic evolution do not seem to impress him as being equally cogent. He considers Natural Selection as a sort of self-acting mechanism whereby the adaptation of structure to surrounding conditions is secured. The bearing of the argument from design is very strikingly illustrated with reference to the mechanism of the eye, probably the most difficult problem with which the philosophic exponent of evolution has to grapple.

The conception of God as the Great First Cause naturally leads to the consideration of Personality as attributed to Him. This is dealt with in a simple, forcible and eloquent section, which ends with an exposition of the lecturer's views as to the possibility of man's holding communion with God.

The origin of man is that portion of the evolution hypothesis which comes most directly into relation with the science of Natural Theology, and on this the lecturer speaks at some length. Having stated the two views tenable on the subject—evolution or special creation—he adopts the latter. His first ground for this preference



is that as yet no links have been found between man and the nearest allies of man on the animal side ; a gap which he considers too wide to be bridged by hypothesis. This is a dangerous argument upon which to lay much stress, as every year adds to our knowledge in the science of Palæontology. The number of such linking forms which fill other gaps in the chain of animal life is great, and each year's researches adds to the catalogue. The forms of animal life which are most nearly allied to man are all of limited geographical range, and, by hypothesis, the ancestral forms of man before they were fitted by reason to accommodate themselves to a wider range of environments, were probably equally limited in range ; and we know so very little of the quaternary geology of the districts in which man probably originated, the only place in which the remains of such links could be found, that this *argumentum ad ignorantiam* is not as yet one which carries much weight. The second reason given is a singular one—that those forms which come nearest to man in organisation show very little evidence of a corresponding advance in intelligence. The force of this is not easily estimated.

The lecturer does not take into consideration the evidence on the other side derived from the morphology of the human body, such as the bearing of rudimental organs, of homologies, of the evidence from embryology—the grounds upon which the hypothesis of human evolution has been raised. He passes this by in one paragraph, stating that man living as an animal requires a structure similar to that of an animal. When referring to the morphological constitution of animals (p. 48), he admits that these peculiarities of structure are probably due to the operation of secondary causes—that is, of evolutionary processes ; but in reference to man he is prepared to make no such admission.

The reason for the adoption of the creation hypothesis is its bearing upon man's moral nature in its relation to sin and to the moral government of God. If man's spiritual nature be the product of an evolution, sin must have grown up with it, as sinning is a part of our nature. By this theory God is the author of sin, and we need never expect to be freed from it, nor can we anticipate serious consequences therefrom, for God will not hold us seriously responsible for what is inherent in the nature He has given us by the inevitable operation of the laws which He has established. Besides, there can be no immortality for man upon this hypothesis, unless the same can be postulated of his ancestry to an indefinite extent backwards.

There are two processes, diverse in themselves, which seem to be confounded in this train of reasoning. The acts which we call sin—such as gluttony, violence, &c.—are acts which are perpetrated by many animals as the outcomes of the natures which they possess,

and if these natures have come into being in the course of a divinely ordered evolution, then these acts are the product of such an evolution.

What gives these acts a moral import is their relation to our sense of responsibility. The consciousness that such acts ought not to be done, is the primary intuition of man's moral nature, and the sin of the act depends on this recognition of moral obligation coupled with the consciousness that we possess potentially an ability of free choice to do such things as we believe we ought to do, and to shun those which we ought not, or *vice versa*.

All civilised nations recognise this in their systems of legislation. Men are not regarded as responsible for acts committed in conditions of mental disease obliterating the sense of obligation, such as dementia or idiocy. The French Code explicitly declares that there can be no crime nor offence if the accused be in a state of insanity at the time of the act; and although our law is not so specifically codified, yet we have had many legal pronouncements of the same nature. Lord Mansfield in one celebrated judgment laid it down that a madman was no more responsible for his act than a wild beast. Law also recognises that free will is a factor in determining the degree of culpability, and we have had it lately argued in a celebrated case that persons are irresponsible for acts committed when in a state of hypnotism, and the plea was only disallowed because it was not quite clear as to whether the free will of the suggestee was completely suspended in the process.

The real question in connection with the ethical bearing of the mode of origin of man is not whether this disposition to acts of sin be inherent in our nature, but rather, has the human race started into being with these two qualities,—a conscience, and free will in perfection? From the moment that these become factors capable of controlling his actions his responsibility begins, whether he have or have not the impulse to sin in his nature. We know too little of the psychology of the higher animals to warrant us in pronouncing definitely as to the existence in them of the germ of this consciousness; we certainly know enough to make us hesitate in a categorical denial of its existence. The evolutionist can make out a case stronger than Sir G. Stokes is prepared to admit, in support of his thesis that the sense of moral obligation is one of which there are traces in some of the lower forms of life, thereby giving a certain degree of probability to the view that it has been produced in man's ancestors by a process of mental differentiation. If, in order that man might receive this special endowment, it had been necessary that he should be brought into being by a special creative act, in contradistinction to the method used in the creation of other animals, then, in the light of man's history, it might be argued

that, despite this new departure, there had been, for the majority of mankind, a failure in the accomplishment of the end in view. If it were necessary to create man by a special process in order that he might be endowed with free will, the hypothesis virtually denies free will to the lower creation. The ass of the old paradox, placed at an equal distance from two equally attractive bundles of thistles, must starve! But we know that he will not starve, and those who have devoted the most attention to comparative psychology predicate the existence of a power of free will in animals which it is hard to differentiate in kind from that possessed by man.

The moral and spiritual side of the question of the origin of man is beset with difficulties, on any hypothesis; and even the special creation hypothesis is not, to many minds, as clear a way out of the profound mystery of the origin of sin as it seems to be to the mind of the lecturer. Nor does it of itself give us a rational theory of the immortality of the soul and of the future state, when we shut out the light which Revelation casts upon these subjects. Even here the lecturer is obliged to admit that if there is to be a future life we must look for it directly to the Great First Cause, for it is tantamount to the forth-putting anew of creative power.

There is an interesting speculation as to the indications which Nature gives us of a future existence in eternity, suggested by the power we possess of imagining indefinitely extended historic possibilities in the future, contrasted with our inability to conceive of an eternal historic succession in time past. Future moral righting of the wrongs of this life is also set forth as indicating a life to come; and if man's indefinite capability of improvement, and of the acquisition of knowledge, were to be cut short by death, would it be a glaring violation of the teleological law of adaptation to requirements. The power possessed by successive generations of men, of profiting by the stores of knowledge accumulated by their predecessors, is pointed out as intensifying this violation, were death to end all. It is possible, however, to show that in lower animals there is such a capacity of education by hereditary training, as in the case of the faculty of "pointing" in dogs.

Space will not allow us to follow Sir Gabriel Stokes in his references to the large number of subordinate topics which he has touched on in his lectures; the range of these subjects, both practical and theoretical, is very wide. The sections on the consequences of moral acts, on suffering either direct or vicarious as necessary for moral restoration, on the moral advantage of freedom of choice, on the relations existing between free will and foreknowledge, on benevolence in its various forms—all these are suggestive, and worthy of study.

Here and there the lecturer draws upon his vast stores of knowledge of physical science for illustrations, and these are so apt and well put that the reader wishes for more of them, and hails with pleasure the promise which he gives that the course of lectures to be delivered next year will be of a more directly scientific character than that of the past year.

The style of the composition is easy, colloquial, and simple; and the lectures are eminently readable, varied, and interesting.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

### **Hand-commentar zum Neuen Testament.**

*Band II., Abtheilung 1. Briefe an die Thessalonicher und an die Korinther bearbeitet von P. W. Schmiedel (8vo, pp. xvi., 276; price 4s. 6d.). Band IV. Abth. 1. Johanneisches Evangelium bearbeitet von Holtzmann (8vo, pp. viii.-206). Abth. 2. Briefe und Offenbarung des Johannes bearb. von Holtzmann (8vo, pp. 209-327); price of B. IV., 5s. Freiburg i. B., J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.*

THIS commentary has already approved itself as perfectly achieving its purpose, to present in the most condensed form possible the results regarding the origin and meaning of the books of the New Testament, which have been reached by the most scientific school of critics in Germany. Its four authors, Holtzmann, Lipsius, Von Soden, and Schmiedel, are scholars of the first rank. No one would, for a moment, suspect them of being swayed by traditional opinion, although possibly they are not all and always free from bias in the opposite direction. They represent what would be accepted in Germany as the scientific school. There are men who are much more advanced, but with much less influence. There are men with whose opinions on many critical points a more general agreement would be found among ourselves, but such scholars are always suspected of the damning vice of being unscientific. The value of the *Hand-commentar* is that we have in it the opinions, decisions, and results reached by the free scientific criticism of our own day.

But the intrinsic value of the book is also very great. No men could have been chosen for the work whose exegetical perception is more penetrating and trustworthy, whose attention is more close, who have more completely assimilated or who more freely handle the best exegetical methods for ascertaining the meaning of any literary text. They have given us in the most compact form the results of the most competent study. Consequently, the book is a book for students, not for general readers. It is a book, indeed, which must be studied line by line, and word by word, for often in

a single word an opinion is indicated which cannot have been formed without hours of toil and thought. He who brings most to the book will find most. He will see the pregnancy of each reference to another Biblical passage, the suggestion conveyed by a new turn given to the translation, the felicitous barring out of theological error by the inexpugnable bolt of a grammatical rule.

Of the parts now before us, Prof. Holtzmann's contribution on the Gospel of St John is the most important. Beginning, as the Authors recommend us, with the Exegesis and afterwards proceeding to the Introduction, we find a most exact consideration of the text and an exposition so full of originality in details, and so abounding in light throughout, that we cannot but accept it as a definite addition even to the already voluminous literature on this Gospel. But while the Author never fails to throw fresh light on the words, or to put more convincingly and directly what has elsewhere already been said, his aim throughout is to undermine the historicity of the record. Thus, after most lucidly expounding the paragraph which narrates the "Marriage at Cana," he proceeds to shew that this account is merely an allegory, a richly artistic *Lehr-dichtung*. The water is a sensible sign of all which as yet was merely symbol, not spirit and truth. The water-butts which served for the ceremonial of Judaism, contained the water which, through Jesus, was to be turned into wine, outwardly purifying water into life-strengthening wine. The helplessness of the old became apparent, to legal Judaism "the wine failed;" and the mother of the Messiah, that is, according to Apoc. xii. 1, the Old Testament, appealed to him, and so on, and so on. And yet people tell us that Strauss is dead. The only proof which Holtzmann offers that an allegory was intended is that it is possible to find an allegory in the narrative. But, as every student of mythology knows, that is possible in any narrative, whether it be the life of Julius Cæsar, or the career of Napoleon Bonaparte. Besides, where allegory was meant, as in the saying about the Temple of Jesus' body, the writer of the fourth Gospel does not scruple to point it out.

The same method is applied to the reported sayings of Jesus. Thus, in xiv. 20, and in other passages, we have the expression of the Christian consciousness of the time of the evangelist. The whole Gospel, in short, becomes a perfect mirror of the faith of the first half of the second century, but not by any means a record we can trust for giving us a faithful account of what our Lord said or did. The claims to pre-existence and equality with the Father are put into our Lord's lips by the faith of the second century, if we may not say, by the ordinary mythological tendency to magnify and embellish a great personage. Schürer and other critics have persuaded themselves that the date of this Gospel is immaterial. Its importance

consists in its being a reflection of the faith of its author's time. This attitude of mind towards the Gospel takes for granted that Christian faith and Christian life must have truth at their root. This, however, is a large assumption. Misplaced confidence, unmerited love, misconception of fact, have produced many great actions, and have in some instances even built up a great faith and a worthy character. To know what the followers of Christ thought of Him, and to see the kind of life their faith built up, is indeed valuable testimony; but still more valuable is it to know what He thought of Himself, and claimed to be. Although all authentic records of the life of Jesus were lost, it might be possible to read in the lives of Christian people sufficient evidence of His present life and power. The Christian character and the Christian hope are the highest known. The Christian character is purer and finer, and, therefore, in the last resort, even stronger than the Mohammedan; and a careful and earnest inquirer might, in favourable circumstances, come to a deep conviction that He who originates and upholds this character is capable of saving energy. But how infinitely clearer and surer does this evidence become when we can read the very words of Christ, and examine His own claims and promises and power.

Holtzmann, in common with all who cheapen the historical value of the Fourth Gospel, betrays a remarkable shyness of the external testimonies to its authenticity. Indeed, it verges on culpable suppression of fact, to say that "express and direct witnesses are scarcely at our command before the last quarter of the second century." What of Tatian, and what of Basileides? This very shyness of the external evidence is a strong proof of its cogency.

MARCUS DODS.

### **Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament.**

*Bearbeitet von H. J. Holtzmann, R. A. Lipsius, P. W. Schmiedel, H. von Soden. Dritter Band, Erste Abtheilung: Die Briefe an d. Kolosser, Epheser, Philemon, Die Pastoralbriefe; bearbeitet von Prediger H. v. Soden. Large 8vo. pp. vii.-255. Price: M. 4.50, in Paper.*

*Zweiter Band, Zweite Abtheilung: Die Briefe an d. Galater, Römer, Philipper; bearbeitet von Professor R. A. Lipsius. Large 8vo, pp. viii.-236. Price: M. 4, in Paper. Freiburg i. B., J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.*

THESE two sections complete, within two years from its commencement, the new *Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament*. An estimate was given in the first number of this Review (pp. 41-49) of previous parts of this valuable commentary. What was there said

concerning the general character of von Soden's work in the second division of Vol. III., applies equally to the first division, in which he expounds Colossians, Ephesians, Philemon, and the Pastorals. One has never seen in any commentary pages so solidly packed with original matter, rarely pages from which a prepared reader could learn so much in so short a time. The object of the Hand-Commentar is to present "the results of scientific work in the investigation of the New Testament" in the form of a "continuous, precise, readable, and manageable commentary," without further disquisition than is necessary to indicate the grounds of the interpretations advanced. Both in matter and form, the work answers fully to its purpose, understanding the word "scientific" in the sense of the editors. Its outlook is purely modern, and, as one might say, professional; the writers seldom refer to any authority outside Germany, or earlier than F. C. Baur. But, judged within these limits and upon its own ground, the new German Commentary, as it is represented by these two samples, is a piece of solid, thorough, and skilful workmanship, that well deserves the attention of English scholars.

Von Soden is here on debatable ground, every inch of which has been fought over in the critical schools of Germany. In regard to *Colossians* (with *Philemon*) he ranges himself unreservedly on the side of the Pauline authorship. This judgment is of great value, coming from the representative of a rigorously scientific Biblical criticism, and from the collaborateur of Holtzmann, who in his laborious *Kritik der Epheser u. Kolosserbriefe* (1872), endeavoured to rob St. Paul of everything distinctive and vital in this Epistle. Von Soden himself retracts objections which he had previously advanced against Chapter i. 15-20, and some verses in Chapter ii. He finds in *Philippians*, very largely, the basis for the verification of the Pauline character of *Colossians*; and the same line of argument might have led him (perhaps may lead him?) by the aid of *Philippians* and *Colossians* together to verify *Ephesians* and the *Pastorals*.

*Ephesians* he attributes to a large-minded Jewish Christian of the Dispersion, living about the turn of the century, who "combined a high spirit of inspiration, and bold speculation, with practical sense and clear insight, mystical inwardness of piety, a fine appreciation of the ethical consequences of the new faith, and genial ability," in his attempt to develop Paul's conception of the Church, so as to unify by its means the various (Jewish and Gentile) Christian communities existing in his days. Von Soden spends much of the precious pace due to the exposition of the Epistle itself, in shewing how Paul's successor worked up the old Pauline material. Where a phrase agrees closely with a former Epistle, he says *Reminiscenz aus* or *an* so and so: where it differs, *geht über Paulus aus* (it goes beyond

*Paul* !) This grows monotonous ; and one begins to suspect that it must be *Paul* surely who is remembering himself so well ; and to ask, Is it possible that any second writer should have followed so closely, and with this subtle persistence, in the track of earlier Epistles, and yet have so boldly struck out beyond them ; should have been at once so dependent and so independent, a man of such original and rare genius as v. Soden makes him out, and yet so slavish and submissive an imitator ? Here is a psychological problem which a "scientific" criticism is bound to solve.

The *Pastorals* are, in his view, a few years later than *Ephesians*, dating probably from the reign of Trajan. In neither the *Pastorals* nor *Ephesians* can he see anything of the allusions to Montanism, Valentinian or Marcionite Gnosticism, or to non-Episcopal Catholicism with which the Tübingen school have so long entertained themselves. This dismissal, coming from such a quarter, is a clear gain to criticism. The sentence in which, at the end of his *Einleitung* to the *Pastorals*, von Soden seeks to reconcile inauthenticity with canonicity is worth quoting : "The strict piety with which the heritage of apostolic truth is guarded ; the pure and deeply religious ethics in which the direct consequences of the Christian faith are drawn out and applied ; the earnestness with which, in preference to theoretical ends, the practical edification of the Church is pursued ; the cautious and measured way in which outward institutions are appraised, while everything is made to depend on the personal representation of Christianity in the Christian personality ; the chaste, severe style and temper, that allows not a word to escape that does not touch the immediate interests of the Christian life,—these qualities furnish a full justification of the canonization of the three Epistles, even though their author was an unknown Greek Christian who lived at the beginning of the second century." This is a different sort of estimate, framed in a different temper, from that of Baur and Pfleiderer. Indeed, we could wish for many who believe the Pauline authorship of the letters, that they could appreciate them as this disbeliever does. But we must again say of the author he describes : If this be not Paul, it is *his double* !

On the whole, we regard v. Soden's findings upon the questions of the higher criticism as indicating an approximation between the "critical" and "believing" exegesis, and a better understanding in regard to the Pauline Antilegomena. Underneath his "scientific" coolness and impartiality, we can sometimes detect, nevertheless, the religious spirit of this *Prediger* commentator, as when he says on Eph. iv. 14, rendering ἐν τ. κυβείᾳ τ. ἀνθρώπων, rightly as we judge, *in the sport of men* : "conduct wanting in any kind of earnestness or definite aim ; these people *play* with religion and with the wel-



fare of Christian souls." Again, on Chap. vi. 16, *the shield of faith, with which you will be able to quench all the fiery darts of the Evil One* : "Future, because the whole duration of the struggle is in view. The entire future is assured to faith."

We must not be tempted to dwell on the details of exposition. Two disputed passages only will we mention. He rejects the conjectural emendations of ἀ ἑώρακεν ἐμβατεύων in Col. ii. 15, rendering the words, with Meyer, *parading what he hath seen*, and explaining them as an ironical allusion to the alleged angel-visions by which the pretensions of the false teacher were supported. In Eph. i. 1 he argues that no local designation can have been intended, reading *to the saints, which are also faithful, in Christ Jesus*. This is the view of von Hofmann also, and of Beck (in his posthumous *Erklärung* just to hand)—interpreters who differ widely from each other, and from the school of v. Soden ; it deserves more consideration than English exegetes have given it. V. Soden's treatment of the doctrine of *angels* in Colossians and Ephesians is remarkable, and somewhat novel ; it agrees, in the main, with that put forward by Klöpper in his learned commentary on Colossians. They are no longer, it seems, to be regarded in the common superficial way as "good" or "bad," and fixed in their characters ; but as imperfect beings, struggling for dominion over men, needing correction and even salvation like ourselves, and capable of receiving it from Christ or rejecting it.

Of Lipsius' work on *Galatians, Romans, and Philippians* it is less necessary to write at length, as the author himself is so much better known. The name of R. A. Lipsius, of Jena, stands among the highest in German theological science. His work has been hitherto mainly in dogmatics and early Church history ; and he brings to exegesis powers proved in other fields. His interpretation impresses us by its judicial weight and clearness, its masculine sense and seasoned strength. There is no evasion in Lipsius or explaining away of such terms as ἀπολύτρωσις, καταλλαγή, δικαίωσις, ὁργή Θεοῦ. We are bound to say, for the historico-critical school in general, that where their historical theories are out of the way—where, admitting that Paul wrote the document, it becomes simply a question of *what he meant in it*—these scholars read him with a straightforwardness, freshness, and reality too often wanting in others. Had the Apostle the choice, he would prefer, doubtless, to be represented by men who receive only half-a-dozen of his letters, but allow him to speak for himself in these, rather than by men who accept the entire thirteen without a scruple, and then read out of them their own ecclesiastical, philosophical, or sentimental prepossessions, "broad" or "high" as the case may be. Indeed, what strikes us most in examining Lipsius' exegesis of the great

doctrinal passages in Romans is the accord between the findings of advanced scientific investigation and of a simple evangelical faith.

The only interpolations he admits in these three writings are Rom. xi. 9, 10; xv. 19b, 20; 23, 24; 28; xvi. 25-27; and possibly v. 7. Chap. xvi. 1-20 he entitles, "A letter of recommendation for the deaconess Phœbe to the Church of *Ephesus*." A full and interesting discussion on the constituency of the Church of Rome, in the *Einleitung*, leads to the conclusion that it was of a mixed Judæo-Gentile origin; and that while the Gentiles may have formed the majority, the Jewish membership, taking its character from the mother Church in Jerusalem, had a preponderating influence; and that the Epistle is mainly addressed to this side of the Church.

GEORGE G. FINDLAY.

### The Evidence of Christian Experience.

By Lewis French Stearns. New York: Scribners; London: Nisbet & Co. Cr. 8vo. pp. viii. 473. Price 7s. 6d.

MANY are at present on the outlook for a new Apologetic. The systems of last century still hold the field, but they do not fill it. Such new phenomena as Evolution, Criticism, and the Science of Religions have raised difficulties which Butler and Paley do not touch. The time is, no doubt, ripening for a new development, which will embrace all the new knowledge; but it has not yet arrived. Meantime, we have to content ourselves with partial attempts to satisfy the living thought of the day.

In many quarters the Argument from Experience appears to be experiencing a revival. There is the great book of Frank, a portion of which has been translated into English, but, unfortunately, under a title without savour, *The Christian Certainty*. In one of the American colleges (Delaware, Ohio) there is a foundation for lectures on the subject, which has already begun to produce a crop of books. Dr Dale has recently stated the argument, in his own sane and vigorous style, in *The Living Christ and the Four Gospels*. But the completest treatment of it yet given in English is this work of Professor Stearns, of Bangor, Maine, which was produced as a course of Ely Lectures in Union Theological Seminary, New York.

The subject is most systematically handled. Not only is the evidence itself in its genesis and growth discussed; but there are weighty chapters dealing with the philosophical pre-suppositions, with objections both philosophical and theological, and with the relation of this argument to the other evidences. Professor Stearns obviously owes much to Frank and Dorner; yet his book is thoroughly

his own. He has thought the subject out from end to end ; and he writes with conviction and enthusiasm. He has an unusually sound equipment of knowledge. But the charm of the book lies in the union which it displays of warm evangelical sentiment with thoroughly scientific workmanship. It is a gift as rare as it is excellent to be able thus to allow the heart to speak and yet to maintain the vigilance and dignity of a philosophic thinker.

The author holds what would probably be widely conceded, that the evidence of experience has always been the ultimate ground of belief in Christianity on the part of the great majority of true believers. But it has obtained a very inconspicuous place in systems of Apologetics. This he proposes to remedy. "I do not think it would be too much to say that the recognition of this form of evidence is the essential and striking feature of the evidence of to-day." "It is time we should stop giving the opponent of Christianity who calls upon us for a proof of our belief every reason but the right one."

The apologetic books of last century, though directed against Deism, were unconsciously tinged with the deistical spirit. They were shy of close contact with spiritual religion. Indeed, their very conception of Christianity was one with which it is impossible for us to be satisfied. They thought of it chiefly as a system of revealed truth guaranteed by supernatural signs. Its doctrines were mysteries, which the human mind could not understand, but which it was bound to accept, because the organs of revelation, who were authenticated by prophecies and miracles, had made them known. Thus Christianity was a thing complete and finished when the Canon was closed ; and faith had to look back to it over many intervening centuries.

We no longer conceive of Christianity in this way. It did not so much terminate as commence in the first century. Revelation is the record of the entrance into the world of the forces of salvation, which have become stronger and more diffusive ever since. These forces are not mere words and doctrines : the Divine will and the Divine heart are in them. Christ is not merely a historical figure eighteen hundred years old, or even a living figure existing at an immense and inaccessible distance : He is in the world, and He brings His own message to every soul. Christianity is not a system of beliefs about Him : it is Christ Himself, standing at the door and offering to enter with all the forces of salvation in His train.

Now, the argument from experience is, that, when Christianity in this sense is admitted into the human mind, it carries with it its own proof. When God comes into the soul, the effect is the same as when sunshine comes into a dark place. Light needs no demonstration. When a man has actually been saved by Christ, how

can there be for him any question as to whether there exists a Christ or a salvation ? The moral and spiritual forces of Christianity are not weak or trivial : they are the strongest which human nature can experience ; and the change which they effect, where they arrive, is the most momentous revolution through which a human being can pass between the cradle and the grave. Once begun, this change goes on extending its influence over every department of the inner and outer man ; and at every stage of its progress the evidence for its reality is accumulating.

Professor Stearns is quite aware that the history of religion in many Christians is much less marked than this ; but he appears to consider the experience described to be sufficiently normal. He has not perhaps, however, reflected enough on the difficulty of making the subjective experience of a few an objective evidence for all. It is true that Apologetic may be more necessary than is usually assumed for confirming the faith of believers ; yet its principal aim must be to serve as a sign to them that are without. But he makes the evidence of experience consist almost entirely of the modifications of the believer's own consciousness, of which outsiders can learn nothing except by testimony. He does not do more than touch upon the argument "derived from the outward working of Christianity in the individual." This is surely an unwarrantable narrowing of the field. It might even be well worth considering whether the whole line of argument derived from the practical effects of Christianity in modern times, as this is developed, for example, in *Gesta Christi*, might not be included in the evidence from experience.

Confident, however, as the author is in the force of the argument which he has presented, he is by no means insensible to the claims of other evidences. Perhaps, indeed, the most brilliant thing in the book is the Introductory Lecture, in which he sketches a full-length Apology of Christianity, indicating the precise place which every argument should occupy. Students of Apologetics ought to turn to this passage, for the detailed working out of the scheme would be an immense gain to Christianity. Professor Stearns is still a comparatively young man, this being his first book of importance ; and perhaps he may himself develop the programme which he has drawn out with a masterly hand. At all events, he has given us one of the best books produced in recent years ; and he has already ensured to the future products of his pen a warm welcome on both sides of the Atlantic.

JAMES STALKER.

### Communication on some Unpublished Inscriptions, from the Hauran and Gilead.

THE following inscriptions were copied by me on a journey made this summer from Damascus through the Hauran and Gilead.

The immense harvest of inscriptions which Burckhardt, Waddington, de Vogüé, Wetzstein, Selah Merrill, Schumacher, and others, have swept from the East of the Jordan might be supposed to have exhausted the entire region. But this is not the case. In the Hauran there are still many villages unvisited by the archæologist, while even in those searched by the travellers named, the annual building and repair of houses, the crumbling of ruins, and the ploughing of fields, are constantly bringing to the surface other "written stones." They are all of the basalt of the district, the hardness of which is the reason of the extraordinary wealth of the Hauran in inscriptions. When you cross the Yarmuk to the limestone of Gilead, inscriptions are much less frequent on the surface, but even there, under sites like Gadara, Pella, and Jerash, rich spoil awaits the excavator.

I copied in all between thirty and forty inscriptions, but I found the larger number either in Waddington's great list, vol. iii. of *Le Bas and Waddington's Voyage Archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*; or in Selah Merrill's list, published and explained in the *American Journal of Philology*, vols. iii. and iv.; or in Schumacher's *Across the Jordan and Jaulân*, published by the Palestine Exploration Society. Of the following *fourteen* inscriptions, *eleven*, as far as I know, have not been published; *one* I am not certain about; and *two* others are given by Schumacher, but with different readings from my copies. I give the fourteen in the order I found them.

We left Damascus on the 17th June, and following the great Hajj road, our first station was Ghabāghīb, where the one inscription Waddington gives from this district has evidently disappeared. Next morning we continued along the pilgrim road to Es SANAMEIN (Doughty wrongly Salāmen, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 5), "the Two Idols." In the little temple there, besides the four inscriptions given by Waddington (2413 f.-i.), I found a fragment, overlooked by his authorities, which I reproduce in ordinary Greek type.

It is evidently a dedicatory inscription concluding with the usual formula *Εὐσεβείας χάριν*. I also found on another building the inscription, already published, dedicating "To Zeus the Lord, a Portal with the little Victory-images and the Great Victory." It may have been after this idol and another of *Τύχη*, which appears to have stood here, that the village was called by its present name.

POHO  
TOKOINO  
AFNΩCEII  
BAMTA  
XAPIN

Fig. 1.

As we were resting in the public guest-house, the Sheikh of the village told us there was a "maktoob" in his yard, to which we went, and found a half-buried stone, forming one end of a low manger, with Greek letters upon it. I had it dug up and washed, when the very interesting inscription, Fig. 2, became visible. It reads easily :



Fig. 2.

ἐτους λζ τοῦ καὶ λβ  
 βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα κυρίου  
 . . . αββο Γαίος Φίλω[καὶ  
 οἱ υἱοὶ οἰκοδομήσαν [τὴν θύ]  
 ραν σὺν νεικαδίοις κα[ὶ  
 λεοντ]αρίοις καὶ τὰ θυρώ-  
 ματα ἔστησαν Δι' κυρίῳ ἐκ  
 τῶν [ι]δίῳν εὐσεβείας χάριν.

Note the one square E in the second last line—all the others being curved ; it very often happens in these inscriptions that one instance of a letter will be different from all the other instances in the same inscription : cf. below the one curved  $\sigma$  in fig. 1, and the peculiar  $\nu$  in fig. 10. The letters . . . αββο are the only obscurity ; they may be part of a proper name (there is a Γαββα in 2591 of Waddington) ; or the ββ may be that still unexplained addition to so many proper names in the Hauran ; cf. Wadd. 2061, 2293, Νεικάδια and λεοντάρια, not found in classic Greek, are of course "little victory-images" and "little lions." Θυρώματα are either "panels" or "folding doors." The "King Agrippa" must be the younger Agrippa, before whom Paul appeared, his father reigning only seven years. Do both the dates given in the inscription refer to him ? The first can scarcely refer to the founder of the temple ; and the second only to the king. But the mention of a double date is puzzling, till we remember that the reign of Agrippa II. had really two beginnings, the difference between which is the same as the difference between the two dates on the inscription. The elder Agrippa died in 44 A.D., but the son was thought too young at the time to succeed him, and it was not till 49 that the son was invested with the father's tetrarchy of Batanea, Trachonitis, Ituraea, &c. The difference between 44 and 49 is just the difference between the dates on the inscription, 37 and 32—which, being reckoned the former from 44, the latter from 49, would mark the same year, 81 A.D. Translate, therefore, "In the 37th year, which was also the 32nd year, of King Agrippa," &c. There are many inscriptions given by Waddington from the reigns of both Agrippas, earlier than which we find no inscriptions in the Hauran, but I do not remember to have seen a second instance of this double date.

At INCHIL, a village beyond Es-Sanamein, I found nothing but these three broken lines, which I give in ordinary type, as I have an idea that they have been published before. They are from the lintel of the door of the mosque.

ΣΚΑΘΑΡΟΤΗΤΟΣ  
ΛΑΝΤΙΕΡΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ  
ΗΡΟΣΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΗΣΗ

Fig. 3.

Our next station was at SHEIKH MESKÎN (Doughty wrongly Meskîn), a large village, some four hours and a-half from Es-Sanamein, and also on the great Hajj road. Waddington (2413) believes that it marks the site of a great town under the Empire. But the ruins are not nearly so large as those two hours to the south at Taffas. I rode across from here to El-Merkez, "the centre," the seat of the government of the Hauran, sufficiently described by Schumacher (*Across the Jordan*, 195). I visited, like him, with the permission of the man in authority, the Makâm Ayyûb or Holy Place of Job, and was shewn the tombs of the patriarch and his wife. The building is evidently Christian, but the long inscription found by Wetzstein—the last Greek and Christian inscription in the Hauran, dated 641, when the Christians after the overthrow of the Byzantine power in Syria, had no king to record save, as the inscription pathetically mentions, Jesus Christ—has disappeared. Part of the purpose of my visit to El-Merkez was to secure permission and escort for a visit to the Lejjah and the Druse Mountain. It was a great disappointment that the man in authority refused me both, so that a large part of our projected tour was broken off. With much difficulty he gave us licence to visit Bosra, but even this was afterwards withdrawn. The reason he offered was a little war, then in course, as he alleged, between the Druses and the Bedouin. We had grounds to doubt the truth of this. On the road between El-Merkez and Sheikh Meskîn there are two noble fountains, and by the more easterly a large mill at the foot of a strongly fortified mound, in the centre of the ruins of which stands the white, conspicuous wêli of "Sheikh Unhappy" (meskîn) himself. Nearer to the village there is a cairn, 10 feet long by 5 broad by 2 high, and at the end of it there has been stuck into the ground a basalt slab with the inscription, fig. 4. The shepherds round affirmed it to be the tomb of Sheikh Muhammad el 'Ajamy<sup>1</sup>—Muhammad the Foreigner. Let lie underneath who may, the stone is the simplest of Greek epitaphs: "Autos (son)



Fig. 4.

<sup>1</sup> There is a Sheikh el 'Ajamy, a saint much respected in the W. Hauran, where his tomb is shewn at El 'Ajamy on the upper Yarmuk.—Schumacher, *Across Jordan*, 118.

of Priscus 1 years." *Ἀῖθος* as a name occurs in Wadd. 1986. For *Πρείσκος*, see Wadd. 2077. I take the last letter in the third line

ΑΣΙΑΜΟΣ Θ ΥΤΩΝ  
ΔΙΩΝΚΑΜΑΤΩΝΚΑΙ  
ΤΩΝΑΥΤΟΥΤΕΚΝΩΝ  
ΤΜΗΝΗΑΙΟΝΕΠΟΙΗΣ  
ΚΑΙΛΕΓΙΧΑΙΡΕΤΤΑΡ

Fig. 5.

at his own pains and his children's made the monument, and saith, Farewell, oh ?" The spelling, as in so many of the Hauran inscriptions, is defective, *μ* being omitted from *μνημαῖον* and *ι* out of *λέγει*. *Ἀσίαμος* is not given in Pape's "Lexicon of Proper Names," and does not, I think, occur elsewhere in the Hauran inscriptions. It is probably a Semitic name, turned into a Greek form. The second inscription, fig. 6, is broken too short at both ends to be made much of. It appears to have been a moralising epitaph.

to be an *υ*, though it is different from the *υ* of the first line; such differences, as I have said, being common within the same inscription (cf. fig. 2).

My next two inscriptions are from the wall of the mosque at Sheikh Meskin. The first (fig 5) is, of course, "Asiamos, (son) of ??,

ΤΑΩΣΤΕΡΕΙΗΜΗΝΑ  
ΩΣΤΕΡΕΙΜΕΣΙΟΠΙΟΣ  
ΤΑΥΚΑΙΤΑΧΡΗΣΖΑΤΑ  
ΡΙΚΟΛΟΥΤΟΣΕΣΤΙΝ

Fig. 6.

The next village on the Derb-el-Hajj is TUFFAS or Taffas, two hours south of Sheikh Meskin. It was explored by Schumacher. I agree with him\* that a great city must have occupied this site. The ruins are extensive. There were probably two Christian churches or a church and a monastery, where the mosque and the sheikh's house now stand. I found three inscriptions. The first,

ΟΛΟΥΘΩΣΥΠ  
ΠΠΟΥΑΥΤΩΥΚ  
ΤΡΟΛΕΟ

Fig. 7.

line may have read *φιλιππου αὐτοκράτορος* for *αὐτοκράτορος*, he would rather look for some way of filling up with *αὐτῶν*.

The second inscription from Tuffas (fig. 8), with its rare square lettering, is of very great interest, as being the only known inscription of the Emperor Otho. I found it on a stone forming the lintel of a doorway to a courtyard, and turned upside down. The

fig. 7, was on a stone in the wall of a private house. It is too fragmentary to be significant. Professor Ramsay suggests the restoration of the first line to *ακ]ολούθως ὑπ[οσχέσει* ? : and in preference to a suggestion that the second

\* "Across the Jordan," p. 210.



stone was broken at both ends. The fourth line I restore as under.

L Θ ΔΡΥΠΕΡΤΗ[ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΙ  
 ΣΤΟΥ ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΘΩΝΟCCΩΤΗΙ  
 ΛΟΦ . . . ΙΗC ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥC ΠΑΤΗΡ Π  
 CΤΟ ΝCΥΝ ΑΙC ΔΥCΙ ΨΑΛΙCΙ ΟΙΚ  
 ΓΚ ΕΙΑC ΧΑΡΙΝ Τ

Fig. 8.

I have to thank Professor Ramsay for the restoration of the other lines.

ἔτους λ' ρ(?) ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοκράτ[ορος καίσαρος σεβα-  
 στοῦ Μάρκου\*Θθωνος σωτηρ[ίας καὶ διαμονῆς  
 Λοφ . . . τῆς Διογένους πατὴρ π[όλεως  
 στο[ιὰ]νσὺν ταῖς δυσὶ ψαλίσι οἰκ[οδόμησε  
 ἐκ[?] θεμελίων εὖσεβ]είας χάριν.

Professor Ramsay says :—"The restoration at one end is uncertain till we fix the amount of the gap. Perhaps *καίσαρος* should be omitted, but it formed part of his titles (*vide* coins), and the presumption is that it was used here also. Coins have *ΙΜΡΟΤΗΟ-CAESAVG*. Then the formula in line 2 fills up the gap; in beginning of 3 a proper name is needed, but I cannot think of anything, *Λοφ . . . ιης. πατὴρ π[όλεως]* would suit; the *Patres civ.* are known in south-eastern Asia Minor."

The Emperor Otho reigned only three months, January to April, 69 A.D. Prof. Ramsay says that "there is no other known inscription of Otho; all must have been destroyed by Vitellius and Vespasian, the latter in vindication of the memory of Galba." It is, then, very curious that the only extant inscription of Otho should have been found within a day's march of Vespasian's camps, on the east of the Lake of Galilee. On the death of Nero, Agrippa II., and Titus, the latter sent by Vespasian, set out from Syria to Rome to salute Galba. By the way they heard of Galba's death.\* Agrippa went on alone to salute Otho, but Titus returned to his father with the news of Otho's succession; and it must have been while Vespasian's forces were at Gadara, or near Gamala, a few hours' ride from Tuffas, that this inscription was put up. But, as Dr Moir of Aberdeen has pointed out to me, the legions of Vespasian did take the oath to Otho.

\* Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iv. 9; Tacitus, *Hist.*, ii. 1.

The third inscription at Tuffas, fig. 9 (found above a house door in a yard some feet below the level of the village lanes), is given by Schumacher (*Across the Jordan*, p. 21), but I read the first line a little differently, and my copy does not



Fig. 9.

show the *αυτης* he reads, probably correctly, in the last. It is an inscription from the dwelling of some Christian, and easily reads :  
 Ι(η)σ(δ)υ χρ(ιστ)ε̐ (ι)σθε σκέπη  
 καὶ ἀντίλεμψις γένου πάντος  
 τοῦ οἴκου καὶ ἐ(ν)λογῆσον τὴν  
 εἰσοδον αὐτ(ῆ)ς(καὶ τὴν) ἐξοδ(ον).  
 Iou for Ιησου, and χρε for

χρυστε, are common in Christian inscriptions. Wadd., 2666; Clermont Ganneau, *Recueil d' Archéologie Orientale*, p. 5. The next word I read σθε, Schumacher oos; but I have no doubt, having traced the letters with eye and finger, that my reading is correct. With σκέπη cf. ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ θεοῦ: Wadd., 2672. Ἀντίλεμψις is, of course, ἀντίληψις; ἀντιλήπτωρ is used in the LXX. of God, the Protector, 2 Sam. xxii. 3, Ps. iii. 4. Ἐλόγησον is a frequent spelling of εὐλόγησον; in the Hauran inscriptions the omission of vowels is common, and where two vowels come together one is almost invariably left out—another trace of the Semitic scribe.

From Taffas we crossed by Muzeirib—the great Hajj station, where the ruins are all of Arab buildings, and I found no inscriptions—to DERA 'AT, the more probable site of Edrei, Og's capital, just across the border of the Hauran, and on limestone. We were unfortunately unable to gain access to the underground city here, so fully described by Schumacher. I was not aware that there was more than one entrance to it, and that to which we were led is jammed up fifty yards from the mouth by the fall of the roof—said to have been designed by the governor for the purpose of preventing fugitives from conscription hiding in the labyrinth beyond. We saw the two inscriptions on the mosque given by Schumacher, and before him by Wetzstein: εὐτυχῶς τῇ πόλει for πόλει (another instance of the omission of a member of a diphthong), and εἰσέλθ' ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ, the latter a phrase as old as Homer, and both occurring frequently in heathen temples and Christian churches in Egypt. (Wadd., 2070f.). In the courtyard of the mosque there lie neglected a stone chair and a large font, which, in answer to my questions, the Moslems described as "only stones." But I found a new inscription in the Moslem graveyard on the plateau to the east of the town, which is also thickly studded with ancient Syrian epitaphs. At the end of a grave a stone was stuck half-way into

the earth. I dug it out, and found what appears in fig. 10. It is an easy inscription: Γάιος Δούκιος βάσσως βουλευτής ἐπο(ι)ησεν ἐκ τῶν ιδίων τὸ μνημα ἔτ(ους) δ' καισάρων Μάρκου καὶ Λουκίου.

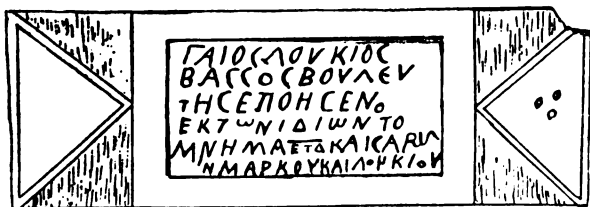


Fig. 10.

These emperors, with the same year, can only be Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and his colleague Lucius Aurelius Verus, who began to reign in 161 A.D. The date of the inscription is therefore 165. Bassus was then a frequent name in the Hauran. Βουλευτής was the councillor in a Roman colonia, or free city of that time. In ἐποίησεν we see again the simplification of the diphthong. Notice in the last line an υ of different shape from the others in the inscription.

At Edrei we got a message from the governor, forbidding us to go further east, even to Bosra. Our escort was bound to obey him, and I could not afford to take so many mules as were in our caravan on my own responsibility. We therefore reluctantly turned west from Edrei and camped at IRBID, the seat of a Kaimakam or lieutenant-governor. Here we saw nothing, but the dolmens and the inscription on an old tomb, given first by Merrill as Μετὰ πάντα τ(οῦτο), and by Clermont Ganneau μετὰ πάντα τ(άφος). I think the latter the correct reading. My copy shows Α as the second letter of the third word: the rest is defaced. At Beit-Ras, which we took on our way from Edrei to Irbid, we saw a very beautifully carved sarcophagus in white limestone, the bottom lined with mosaics, which had just been dug up. From Irbid we marched west to GADARA, which although it lies south of the Jarmuk and on limestone, had most of its buildings in basalt. The tombs are all limestone caves, but have basalt doors, doorposts, lintels, and sarcophagi. I saw the inscription above a tomb which Clermont Ganneau gives (*cf. Recueil* p. 21), Γαίου Ἀννίου Γα(ίου?) Ἀν(ίου?) υἱο(ῦ): it runs not so but as follows, though in capitals, γαιουαννιου-γααννιφ. I also saw the pathetic epitaph, of which he gives a correct copy, but which he fails to transcribe, Τίτε Μάλχου Χαίρε Ετελεύτα? ἄω[ρος] ἔτων ιβ'. Χαί[ρε]. On my copy the ρ of ἄωρος is quite distinct. I copied it twice by evening and morning light. Ετελεύτας is of course for ἐτελεύτησας. The in-

scription was first given by Dr Merrill and is explained in the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. vi. pp. 190 ff. Many of Dr Merrill's discoveries have been unfairly overlooked by subsequent explorers.

But I found also a new inscription (Fig. 11) in Gadara. It had just been dug up by some peasants: I copied it by evening light,

and when I returned to correct my copy by morning light I found that they had utterly defaced the letters. The bust at the top had been previously defaced. It is the tombstone of a legionary, and reads easily enough.

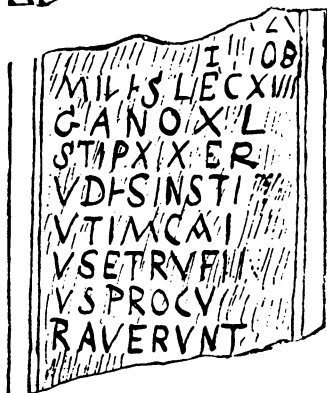


Fig. 11.

D(eis) M(anibus).

P(ublius ? Æ(lius) B . . . . .  
 . . . . . I O B. Miles  
 Leg(ionis) xiii. (? or xvii.) G(e-  
 mina ? An(n)o(rum) xl. stip(endi-  
 orum) xix. Erudes institut(i)  
 M(arcus) Cat(ti)us et Rufi(nus)  
 procuraverunt.

The spelling Erudes for Eredes may be due to a slip of the stone-cutter, who put the single horizontal line, which the E is sometimes allowed on this inscription, a little too low.

The number of the Legion is doubtful. It is more probably xiii. than xvii., though the first two strokes after the x were very near each other. I have not been

able to find out whether Legio XIV., which was called Gemina, was ever in Syria. Professor Ramsay writes: "Leg. XIV. Gem. was in Upper Germany under Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula; was sent to Britain in 43, stationed at Camalodunum, and afterwards sent to Dalmatia shortly before 69; fought for Otho that year in Italy, and then was ordered back to Britain, but was diverted to Germany, where it remained from 70. I can find no allusion to its being anywhere but in Germany and Pannonia after this."

From Gadara I visited Fik (ancient Aphek of IKi, xx. 26) with Rev. Mr Ewing of Tiberias, in the hope of finding a number of old Hebrew inscriptions, reported to be there chiefly on the ovens of the houses. We found nothing except what Schumacher has already

given (*The Jaulân* 136-146), but we made a better copy (Fig. 12) of the Hebrew inscription with the seven-branched candlestick above it on the small basalt column. A squeeze we took was unfortunately

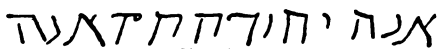


Fig. 12.

destroyed. I heard of a fine inscription on the interior wall of a house, covered with plaster: I paid the woman to scrape the plaster off and found only the Cufic inscription Schumacher already gives (*ib.* p. 140). Fik was thus a disappointment, but I believe a great deal lies there and in the neighbourhood, for the first properly organised archaeological expedition, with a firman to excavate.

From Gadara, southward, we were in a limestone country, and the inscriptions almost absolutely ceased. We passed down the Jordan valley to Tabakât Fahl, "the terraces of Fahl," a name in which PELLA has been recognised and admitted by most geographers.<sup>1</sup> It was founded by Alexander the Great's veterans; it was a city of the Decapolis; it was the refuge of the Christians before the siege of Jerusalem by Titus; it became a great Christian centre; and by it was fought the Battle of Fahl, in the year 13 A.H., in which the Greeks were overthrown by the Arabs. It seems to have been deserted soon after. There are no Saracen ruins among the wilderness of Greek, Pagan, and Christian remains. We spent two days on this remarkable site, but I have no space to detail here all that we saw. I was much disappointed about inscriptions, of which I expected to find many. But after an arduous search among the thickly overgrown ruins, all that discovered itself was a sarcophagus lid, marked with three circles, and beneath one of them, at the right-low corner, the letters, ΘΩΜΑΣ. The last visitor to Fahl, Mr Guy Le Strange,<sup>2</sup> says he failed to discover the warm spring mentioned by the early geographers. We found it after some trouble. It lies a mile to the north.

The heat becoming insupportable at Fahl, 104° in the shade and no wind, we left the place sooner than we wished, for the heights to the east, and had no time to look for the Roman road, which Dr Merrill describes as running between Pella and Gerasa. But at KEFR ABIL, two hours above Pella, we discovered in a mosque a large limestone pillar, used to support one of the arches, which, from the inscription on it, fig. 13, seems to have been a Roman milestone. This is in favour of Dr Merrill's argument about the road. The inscription is very much defaced, but enough of the letters are left to show it to have been the usual list of the ancestors of the reigning emperor,

<sup>1</sup> See the mass of evidence brought forward by Dr Selah Merrill. "East of the Jordan," Pp. 442-447.

<sup>2</sup> "A Ride through Ajlum and the Belka," 1884.

in this case of two reigning emperors (*nepotes*, plural), who were probably, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Verus.

MP  
 ΠΙ V S  
 V S A V G  
 I A  
 I Π E T  
 I V E R U S  
 Π O O S T B  
 I Π I I  
 P O T E S  
 P A R T H I C I  
 I V I  
 N E P O T E S

Fig. 13.

The difficulty is not what to put into the gaps,—they evidently contained the various imperial titles,—but what to keep out. One does not know how far the lines ran round the column, or how contracted the titles were. Probably the inscription ran somewhat after this fashion,—

Imp[erator] Cæs[ar] M[arcus] Aure[lius]  
 [Antonin]us Aug[ustus] [Parthicus] Maximus[?]  
 Trib[unicia] pot[estate] ? ? Co[n]s[ul] II Et  
 [Imp[erator] Cæs[ar] L[ucius] Aure[lius]  
 Verus [Aug[ustus] Trib[unicia] Pot[estate]]  
 II. (?) Co[n]s[ul] II, [divi Antonin]i Filii,  
 [Divi Hadriani Ne]potes, [Divi Trajani] Par-  
 thici [Pronepotes, D]ivi [Nervæ Ab]nepotes.

The first letter on the second line of the copy cannot be correct. It must be something else than the Greek II.

This was the last of our inscriptions. At Gerash we copied many, but they have been already published, by Waddington or Merrill (*American Journal of Philology*) or in the Palestine Exploration Society's Quarterly, for 1882 and 1883.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

### A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Second Series.

*Eusebius: Church History. Translated with Prolegomena and Notes. By A. C. M'Giffert, Ph.D., Professor of Church History in Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati.*

*Life of Constantine, &c. Revised translation with Prolegomena and Notes. By E. C. Richardson, Ph.D., Associate Professor in Hartford Theological Seminary. Oxford: Parker & Co. New York: The Christian Literature Co. Royal 8vo. Pp. viii., 632. 1890. Subscription price, 10s. 6d.*

*Socrates Scholasticus: Ecclesiastical History. Revised Translation and Notes by A. C. Zenos, D.D., Professor in Hartford Theological Seminary, Connecticut.*

*Sozomen: Ecclesiastical History. Revised Translation and Notes by C. D. Hartranft, Hartford Theological Seminary. Pp. xxiv. 464. 1891. Vol. II. in the above Series.*

THE works of Eusebius above indicated, form together Vol. I. of the New Series of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Library, appearing under the editorial supervision of Drs Wace and Schaff.

Dr M'Giffert, the editor of the History, already well-known in America as a rising scholar, and not least for some acute text-criticism of the *Didaché*, is an old pupil of Harnack, whose methods and work may be regarded as assimilated in the notes. And it may be said at once that it is in the notes, which form an excellent commentary, not only on the text, but also on the problems, literary and historical, of the period itself, that the chief value of the edition will lie. For though the translation aims at being a new one and not simply a revision of Cruse, yet we cannot feel that this is the strong point. But while it will not satisfy those whose passion is "sensitive scholarship," it makes, in connexion with the notes on textual *cruces*, a thoroughly trustworthy basis for historical study. It may here be added that, anxious to avoid the unworthy device of "discreet silence," which editors often adopt, and anxious also to give adequate help to beginners, Dr M'Giffert has been content to err, if error it be, on the side of fulness. His ample knowledge of recent German work on the period, appears in numerous references to monographs and periodicals; for which even mature students will be grateful.

The Prolegomena are a sound and most convenient piece of work, covering fifty-six pages, and dealing with the Life, the Writings, and the Church History of Eusebius. There is an important and original discussion on the attitude of Eusebius to Arianism. The diverse views which prevailed among the ancients on this subject are appended at length. The conclusion reached is that "Eusebius was not an Arian (nor an adherent of Lucian) before 318; that soon after that date he became an Arian *in the sense in which he understood Arianism*; but that during the Council of Nicæa he ceased to be one in any sense." The account of the other writings of Eusebius, arranged under eight heads, exclusive of those "spurious or doubtful," is most careful; while the usual questions as to the History are fully treated, and a helpful account of Editions and Versions, as well as of the Literature, completes the whole.

Where the work dealt with covers some 600 pages, printed in double columns, with notes in smaller type to each page, it is impossible to do more than notice marked features of excellence or originality, the rest being taken for granted.

In Book I., which bears on the Incarnation, ch. vii.—giving Africanus's solution of the Genealogies—is admirably annotated in the light of Spitta's attempted reconstruction of Africanus. Our author's integrity, though not his inerrancy, is in this Book (*e.g.*, *in re* Abgar), as elsewhere, fairly vindicated; while the notes on the supposed reference in Josephus to Christ, and on James "the brother of the Lord," are models of compact and judicial comment. The same may be said of Book II., on the Apostolic age prior to 70

A.D., for which also good use is made of Schürer. But nothing is more important than our editor's emphatic statement of "the external and artificial conception of heresy which Eusebius held in common with his age." This he brings out and corrects in his notes on Simon Magus (ch. 13), as also throughout the work, wherever Gnosticism is referred to (*cf.* iii. 7 and *passim*).

With Book III. we enter upon the period of "Apostolic men" of the second generation, where editorial notes are most necessary. Nor are we disappointed. Be it the legendary zone of "Apostolic Missions" (ch. 1), the delicate topic of Pseudapostolic literature (*e.g.*, ch. 3), the Jerusalem Succession and the Desposyni (11-12, &c.), the Apostolic Fathers (*passim*, *e.g.*, on iii. 36, an able summary of the Ignatian question with a plea for an open mind as to Harnack's *date*), the two types of Ebionites (27, = Origen's view), Papias as disciple of John the Presbyter (39): all are here. Books IV-V. —worked through in Harnack's *Seminar* at Marburg—bring us to the very heart of the Ante-Nicene period, the second century proper, the age of Apologists and of the formation in thought and practice of much that henceforth lays claim to that most vague title—"Catholicity." The examination of "spurious" official documents is good throughout. But if in the rescript of Hadrian to Fundanus, one sentence only is "really suspicious," may this not be a mere gloss added later? As to the use of καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία in the Epistle of the Smyrnæans (iv. 15), we agree with our editor (*pace* Lightfoot), that any other than the late sense of "Catholic" would mean tautology in two places (*e.g.*, "the holy universal Church in every place," § 3), and also that such a use is not fatal to the genuineness of the document. Lightfoot's defence, however, of his view as to διαδοχὴν ἐποιησάμην ("I composed a catalogue of bishops," iv. 22), seems hard to resist (see his Clement I., 154, 328 n., 1890). Again, the rendering "and from the Syriac Gospel according to the Hebrews, he quotes some passages in the Hebrew tongue," hardly satisfies ἐκ τε τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίων εὐαγγελίου [καὶ] τοῦ Συριακοῦ καὶ ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραϊδὸς διαλέκτου τινα τίθησιν. For the καὶ ἰδίως surely points to Hebrew information beyond the gospel in question. As samples of the full and learned notes, which abound in Book IV., we may refer to those on Melito (26), Tatian (29), and Bardesanes (30), as well as to the able defence of Eusebius against the charge of deceit in using Tatian in proof that Crescens caused Justin's death (16).

In Book V., one may note that Dr M'Giffert approves Salmon's view that the letter from Gaul to Eleutherus, as being "pious and most orthodox" in Eusebius' eyes (4), was unfavourable to Montanism; that he does full justice to Marcion and his school (13), as also to Montanism (16); retains in ch. 17 "Alcibiades," read by



all MSS. and versions, and suggests that Eusebius has misread his authority's reference to Miltiades, "perhaps the Montanist Miltiades" of ch. 16, whose name Salmon thinks may have been displaced in ch. 3 by the adjoining Alcibiades—both plausible conjectures; and finally, after illuminating the intricacies of the Paschal Controversy (23f.), sets the Monarchians and their methods in a true light.

A word must be said on the more original elements in the work. Such are the theory of the Christian Ministry outlined in notes on the Diaconate (ii. 1) and Episcopate (iii. 23)—with which, in its blending of the varied factors elicited by recent research, the present writer confesses large agreement, though ready to lay more stress on age as a factor: the view that *φέρεισθαι*, of a writing, means "to be extant," cf. *fertur* in the Muratorian Canon (Suppl. Notes, p. 388 f.); the distinction between *ἀντιλεγόμενα* and *νόθα*, as used in iii. 25, viz., as works, whose "record" hitherto was a mingled one, but which in Eusebius' day were *tending* on the one hand towards, and on the other away from, general acceptance. In *Supplem. Notes*, p. 390, he explains his author's confusion between the successors of Antoninus Pius, by supposing that Eusebius, puzzled as to M. Aurelius' good name in the Church, assumed a confusion of names, and regarded the noble Marcus as the younger, and therefore not responsible for the martyrdoms.

None will doubt that Eusebius needs an editor badly. And we make bold to say that he has at last found one in English, with sufficient largeness of view to be sympathetic and yet thoroughly critical, free from pet theories to warp his judgment, learned and sober—in a word, an editor worthy of an author at once so misleading and so invaluable.

Naturally, Dr Richardson's work calls for less notice. The translation simply aims at being a careful revision (founded on Heinichen instead of Valesius) of the Bagster edition of the "Life of Constantine," Constantine's "Oration to the Saints," and the "Oration in Praise of Constantine." The notes, too, are based on Bagster. But in the general Prolegomena, dealing with Constantine's Life, Character, Writings, and the "Mythical Constantine," the editor had a freer hand, and has done his work *con amore*. Indeed, there is an enthusiastic tone about the work, as of one generously vindicating a misjudged man, which might tempt some to do scant justice to the editor himself, as being a mere advocate. But therein they would do wrong. For as to the thorough study of sources, both primary and secondary, on which his estimate rests, there can be no doubt. Witness not only the exhaustive bibliography everywhere supplied; but also the way in which authorities are cited in his text,

attempt being made to assign specific character to each. He certainly makes out a good case, supported by modern analogies, for the theory of his hero's character, which he builds up gradually on the wide basis of general heathen testimony, if in the main with Christian materials. "The editor's judgment is that Constantine, for his time, made an astonishingly temperate, wise, and on the whole, benevolent use of absolute power; and in morality, kindly qualities, and, at last, in real Christian character, greatly surpassed most nineteenth century politicians—standing to modern statesmen as Athanasius to modern theologians" (p. 435). He is aware that this traverses the views of many eminent scholars. But he has traced well the stages of C.'s attitude to Christianity, starting from the basis of his father's pious and monotheistic tendencies. Thus emphasizing the natural effect of what Constantine himself believed to be a token from the God of the Christians, the preference for Christian advisers, and the laws in their behalf, he claims that Constantine's attitude, though of necessity "conditioned by his relation to the old religion," was distinctly more than one of "non-committal." For he justly remarks that in 314 "his position was not yet secure. He had to use his utmost tact to keep all elements in hand. He was conditioned just as is a modern Christian emperor or president," by the limitations to personal freedom in religious matters, which pertain to the official head of a great political unity containing divergent religious interests. Nor can he see any proof that C.'s religious sympathies were primarily a matter of astute statecraft. Similarly our editor justly urges that, as we must judge the part through the whole, not *vice versâ*, a defendant of so well attested a character has a right to the benefit of the doubt as to the confessedly "unknown causes," which must lie behind so exceptional a series of events, as were the deaths of Crispus, the younger Licinius, and Fausta. As to the historical value of the "Life" by Eusebius, there is much point in the remark that "his aim is distinctly limited to Constantine's religious acts." So that, apart from the "very pietistic flavour" given to his hero, Eusebius cannot be shown, except by a *petitio principii*, to have suppressed really pertinent facts; while he constantly cites documents for what he positively sets forth.

On one head, however, we feel bound to utter a mild protest. In so large a work as that before us, we cannot be surprised at typographical errors, though we hope they will be remedied some day. But in a work written for the English-speaking people at large, we regret the defects of style in Dr Richardson's part of the volume. Not only does it lack dignity and self-restraint at times (as in allusions to "small boys," the comic papers, "Kentucky moonshiners," and the slang of party politics; but it abounds in dubious English

like "supposably," "character generalization," "his actual objective," "his learning . . . was radiated with reference to expression,"—not to mention "rubrics" and "psychical," where "heads" and "mental" would be simpler. Such are not mentioned in a captious spirit, but with the hope that the other American editors may consciously aim at "catholicity" in their English. For, as both our editors prove, American scholarship has much to teach us, not only in Bibliography but also in fresh devotion to research.

Socrates and Sozomen have in recent times been in even worse case than Eusebius, who has at least had his Heinichen in German. This has been due in part to the excellence of Valesius in the second half of the seventeenth century, and of Reading in the beginning of the eighteenth. But these are beyond the ordinary student; and the result has been a mere second-hand knowledge of the fourth century, which has often been worse than no knowledge at all. An edition like the present is therefore most welcome, even though the centre of gravity in matters really vital has passed, and justly passed, from the fourth to the earlier centuries. What here was most wanted was not so much a critical edition like M<sup>c</sup>Giffert's Eusebius, as a straightforward, serviceable version of the Greek historians themselves, enabling the student to live and breathe in the atmosphere of the fourth century as it was, in all its mingled and strangely human elements. And such we now possess in the present volume. This does not mean that the translation is a perfect one. The text, as we are reminded, itself stands in need of a critical editor. Besides, the Bagster version, which is taken as basis, is far from hitting the happy mean, and is, moreover, often deficient in scholarship. Nor can we say that these defects have always been adequately remedied by our editors. But what they aim at in the main, that they have achieved. And that is, to put the reader—by means of well-informed and intelligent introductions on the historians and the scope of their histories, as well as upon the Bibliography of their subjects in all its aspects—so into the position from which he can, as it were, look through his author's eyes, that the general course of events may be easily yet truly perceived. The notes, which are well-chosen and generally accurate, are on such a scale as to stimulate rather than supersede personal study, consisting largely of references to contemporary authorities rather than to later critical views. And this, in the circumstances, is wise and wholesome. Here, as elsewhere, "he that hath to him shall be given." Our editors seem minded not to pander to any "seemeth to have" tendency in their readers. But that every needful help to a grip upon the history is given, may be seen from the fact that appended to Sozomen are elaborate Chronological Tables (for

300-440) based on Clinton, and supplemented by lists of the accession of Bishops in Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Rome, in the compilation of which *Gams* and *Jaffé* have been drawn upon.

To specify somewhat, the Introductions, especially that on Sozomen as Author—his tendencies and pre-occupations—are admirable pieces of work, implying minute, and often original research. As to the abrupt ending of his author's work, Hartranft is inclined "to believe that Sozomen died before he had completed the record which he had proposed to himself." This is likely to command assent; as do the notes throughout, as a rule. A few exceptions in the Socrates may, however, be worth noting. Zenos takes "Theophorus" as applied to Ignatius, passively ("carried by God"), referring it to the tradition that he was the very child whom Jesus "took up in His arms" (p. 144 n.); whereas Lightfoot takes it actively ("God-bearing"), and makes the tradition the effect, not the cause of the epithet. Then why "on the Wednesday in *Passion Week*, and on *Good Friday*," for τῇ τετράδι καὶ τῇ λεγομένῃ 'παρασκευῇ' (p. 132; see Zahn on Mart. Polyc. vii., and Ps. Ign. ad Philipp. xiii. in *Pat. Apost.* II.)? As to ii. 24 *fin.*, he infers "that the whole of Egypt was not under the Bishop of Alexandria," from the fact that Athanasius was open to blame for ordaining ἐν ταῖς ἄλλων παροικίαις, where the district between Pelusium and Alexandria is in question. But why should it not mean simply that he failed to consult the local bishops (? Arians), who had rights in their own "parishes"? Among other oversights may, perhaps, be noted those in ii. 11., where Socrates' confusion with the case of George in 356 is passed over; ch. xviii., Constantine the younger, for Constans—where, too, "composed" is weak for "patched up" (συγκαττίσαντες); p. 45 (col. 2, top) where ἡ υἱὸς is omitted; ch. xxiii. (*fin.*), take μου with ἀδελφὸν alone; iv. 23, render γνωστικὸς as "enlightened one" throughout (e.g., p. 108, col. 1, *mid*). These are but trifles; just enough to justify the reader in keeping his eye open, not enough to detract seriously from an editor's real merits.

*Verb. sat sap.*—We wish the series a wide sale and serious study, for the times therein set forth have much to teach us to-day; not least of all, how it is that we have not a little to unlearn, if our faith is to be historic rather than antiquarian.

VERNON BARTLET.

**The Dawn of the English Reformation : Its Friends and Foes.**

*By Henry Worsley, M.A., Vicar of Ashford, Bowdler.*  
*London : Elliot Stock. 8vo, pp. xx. 380. Price 10s. 6d.*

THE author of this work aims at a biographical treatment of the subject. The story of the great religious struggle of the sixteenth century is told by interweaving a series of biographies of the principal actors and writers connected with it, "not neglecting to portray its virulent and able opponents as well as the zealous champions of the movement" (p. viii.). The result is a volume of rich and varied interest, in which a luminous account is given of the principles at stake, while the sympathies of the reader are called forth by the engaging personalities that pass before him and the abundant detail that gives life and colour to an historical picture. The author makes no secret of his ardent attachment to Protestant principles, but this does not blind him to the merits of opponents. One striking feature of the book is its discriminating estimates of all the actors in the struggle, its frank admission of the shortcomings of the champions of the new cause, and its generous judgments of those who stood by the old order of things. Mr Worsley is a clergyman of the Church of England, and with a partiality that is perfectly natural, rejoices in the mild form in which the shock of revolution was experienced by his Church at the epoch of which he treats, compared with what took place in the Continental Churches, and views that result as due to the special providence that watched over the destinies of the Church of England at the time! But after all, his deepest sympathies are Protestant rather than Anglican, and recognising the fact that it is "the Protestant heart beating strong in the national breast which has been the true secret of Great Britain's becoming the widest and greatest empire of which history has any cognisance" (p. 303), it is a task of pleasure to him to unfold the story of the events that contributed to the final success of the Protestant cause.

After an introduction, in which he describes the state of the Church at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the author presents us with a series of sketches of those who were concerned in preparing the way for the new era that was shortly to dawn. First come the Oxford scholars, Colet and More and Erasmus, the leaders of the new learning, who had no thought of departing from their position as true sons of the Church of Rome, but who by their piety and scholarship and their eager advocacy of a practical Christianity, did much to introduce the more spiritual movement that followed. Then we have an account of the Cambridge

"Gospellers"—"little Bilney, the earnest Evangelist, and Hugh Latimer, changed by the instrumentality of Bilney from a bigoted Romanist into an earnest champion of the Gospel, and a preacher who made his voice heard alike in the court of the king and in the homes of the people; and other earnest spirits who gathered for prayer and for the study of the new views that were breaking on men's minds. In this connection a place is also given to Wolsey, the great Cardinal and Statesman, who, though averse to reformation on Scriptural principles, was used by providence to further the cause he abhorred, his scheme of university reform attracting to Oxford scholars full of evangelical zeal, and his bold statesmanship accomplishing the deliverance of England from the yoke of Rome. The author does full justice to the character of Wolsey and to those aspects of his life-work that entitle him to the admiration and gratitude of posterity.

The prominent figure in these pages is William Tyndale, and the author lingers lovingly over the details of his life, and follows him in his wanderings from place to place on the Continent in the course of his voluntary exile, while he carried into execution the great work on which his heart at an early stage was set—the translation of the New Testament into English. We have an attractive picture of his controversies with the monks in the manor house of Sir John and Lady Walsh. It was on one of those occasions when engaged in argument with an opponent that he was tempted to exclaim, "I defy the Pope and all his laws, and if God spare my life ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth a plough shall know more of the Scripture than thou knowest," words that led to his falling under suspicion and to his flight to the Continent, where he laboured at the task that was to result in the fulfilment of his own prophecy. By-and-by the work was done: the book for which eager hearts were waiting in England was concealed in bales of flax and despatched across the seas, and copies conveyed by secret agencies over the country. The story is familiar to all, but it stands being retold, and in the author's hands it loses none of its interest. Nearly one half of the entire volume is occupied with the history of the political movement that issued in the separation of England from Rome, and the independence of the English Church. The story is a "labyrinth tangled and intricate almost beyond example," and wearisome to a degree. We wonder that so large a place should be assigned to it in a book on the dawn of the Reformation, till we remember that, in point of fact, the leading feature of the English Reformation is its political character, the transference of supremacy over Church and nation from the Pope of Rome to the King of England. How little religious feeling or conviction had to do with this change on the part of the principal agent in bringing

it about, is very plain from the whole story of the negotiation that preceded it. Our author does not call the attention of his readers to the circumstance, but it is instructive to watch how a revelation that had momentous religious consequences was the work of a monarch who had no other end in view than the aggrandisement of his own power and the gratification of his own lusts.

The concluding portion of the book is devoted to the testimony furnished by the early martyrs. It was not enough that the Bible was translated into homely English, and was in the hands of the people, and that the connection of the Church with the papacy was brought to an end. A third condition of success to a religious movement was necessary, that it should be commended by the courage and self-sacrifice of those who were identified with it. The early Gospellers had rather faltered, and held back from rendering this testimony. But the heroic conduct of Bilney at the stake, and, above all, the martyrdom of John Fryth, the friend and coadjutor of Tyndale, who was burnt at Smithfield for denying the dogma of transubstantiation, placed the seal of success on the movement. "Tyndale and Fryth," he says, "were the real heroes of the movement at the period of its dawn. When many had discredited the cause by wavering timidity, they were the salt that renewed its vital energy. Beyond any of their contemporaries, they were the instruments whereby Scriptural Doctrine took root and flourished in the country of their birth. They wrote and toiled to the noblest ends before the various communions, under the Protestant banner, parted off from one another in England."

The above will give some idea of the scope and contents of this valuable contribution to our literature on the English Reformation. Dealing as it does with a period when the Church and Society were on the threshold of a new era, and forces were beginning to operate of whose ultimate working even they who were under their influence had only the dimmest idea—such a work as this is deeply interesting and suggestive reading to those who live in similar epochs in the world's history, in times big with impending changes affecting the foundations of belief and the very framework of society. Our difficulties are, indeed, our own, but when we see that through the new thoughts and aspirations that visited men's minds in those old times, the Spirit of God was working towards great and beneficent results bearing on the progress of the highest interests of the race, we are taught a lesson of patience, and are encouraged to trust that the future will disclose that the same presence is with us also, controlling and guiding the forces that are at work in our age, and preparing the way for fresh conquests of the truth and Kingdom of Christ.

DAVID SOMERVILLE.

### Manual of the Science of Religion.

By P. D. Chantepie De La Saussaye. Translated from the German by Beatrice S. Colyer-Fergusson (née Max Müller). London: Longmans, Green & Co. 8vo, pp. xiii.-672. Price 12s. 6d.

THE notice of Professor De La Saussaye's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, which appeared in the last number of this Review, had been in type for some time before the publication of the translation by Mrs Colyer-Fergusson, which was there anticipated. We have now the pleasure of welcoming the work of the Dutch scholar in its English garb. The pleasure, however, is not altogether unalloyed, for the work as it stands is incomplete, corresponding only with the first volume of the original; and we are informed that it will depend on the success of this volume whether it may be followed by the translation of the second. It is, of course, a question of which the publishers must judge for themselves, but it seems to us that the issue of this volume without any guarantee that it will be followed by the second, is the most likely way so to injure its sale as to make it doubtful whether the second will ever appear at all. As the translator points out in her preface, there are numerous works on special branches of the comparative study of religions, but "no book from which trustworthy information on the whole subject could be gained." But this want is not supplied by a book from which, as it stands, the history of religion among the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Germans, as well as the account of Mohammedanism, is excluded. It is scarcely correct to say that the first volume of the *Lehrbuch* "forms a book by itself," though, as including the Introductory and Phenomenological Sections, it probably contains the most original and important parts of the work. Nor does this justify the omission of all indication upon the title-page that the volume before us is only an instalment. We trust that the publishers will see their way to present English students with the complete book, and if the support given to them is at all in proportion to the value of the book itself, they should have no difficulty in doing so.

In making the translation, Mrs Colyer-Fergusson has had the benefit of the author's revision, as well as the use of his own notes and corrections, so that, as she remarks, the "translation may be read almost in the light of a second edition." The advantage is most observable in the Bibliographical paragraphs, which are in every case brought down to date.

We do not need to repeat here what has been already said as to the general character of De La Saussaye's *Lehrbuch*. With regard to the translation, it is, on the whole, what might be expected from a daughter of Max Müller, especially with her father's advice and



assistance on which to rely. It is not altogether possible to judge of its accuracy, for we are warned that "whenever passages which occur in the original are omitted or altered in my translation, it should be understood that the responsibility rests with the author." We are accordingly left in doubt as to how far the *caveat* extends. But why should the book be entitled "Manual of the *Science* of Religion," instead of "Manual of the *History* of Religion" (*Religionsgeschichte*)? The latter title corresponds more truly with the nature and scope of the *Lehrbuch* as a whole. There is much which the Science of Religion includes upon which the author does not touch. Is the alteration of title part of the plan of treating the first volume as an independent work?

The translation is very readable, though occasional awkwardnesses appear, and these sometimes obscure the sense. On p. 4, line 6, "modes for studying religion" should be "methods of;" p. 15, line 18, "every scientific decision must be put aside" should be "any scientific decision is out of the question;" p. 21, line 12, "advantages" would be better than "goods," and the whole clause is made less intelligible by the word "already" (*bereits*) being entirely unaccounted for; same page, line 5 from foot, the assonance "Aryanic" and "Germanic" seems unnecessary and objectionable,—Max Müller himself uses "Aryan." These examples from the first few pages illustrate perhaps the difficulty of the translator's task, perhaps the imperfection of the execution. Such blemishes do not materially affect a work which has been lovingly performed, and is on the whole satisfactorily accomplished.

On one other point only it seems desirable to say a word. In preparing such a book for the use of English-speaking students, a reference should always be given to English translations of books mentioned or quoted, where these exist. On pp. 2 and 3 Pfeiderer's *Religionsphilosophie*, Pünjer's *Geschichte der Christlichen Religionsphilosophie*, Bunsen's *Gott in der Geschichte*, and Réville's *Prolegomènes de l'histoire des Religions* are all referred to without any indication of their accessibility in an English dress, and though translations of Tiele's *Outlines* are mentioned, that one of these is into English is a matter of inference.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

## Justice : Being Part IV. of the Principles of Ethics.

By Herbert Spencer. London : Williams & Norgate. 8vo.

Pp. 292. Price 8s.

THE Data of Ethics, the first part of the Principles of Ethics, was published in 1879, and was written before the Principles of Sociology was complete. Having finished the latter work, the

author was from weak health unable to carry on his work. We are glad to find that he has been able to complete that part of his *Principles of Ethics* now in our hands. Every one must desire that he may have strength to finish the great work on *Synthetic Philosophy* to which he has devoted his life. Parts II. and III., entitled "*The Inductions of Ethics*" and "*The Ethics of Individual Life*" have yet to be done, and afterwards he intends to go on with Parts V. and VI. on *Negative and Positive Beneficence*, which will complete the *Principles of Ethics*, and crown the whole edifice of the *Synthetic Philosophy*. It will not be out of place to express our sympathy with the distinguished author, and our hope that he will be able to finish his work. It will be an advantage even to those who cannot agree with his philosophy to have the system finished by the same mind in which the vast conception arose and took shape.

We have to remind ourselves of the main purpose of this philosophy. In truth we are never allowed to forget it. In all his works we are constantly reminded of the formula of evolution, and are frequently told that "the deepest truths we can reach are simply statements of the widest uniformities in our experience of the relations of Matter, Motion, and Force," or, all things are to be deduced from the *Persistence of Force*. As we read on we find ourselves in the midst of the primitive Nebula,—matter equally diffused in all directions,—and from that homogeneity we have to make a start. We do not proceed very far when we are in the midst of differences, and the differences grow more and more. The deduction from the *Persistence of Force* is not vigorous or rigorous. For we soon find ourselves in the presence of new factors. "The new Factor, which differentiates chemistry from molecular physics, is the heterogeneity of the molecules with whose redistributions it deals." Thus, with the help of the new Factor, we easily get along with chemistry. A little further on and we come to Biology, and we look for a demonstration of the origin of life, or at least for an interpretation of it in terms of Matter and Motion. But here, too, we get new Factors. In truth, we get new Factors whenever we get to a new science. "But this introduction of additional Factors, which differentiates each more special science from the more general science including it, fails in every case to differentiate it absolutely, because the introduction of the additional factors is gradual" (*Psychology*, 138).

But the additional factors are brought in when and where they are needed. The only explanation of them we get is, to suppose them absent is to suppose force not to persist. Thus, we have life under the guidance of Factors not operative up to the time of its appearance, and a new set of facts, which may be summed up under

the laws of genesis, heredity, and variation. Similarly New Factors appear with the rise of conscious life, and again when conscious moral life appears. No doubt sometimes in Mr Spencer's pages consciousness appears to be reduced to its lowest terms, and the Ego becomes simply a series of states of consciousness. But soon the Ego obtains its revenge. For we learn that "by reality we mean *persistence* in consciousness" (First Principles, p. 160), which implies that the consciousness itself persists. The Ego can also form intuitions, can look before and after, and do many wonderful things. It can form ideals, and can construct "the formula of ideal conduct." It can ascertain the absolutely right, and set forth a scheme of absolute ethics. No doubt Mr Spencer has tried to show us the genesis of intuitions, but when once the intuition is reached, whatever may have been the process of its genesis, by virtue of it we obtain a fresh start, and we have a new standard of reference, a new test of truth. It is again a new factor. By the time that we reach the volume before us, we have on hand quite a respectable variety of intuitions, such as ought to satisfy even Dr M'Cosh. They are indeed not the same intuitions as those set forth by him, nor are they accredited with the same kind of evidence, but it is a great matter to have something of the kind, as they make the work all the easier.

Readers of the work had better read again the "Data of Ethics," or they will be apt to mis-read and misunderstand the work on "Justice." We shall meet many such words, as right, wrong, guilt, freedom, ought, obligation, and we are at first sight inclined to take them in the meaning they have in ordinary language. We must remember, however, that these have, most of them, received Spencerian meanings in the "Data of Ethics." They appear indeed to have their usual meaning, and are used by him in apparent forgetfulness of what he had formerly said, but that surely is pure forgetfulness on his part. He has told us that in proportion as men become moral, they lose the feeling of "ought." By and by when the perfectly evolved man shall live in the perfectly evolved society there will not be any right or wrong in our sense of the words. The former sanctions of morality, being useless, will disappear. There will be no need of sanctions, for sanctions will be superseded. The religious sanction will have vanished with the fear of the supernatural, and the legal sanction also, for there will be no need of government, and both the social and the internal sanction will be non-existent, for the individual is at peace with himself and with society. For he is a perfect man, in a perfectly evolved society. The words, ought, right, duty, will remain as interesting witnesses of a time when the adaptation was not complete.

One need not say that Mr Spencer has missed the meaning both

of moral obligation, and of the necessity for an internal sanction for morality. But it is time that we come to the book on Justice, or "the ethics of social life." Briefly the substance of the book is to deduce all the rights of the people from what he describes as the law of equal freedom, which he thus expresses: "Every man is free to do that which he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man." "The formula has to unite a positive element with a negative element. It must be positive in so far as it asserts for each that, since he must receive and suffer the good and evil results of his actions, he must be allowed to act. And it must be negative in so far as, by asserting this of every one, it implies that each can be allowed to act only under the restraint imposed by the presence of others having like claims to act. Evidently the positive element is that which expresses a pre-requisite to life in general, and the negative element is that which qualifies this pre-requisite in the way required, when instead of one life carried on alone, there are many lives carried on together" (p. 45). According to Mr. Spencer, "the law of equal freedom is an ultimate ethical principle, having an authority transcending every other." Derived from it we have the following rights, the right to physical integrity, the right to free motion and locomotion, the right to the use of natural media, the right of property, the right of incorporeal property, the right of gift and bequest, the right of free exchange and free contract, the right of free industry, of free belief and worship, of free speech and publication, the rights of women, and of children, and political rights so-called. Then follow chapters on the nature, the constitution, the duties of the state, and the limits of state-duties.

There are two questions to be asked with regard to the law of equal freedom. (1.) Is it true? (2.) If true what can be done with it when we get it. Is it true? Does it leave room for the consideration of the nature of the individual, and for the nature of the social organism? The first thing which strikes us is, that it receives a complete fulfilment irrespective of both. Clerk Maxwell's molecular theory of gases, is a perfect example of the law of equal freedom. Each molecule of gas is free to collide with every other. The fewer the particles the fewer the collisions, and with their increase the collisions are multiplied, until when the density is very great, the movements of the particle become very much hampered, for it has to move with due regard to the movements of all the other particles within the enclosed space. Sheer individualism, and a loose state of aggregation, satisfy then the conditions set down by the law of equal freedom. But the law of equal freedom does not seem to apply to an organism, in which to take Haeckel's definition, "the various parts unite together for the purpose of producing the phenomena of life." Here the law of equal freedom does not

obtain, for "one set of cells devotes itself to the absorption of food, others form themselves into protecting organs for the little community; some become muscle-cells, others bone-cells, others blood-cells, others nerve-cells," and the law of their action is, that "they all work together for the good of the whole." Society has been described by Mr Spencer as an organism. But in his supreme law of ethics, there is no mention made of working for the good of the whole, nor is there expressly contained in it any reference to the nature of the individual. Professor Diodato Liroy begins his exposition of the philosophy of Right, by shewing that in man individuality becomes "a free personality, which raises him above nature, although he lives in nature." (Philosophy of Right, translated by W. Hastie, vol. ii. p. 6.) Liroy contends that a man is capable of right because he is a being "who is sensitive, intelligent, and free." Now Mr Spencer's Formula of Justice has nothing in it, as abstractly expressed, to indicate the nature of the individual, nor to set forth, except in the vaguest possible way the relation of the individual to society. But the omission of all reference to the social organism makes it possible for Mr Spencer to attenuate the duties of the state to what Professor Huxley called "Administrative Nihilism," and to what he himself calls the administration of Justice alone, which practically means that each one must keep his place.

Suppose, however, the formula to hold good, can we make it work? In the appendix, Mr Spencer tells us that he had thought out this formula, and published it in *Social Statics* nearly forty years ago. He tells also how he found out that Kant had anticipated him, and gives us the Kantian formula. "Right, therefore, comprehends the whole of the conditions under which the voluntary actions of any one Person can be harmonized in reality with the voluntary actions of every other Person according to a universal law of Freedom." But a reference to Kant's *Philosophy of Law*, translated by Mr William Hastie, shows us that Kant could not get his formula to work until he made what he calls the 'Juridical postulate of the Practical Reason,' and he makes the assumption thus—"It is therefore an assumption *a priori* of the Practical Reason, to regard and treat every object within the range of my free exercise of Will as objectively a possible Mine or Thine," and with the help of this postulate he works out a system of right. Now, it is difficult to see how Mr Spencer can make his formula work as it stands without a postulate. Let us take for an example his treatment of "the right of property," and what is said on this point is applicable to all the "rights" discussed by him. He is not satisfied with Locke's statement which is "whatever then man removes out of the state that nature hath provided and left it in, he hath mixed his labour with, and joined with it something that is his own, and thereby

makes it his property." Mr Spencer argues thus, 'One might reply that as, according to the premises, "the earth and all inferior creatures" are "common to all men," the consent of all men must be obtained before any article can equitably "remove from the common state nature hath placed it in."' The question at issue is, whether by labour expended in removing it, a man has made his right to the thing greater than the pre-existing right of *all* other men put together. The difficulty thus arising may be avoided, however (Justice, p. 95). The way in which Mr Spencer avoids the difficulty is to point out the ways by which rights have been established with due regard to the right of all other men. Briefly, these may be described as by "contract." But Mr Spencer has not seen that his objection to Locke's view, is really fatal to all rights of property whatsoever. Modifying his answer to Locke, we may ask, can any one, can any tribe, can any society, bestow a right greater than the pre-existing right of all other men put together? It is interesting to compare "Social Statics" with "Justice." In the former work he came to the conclusion that "Equity does not permit property in land." Now he comes to the conclusion that "individual ownership, subject to state-suzerainty, should be maintained," and the change of view arises from the fact that he had not seen what "would be implied by the giving of compensation for all that value, that the labour of ages has given to the land." But it is not clear how this flows from the law of equal freedom. Why should I have a better chance than any one else? or any one else a better chance than I have? Why should one man be free to own a part of Scotland from sea to sea, and another be stewed up in a factory from eight to twelve hours a day? Why, according to the law of equal freedom, should one man count for 10,000, and another for the fraction of a unit? The law of equal freedom can give no answer. The law of equal freedom sanctions all the cruelties committed by Industrialism, that form of united action praised so highly by Mr Spencer. It sanctions also all that that abstract deductive system of Political Economy, now happily on the wane, has formulated. It is consistent with making railway servants work fifteen or sixteen hours at a stretch. Consistent also with all the horrors accumulated by Karl Marx in that chapter in his work on "Capital," called "Machinery and Modern Industry." This principle of ultimate equity is either barren, *i.e.*, rights cannot be deduced from it, or if rights can be deduced they are consistent with wrongs as great as have ever happened on earth.

We need other and stronger, and more practical ethical principles. We need to start with the idea of men as persons, sensitive, intelligent and free, who ought to be bound together in a social organism. We are to be used as persons, and to use others as persons. Hegel's

formula has a deeper ethical significance than that of Kant, or that of Spencer. "Be a person and respect others as persons." It might readily be shown that this imperative really does contain a complete formula of justice, and sets forth not only rights but duties. In this connection we refer to Green's *Principles of Political Obligation* contained in his *Collected Works*, vol. II.

Why should I be just? The only answer we have from the law of freedom is that if I act unjustly something unpleasant will happen to me. The only sense of "ought" recognised by Mr Spencer is that which binds him to work for the furtherance of the highest life. But suppose that I do not recognise the type of life sketched by Mr Spencer as a life high in any sense of the term; suppose that the type of man, which he names the evolved man in a fully evolved society, is one which seems to me far from admirable, why should I be bound to further that end? He who won his rank in the evolution of society by well-calculated selfishness, now keeps it by a well-calculated altruism, and he has got his reward. But why should I help that on if I think that it contains a type of life deficient in so many elements of a nobler nature? Then think of the utter wastefulness of Mr Spencer's philosophy. Take the sense of duty, trace the painful steps by which Mr Spencer tries to build it up, and see how it will vanish. Surely the power which works through evolution might have found a less expensive way. Take the highly evolved society which shall in the far distance reach equilibrium. Will it not be then subject to the law of the "Instability of the Homogeneous?" Will it not, with all its painfully-bought attainment, pass out of sight when the sun grows cold? If so, what is the worth of it all? Is our solar system to be resolved by some shock into a nebulous form again, and the weary cycle begin once more? What waste of time, and, above all, what waste of persons? May we not be allowed to suppose that such wastefulness does not lie in the purpose which formed the universe; that out of such toil some worthy outcome will surely be; that persons will survive; and that a community of moral persons will exist somewhere in a condition which will form a complete contrast to that ideal picture drawn by Mr Spencer of his perfectly evolved society?

JAMES IVERACH.

### **The Preacher and his Models. The Yale Lectures on Preaching, 1891.**

*By the Rev. James Stalker, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton.  
Cr. 8vo. pp. 280. Price 5s.*

DR STALKER'S work on preaching deserves a cordial welcome for its method and spirit. Poets are not made by means of lectures on

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poetry, nor preachers by lectures on preaching. A lecturer on preaching, unless he guards his words, may readily sap reverence for their office in the minds of young men, who, while the experienced practitioner initiates them into the secrets of making a religious impression, are tempted to draw the conclusion that preaching is after all a branch of histrionic art. There are reasons to make us specially jealous of such a spirit at present. The old indifference to ministerial efficiency and success has given place to an eager desire for both. The struggle between competitive churches, and reasons of a more honourable character, have led to strenuous endeavours to perfect what Dr Stalker calls, "The Machine of Religion." This machine, manned by a great company of workers, is now in full operation before our eyes, and it is certainly creditable to the ingenuity and energy of those who manage it. Dr Stalker asks, and others are asking the same question: "With all this bustling activity is the work done?" Mr Matthew Arnold was accustomed to say that the Examination System was killing disinterested love for letters; it is to be feared that elaborate organisations, and a too exclusive attention to them, are killing the simplicity and the gladness of Christian work.

The difficulty cannot be evaded, however, and must be faced, of giving instruction in the art of preaching without doing hurt to religious feeling; for we cannot, even if we would, return to the old system of neglect, at a time when candidates for the ministry are above all things eager to learn their profession. Dr Stalker has succeeded, we think, in pointing out the true way to reconcile conflicting interests, by insisting that all true preaching is a genuine outcome of the personal life and experience of the preacher. Having spoken of the call to the Ministry, he speaks thus of the need of a continued and progressive religious life. "Valuable as an initial call may be, it will not do to trade too long on such a mercy. A ministry of growing power must be one of growing experience. The minister must be able to use the language of religion not as the nearest equivalent he can find for that which he believes others to be passing through, but as the exact equivalent of that which he has passed through himself. Perhaps of all causes of ministerial failure the commonest lies here. Either we have never had a spiritual experience deep and thorough enough to lay bare to us the mysteries of the soul; or our experience is too old, and we have repeated it so often that it has become stale to ourselves."

Those weighty words deserve to be pondered; for there is a mischievous conventional way of speaking of the subject, as if all ministers were, of course, sufficiently religious, and only required a little more intellectual endowment, social culture, or practical energy in order to perform apostolic work. The truth is that the adequate religious



endowment is not only the most precious, but the rarest of ministerial gifts.

The two models which Dr Stalker places before his readers are Isaiah and St Paul. In writing of the former, he dwells upon the national aspect of the mission of the prophets, and this naturally leads to the burning question of the relation of the modern preacher to our national life. Modern preachers require a bit rather than a spur at present, for they are too much disposed to give pronouncements on public questions of which they are not always the best judges. The political preacher does more to secularise his flock, than to inspire the general public with Christian ideas. But there are public questions on which the Christian preacher cannot be silent. As Dr Stalker truly says, and the remark has a wider application, "It may be doubted whether any stage through which preaching has passed can ever be entirely superseded; and we may well hesitate to believe that the work of an Isaiah or a Jeremiah is not still work for us."

The chapter on St Paul contains some admirable delineations of the Apostle's inner life, but betrays a tendency to modernise St Paul. To convert the Apostle into a sober patron saint of sedate Presbyterian ministers who write their sermons, and commit them to memory, is not the best use to make of him. The Apostle, with his dreams and revelations, and his modes of apprehending and illustrating truth so unlike to ours, cannot well be introduced as a familiar figure, and St Paul up to date is somewhat fitted to recal ludicrous associations. In connection with St Paul at least two extraordinary literary judgments are given—that interesting collection of irrelevant archæology, Conybeare and Howson's "Life and Epistles of Saint Paul," is placed along with Owen's work on the "Holy Spirit," and Weiss's "New Testament Theology," "among the great books of the Christian centuries in which Christianity is exhibited as a whole by a master mind."

From only one of Dr Stalker's practical counsels do we seriously dissent, and solely for the reason that it cannot be followed without neglecting other counsels of more pressing moment. Ministers, he writes, must not only study the matter of their discourses, but devote "hard and sour" toil to their careful composition. As such toil as he requires, will certainly chain the minister to his desk during the best working hours of the whole week, it can be recommended only to preachers who undertake no pastoral duties. Dr Stalker, however, pleads for a more diligent performance of pastoral work, and for greater interest in individuals after the example of St Paul. He left his former charge, he informs us, burdened with the regretful memory that he had devoted too much time to his audience, and too little to the units of which his audience was composed. Regrets will not, however, rise into reformation, as long as pulpit pre-

paration requires an amount of wearing toil which leaves no remanent energy to any, save a few exceptionally vigorous natures. Reformation is required, however, not only by the needs of neglected flocks, but by the neglected population outside the Church. The modern Church stands face to face with classes of society, high and low, deeply alienated from the religion of Christ. If the good old maxim is not to be set aside, that the minister is the pastor of his flock and the evangelist of his parish, he must take a personal lead in evangelistic work, not leaving the most difficult and honourable part of his calling to the raw missionary or the untrained volunteer. This he can do only by discovering some less onerous method of preparing for the pulpit. Fenelon, at a time when elaborate preparation was the fashion, counselled candidates for the priesthood so to prepare for the ministry by general study, and by the acquisition of the habit of accurate composition, that they would have no need to prepare every particular discourse. This freer attitude to pulpit preparation, which is in harmony with the best traditions of the Christian Church, would restore many a ministerial recluse to his flock, and to the work of an evangelist.

Dr Stalker dismisses as a pious fraud, the common criticism that in Evangelical and especially in Free Churches, men come to Church to be spoken to by a man, rather than to speak to God. This does not, however, sufficiently recognise the practical evil at which the criticism is directed. If the hearers regarded the voice of the preacher as the voice of God, they would not make so much of his person, whether in the way of praise or blame; nor would they cease to listen, as they do now, when he has an unpleasant voice, or a defective delivery. The charge is true, although often urged in an unfriendly spirit. Any change that would restore Christian worship to its rightful place in the Free Churches, and remove the preacher from his present painful prominence, would be a gain alike to the popular and to the unpopular preacher. And it would unite congregations by a holier and more lasting bond than an attachment, however honourable and natural, to the ministrations of a favourite preacher.

We have dwelt upon the few points on which we differ from Dr Stalker; with his general spirit and method we are in cordial agreement. His lucid and instructive lectures may be heartily commended to all, especially to students of Divinity and to young ministers. They are very appropriately dedicated to Dr Whyte, whose generous interest in the work of a host of friends has proved an inspiring influence in many a life. The volume contains some aphorisms on preaching by the late Mr Barbour, which possess a pathetic interest from their tone of pleading eagerness on behalf of the work from which he was to be called away so early.

JOHN GIBB.

**The Apology of the Christian Religion, Historically regarded with reference to supernatural revelation and redemption.**

*By Rev. James Macgregor, D.D., Columba Church, Oamaru : sometime Professor of Systematic Theology in the New College, Edinburgh, author of Handbooks on Exodus and Galatians. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Demy 8vo, pp. 544. Price 10s. 6d.*

This is an extremely able, fresh, and interesting book. The author says of it in his Preface that "it is essentially what might be described as a layman's book," and this is true in the sense that it may be trusted at once to lay hold upon any earnest mind. But those also who are more especially concerned with theology should be attracted by it, and the professional apologete will find it suggestive.

It will be understood from the title that the volume does not profess to pass the entire apologetic argument in review. What may be termed the previous questions in that argument, the being and nature of God, His relations to the world and man, &c., are only incidentally touched upon, and consideration of the "internal evidence" in its various forms is expressly excluded. The writer's concern is solely with the obvious historic facts of Christianity and the inference which these suggest and sustain. Taken as a whole, is this great world-phenomenon the product of natural forces or no? —such is his question. And the answer is contained in the two-fold assertion of the supernatural character, first of the immediate effects of the Christian faith as it made good its place in the world in the course of the second century, and next of certain elements that enter into the substance of the faith itself.

Consideration of the former of these occupies the first of the two Books into which the work is divided. In going over ground so familiar as that traversed here there is scarcely room for much originality of treatment; nevertheless the author's sketch of the conflict of the faith with the various forces, imperial, superstitious, and philosophic, by which it was opposed in these early days, is both informing and impressive. More striking still is his description of the essential nature of the new religion as a thing which had power to effect "a new creation of mankind." The power of faith in Jesus Christ to fill with a new spirit and to bless with a new sanction every relationship of the varied life of man, could hardly be better exhibited.

But it is upon the argument of Book II. that the author expends his main strength. This he entitles "the external evidences," under which he includes the Person of Christ, the Resurrection, and Judaism as the *præparatio evangelii*. For apologetic purposes it might be thought more natural to begin with the last of these

topics, and to shew by an analysis of the main features of the faith and life of Israel both the supernatural elements they contained and also how the very incompleteness of these carried with it the suggestion of a fuller communication of the divine yet to come. Be that as it may, readers will find this part of his subject treated by Dr Macgregor with much vigour and luminousness; and in particular the point of the incompleteness of the *New Testament* without the *Old* is admirably put (ch. iii. § 1). For the rest, there is decided advantage gained in discussing the Person of Christ *before* the Resurrection. Of recent years the tendency has rather been to make the latter bear the full stress of the apologetic argument, as if it were here or nowhere that the supernatural got a footing in human history. Surely a questionable method to follow; Resurrection *per se* might carry very little with it; surely in the Christian faith it means what it does mean, just because it is Jesus Christ that was raised from the dead? Anyhow, the person of Christ is clearly *the* commanding fact in revelation, and it seems reasonable to put it rather in the forefront. Hence one could have wished that Dr Macgregor had given more space to the discussion of the "miracle of manhood" to be found in Christ—not only His sinlessness, but even more, His testimony to Himself express and incidental—and less, perhaps, to that of the miracles wrought by His hands. Still, these are apt to get less attention than is their due at present, and what Dr Macgregor has to say of their place and function in the Christian redemption is excellent, and often striking. On the whole, many will probably find the hundred pages on the Resurrection that form chapter ii. of this Book, the most effective portion of the entire work. The marshalling of the evidence from the general belief of the Christians, the institution of the Lord's Day, the apostolic testimony (and especially Paul's) and the Gospel records, is very complete and very convincing.

Perhaps it may be due to the fact that as it came originally from the author's hand, the volume contained not a little matter now excluded (see Preface), that the reader finds a certain difficulty in focussing the argument of this very able work as a whole. On the other hand, from the above slight indication it will be apparent that it is full of matter, and its power in particular passages is very great (see *e.g.*, on "The Christian Morality," Book I., ch. ii., § 2; on "Christ's Words," II., i., § 3; and on "Mosaism," iii., § 2). Whether it will do much to convince unbelief may be doubted—it would seem fitted rather for the confirmation of faith. The author's mode of controversy is not conciliatory. Throughout he wields a heavy weapon, and too often his treatment of the unbeliever suggests the tale of the Caliph Omar and the Christian with which he opens ("Cut me off that old man's head, unless he be silent"), only with the parts reversed.

ALEX. MARTIN.

**The Early Church.**

*The History of Christianity in the first Six Centuries, by the late David Duff, M.A., D.D., LL.D., Professor of Church History in the United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh; edited by his son, David Duff, M.A., B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 623. Price 12s.*

THIS volume will be opened with the respect due to the monument of many years' labour, and to the work of one whose earthly activities have ceased. Dr Duff was long the honoured occupant of the Chair of Church History in the United Presbyterian College at Edinburgh, and both as a man, a minister, and an educationalist did good work for church and city. The present volume is the reproduction of his course of lectures on the history of the first six centuries. It is understood that such a course, repeated in great part from year to year, gives the lecturer recurring opportunities of bringing his work up to date, by weaving in the later results of scholarship, and by recasting various sections from time to time in accordance with his own more fully developed views; and the result may be expected to be the fruit of long study and slowly ripened judgment. These lectures had not been prepared by the author for publication, but the pious hand of his son has distributed the manuscript into chapters, made some necessary corrections, and provided references, notes, and index.

Dr Duff's work is not seen at its best in the opening chapters; and, in fact, the subject-matter of the first nine or ten should now be recognised as belonging to the domain of New Testament History or Theology, the departments which must be called upon to supply the true prolegomena to Church History. Short sections, descriptive of the lives and influence of SS. Peter and John, are either out of place here, or are altogether too short and sketchy; there is no attempt to run out the lines of their influence to the sub-Apostolic age. And to dismiss St Paul in four pages is again to raise doubt as to the writer's adequate sense of proportion. But when Dr Duff reaches his own proper field, he meets with subjects which he can handle with wide knowledge and considerable skill. He shows that familiarity with the original sources which is the guarantee of a true and scholarly interest in the subject; and he provides the student with careful and spirited translations of important passages. Many of the monographs, such as those on Montanism and Pelagianism, and the studies of Tertullian, Ambrose, or Origen, are carefully and sympathetically done. On the other hand, Jerome and Chrysostom hardly receive a fair measure of attention; while the treatment of Gnosticism leaves much to be desired in thoroughness and in arrange-

ment. The mingling of things that belong to a text-book, and those that belong to a history, emphasizes the conviction that this subject will never be satisfactorily taught until the professor has a text-book which he can confidently put into the hands of his class, and until he can secure that they are in full possession of the dates and skeleton facts, which he can then proceed to vitalize and clothe with ideas.

Dr Duff has taken the original documents for his sources, but his modern guides are in the main Hagenbach and Schaff, to the exclusion of later or more scientific authorities. He was apt to ignore or reject, as it seems to us on insufficient grounds, results of modern research. Such, for example, as M. Waddington's recovery of the true date of Polycarp's death, which Dr Duff fixes still at 166. Many subjects which are at present of pressing interest, lack adequate treatment. The formation of the Canon (neither Papias nor the Diatessaron is referred to), the attitude of different heresiarchs to the Scriptures of the Old Testament, the area of various persecutions, the gradual consolidation of the Catholic Church, are subjects demanding more direct and full discussion than they here receive.

But Dr Duff differs from other historians who analyse more profoundly the causes of events, and the development of tendencies, in this, that he is always alive to the religious bearing of events and of movements. They are, for him, not mere events to be recorded and analysed with scientific precision, but motions of the human will either in accordance with, or contrary to, the will of the Spirit of God. There is room for impressionism in history as well as in art. Dr Duff has moved familiarly among the events, documents, and human actors of these first six centuries, and we may be grateful that he has left us the record of the impression made by these things upon a mind of singular candour, and a spirit of earnest piety.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

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### **Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.**

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THIS number is occupied for the most part by one of Holsten's discussions in Biblical Theology. The subject is "The Origin and Development of the Messianic Consciousness of Jesus."

I. *The Problem.*—Presupposing the fact that Jesus was certain of His Messiahship, three points require treatment: (1) the peculiar individuality of Jesus, which is simply to be recognised, not understood; (2) the historical relations of His time; and (3) the manner in which the former was affected by the latter. The certainty of

Messiahship involved two elements: one experimental, the consciousness of a special endowment with God's Spirit; one inferential, the conviction that as so inspired He was the destined Son of God and Saviour. The origin of these convictions, and their development by a breach with the popular ideal into the Messianic consciousness peculiar to Jesus Himself form the Problem. Assuming a purely human development, the Messiahship of Jesus is to be regarded as one of its steps, the certainty of Messiahship as a moment—something belonging to the growth of His self-consciousness. The Synoptists present a different view in their accounts of the Baptism. To them the Messiahship is a definite act of God. But their accounts according to Holsten, are a creation of the early Jewish-Christians, who found such a creation necessary for the grounding of their own faith and the conviction of others. Its *form* is due to the contemporary circle of thought which moulded it. Historical criticism must therefore disregard this representation. By way of preparation for the inquiry, Holsten here adduces the case of St Paul, who, from the sight of the crucified Jesus (a matter of *experience*), reached the conclusions as to the place of Christ's death in the divine saving intention and his own mission to preach this truth to the heathen as a new revelation from Heaven. He regards the case of our Lord as a parallel to this.

II. *The Solution.*—The points treated here are—1. *The Significance of the Times.*—Judea became at its own request an integral part of the Empire. The rule of the Cæsars and the sovereignty of Jehovah were united. But immediately thereafter the national religious sentiment blazed up in protest against the iniquity of tax and census. In the South this was repressed. In the North it was fanned by the Zealots, who appealed to arms unsuccessfully. All over it gave rise to a new ardour for Jehovah and the theocratic ideal. From the same exciting cause, though apparently with no direct connection with Judas and Zadok, arose the movement of John. Its aim was to purify the people and so prepare for the fulfilment of the Messianic promises. John was the prophet of a coming kingdom, and therefore of a coming Messiah. The condition for this was a holy nation. But John's demands were too external. He wished to reanimate the old system. What men needed was a new life-germ, and this Jesus supplied. 2. *The Coming One.*—The early years of Jesus were nourished on a pure and simple faith in the Heavenly Father, far from the Temple cultus with its rites and forms. His growth was thus purely spiritual. The stirring times through which He lived influenced Him greatly—the contrast between the mighty world-kingdom with its iniquities and the kingdom of God, the hope of a Deliverer, the desire for righteousness. To one like Jesus the movement of the

Zealots savoured of rank impiety ; their methods were too like those of Rome, and their defeat a judgment of God. This was the origin of the breach in the consciousness of Jesus with the national Davidic ideal, and it was completed by His experience of the results which followed the insurrection. God had thus plainly rejected this popular ideal. In this mind came Jesus to the baptism of John. The call of John sounded like the echo of His own inner voice. Jesus believed John to be the forerunner. But He knew that a different spirit dwelt in Himself. He felt the contrast, and this only urged Him the more to devote Himself to the bringing in of the kingdom of heaven. 3. *The One who has come.*—The imprisonment of John was the call to open activity. He went to Galilee and there preached repentance, but with a different righteousness as His aim—one of the heart. The effect of His appearance on the people combined with His own self-witness to assure Him that the Spirit of God spoke by Him. Still more decisively His healing works proclaimed His inspiration. Hence the experimental certainty that by the Spirit of God He had been raised above the limits of humanity. This was a gift of God. What was its aim ? Only the revelation which a Jew saw in the facts of history could answer that, and their testimony was clear. It was (1) that Rome was the last of the kingdoms to oppose Jehovah (as in Daniel), who would soon bring in His own kingdom ; (2) that John was the prophet sent to warn men of its coming ; (3) that the people were being prepared by the call and words of John and Jesus ; (4) that God must soon send the Messiah to set up the kingdom ; (5) that Jesus, as sent by God and filled with the spirit, did the works prophesied of the Messiah (Mat. xi. 14). Hence arose in the soul of Jesus the conviction that He *was* the Messiah,—the secret of His equipment was clear. Jesus had broken with the Davidic ideal, finding a justification in the prophecy of Daniel's "Son of Man," and with this step His Messianic consciousness was complete. For the special significance of this expression the reader is referred to the abstract of a discussion of it by Holsten in last number. In it He found Himself, as He was in His weakness, a Son of Man, chosen of God, endowed with Messianic power, destined to return to God, and to rise to a reign of glory in heaven. The other articles are : "Studies on Romans iv. 16," by Küssner ; "Krumbacher's History of Byzantine Literature," by Dräseke ; and "Luke ii. 8-16, explained in Greek by Origen," edited by A. Thenn.

FREDERICK J. RAE.



Notices.

THE last contribution made by Professor Beet to the exposition of the Pauline Epistles<sup>1</sup> is perhaps his best. He takes in one sweep the four Epistles belonging to the first imprisonment—a large task, but one accomplished with much success. The best qualities of Mr Beet's exegesis appear in this volume, continuous attention to questions of grammar, study of the use of words, and careful reproduction of Pauline thought in modern terms. To these he adds things which are less germane to the exegete's work than to that of the Systematic Theologian. A fair amount of space is given to questions of introduction, including the state of the text. These are handled in popular form, but discreetly. Meyer's reasoning in behalf of the Cæsarean imprisonment as the one in view in these Epistles, is briefly refuted, and the four are taken to have been sent from Rome in this order—Philippians, Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians. The argument in favour of the priority of Philippians is of some substance, and is very clearly stated here. It is different with the order of the remaining three. Colossians is placed where it is, as "dealing with a specific matter;" Philemon as "dealing with another specific but less important matter;" while Ephesians is put last, apparently because it "treats of no specific matter, but sets forth, from its own point of view, the eternal purpose of salvation, and its realisation in the one Church of Christ." Both in its exegesis and in its special dissertations, the book shews careful use of the best sources. The guides chiefly followed are Meyer and Hofmann, Ellicott and Lightfoot. One of the best examples of Mr Beet's exposition is seen in his pages on the great Christological passage in Philippians ii. Here he gives good reason for preferring Meyer and Hofmann to Lightfoot. Retaining the natural sense of *ἀρπαγμός*, he takes the idea to be that "the Son did not look upon His Divine powers as a means of self-enrichment." It is, however, rather a paraphrase than a rendering of the term "form of God," to make it mean "the assertion of His Divine powers."

Mr Sadler's Commentary on the Catholic Epistles<sup>2</sup> follows a different method. The paramount interests are the practical and doctrinal. It is not "critical" in the sense in which any scientific commentary is critical. There is but scant investigation of textual,

<sup>1</sup> "A Commentary on St Paul's Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and to Philemon." By Joseph Agar Beet. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo. Pp. xi.-413. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> The General Epistles of SS. James, Peter, John, and Jude. With Notes Critical and Practical. By the Rev. M. F. Sadler, Prebendary of Wells, &c. London: George Bell & Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxix.-305. Price 6s.

grammatical, or historical questions, and but little of the balancing of the conclusions of acknowledged masters in exegesis. Some of the Fathers are occasionally appealed to, but there is only a limited reference to modern interpreters. What we have is rather a popular and theological exposition, given with a view to the teaching of the Church. It will be valued most by those who are in ecclesiastical sympathy with the author. It will be of special use to preachers and teachers who are in agreement with Mr Sadler in his idea of the Church and its doctrine. The Exegetical Notes are for the most part brief. Where the dogmatic element is present, they are such as will commend themselves only to a class. Where that is wanting, they are often just and profitable. On some points, too, Mr Sadler's independence appears. He dissents from Bishop Wordsworth and others with whom he usually agrees, when they identify James the son of Alphæus with James the Lord's brother.

The four volumes of pulpit Discourses by the late Bishop Lightfoot, which have been already noticed, are followed by a fifth.<sup>1</sup> It consists of sermons delivered on special occasions in Westminster Abbey, St Paul's Cathedral, and elsewhere. Among the most noticeable are those with the titles "*All things are yours*" and "*All things to all men.*" They indicate the practical purpose which the great scholar gave to his preaching, and the rich stores of historical knowledge which he brought into its service. The trustees of the Lightfoot Fund have also judged well in re-publishing the Bishop's book on the Revision of the New Testament.<sup>2</sup> It was one of the weightiest contributions to the subject at the time. Its statements on various points in New Testament grammar and lexicography are of value still; some of them indeed, such as those on the idea of *Law* in the Pauline Epistles, are conspicuously so. The usefulness of this third edition is increased by the addition of the very able and searching dissertation on the last petition of the Lord's Prayer, which appeared originally in the form of a series of papers in the *Guardian*, and in which Dr Lightfoot threw all the resources of his great learning and acumen into the defence of the Revisers against Canon Cook and other assailants of the rendering "deliver us from the evil one."

<sup>1</sup> *Sermons Preached on Special Occasions.* By the late Joseph Barber Lightfoot, D.D., &c. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii.-280. Price 6s.

<sup>2</sup> *On a Fresh Revision of the English New Testament.* By the late Joseph Barber Lightfoot, D.D., &c. Reprinted with an additional Appendix on the Last Petition of the Lord's Prayer. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxvi.—342. Price 7s. 6d.

Another volume from the same Trustees, a manual edition of the *Apostolic Fathers*,<sup>1</sup> supplies a want. Bishop Lightfoot's great work embraced only Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp. It omitted a number of writings, which it is convenient to have together, and which are of interest and importance in many ways. This volume includes these—the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, the *Teaching of the Apostles*, the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the *Epistle to Diognetus*, the *Fragments of Papias*, the *Reliques of the Elders*. The original texts are accompanied by English translations. There are also brief Introductions. The chief regret is that these Introductions are so very brief. The many questions connected with Clement, Polycarp, and the *Didaché* are dismissed in each case with a page or two. If more complete summaries, both of the Bishop's own investigations and of the judgments of different scholars on the critical and historical problems could be given in a new edition, even at the cost of making two volumes, the work would be doubly useful. As it is, it will be very serviceable, especially as regards the excellent translations. Mr Harmer has executed his task with great credit, and his task embraced not only the editor's duty, but the completing of much that was left incomplete. The book will be valued both for its own usefulness and as a memorial of some of the Bishop's best and most characteristic contributions to scholarship.

Three books deal in different ways with the Pseudepigraphical literature of Judaism and Christianity. One of these is Mr Deane's *Pseudepigrapha*.<sup>1</sup> Mr Deane has been known as a student in this field for years, and the present volume consists of papers (corrected and enlarged) contributed from time to time to various periodicals. The books selected are taken as examples of four different types of the literature in question. They are the *Psalter of Solomon*, illustrating the Lyrical; the *Book of Enoch*, the *Assumption of Moses*, the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, as instances of the Apocalyptic and Prophetical; the *Book of Jubilees* and the *Ascension of Isaiah*, as examples of the Legendary; and the *Sibylline Oracles*, which are classified as mixed. In each case we have a careful digest of the history of the book and its contents, together with references to the literature of the subject. The main questions of criticism are also noticed. The whole is done

<sup>1</sup> The Apostolic Fathers. . . Revised Texts with Short Introductions and English Translations. By the late J. B. Lightfoot, D.D., &c. Edited and completed by J. R. Harmer, M.A., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, &c. London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. xii.-568. Price 16s.

<sup>2</sup> Pseudepigrapha: an Account of certain Apocryphal and Sacred Writings of the Jews and Early Christians. By the Rev. William J. Deane, M.A., &c. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Demy 8vo, pp. vi.-348. Price 7s. 6d.

with sobriety and good sense. Mr Deane indulges in no feats of critical dexterity or novel theorising on date, authorship, or integrity. He adopts for the most part the prevailing views on these questions. He admits the composite character of the *Book of Enoch*, holding the parable sections to be later than Chapters i.-xxxvi. and lxxii.-cv., but yet pre-Christian. On the other hand, and with less reason, he rejects the interpolation theory of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and claims the book as the production of a single Jewish Christian writer. Is it the case, too, that the Ethiopic version of the Book of Enoch is from the Hebrew?

Mr Thomson's<sup>1</sup> aim is to give a critical study of Apocalyptic Jewish literature, and he does this in four books, which deal respectively with the background of Apocalyptic, the evolution of Apocalyptic, the criticism, and the theological result. To some extent he travels over the same ground as Mr Deane, and on many questions the two agree. There are some, however, on which they differ. Mr Thomson, for example, places the *Book of Jubilees* between B.C. 5 and A.D. 6, and the *Apocalypse of Baruch* not long after B.C. 63. Mr Deane, on the other hand, puts the former considerably later, and brings the latter down to about A.D. 90. In his two main points Mr Thomson attempts to prove too much. He fails to produce evidence of such an acquaintance on our Lord's part with the literature in question as to justify the title of his book. He also fails, as we think, to establish the Essene origin of this literature as a whole, and still more to prove our Lord Himself to have been "in some sense a member of the sect of the Essenes"—a thing surely hard to reconcile with His own teaching. Even his most disputable positions, however, show the author to have the critical gift; and there are many acute things in his volume. It is written with great vivacity, ingenuity, and independence, with genuine appreciation of the period, and with much fertility of idea. Among the more interesting arguments are those in favour of early dates for the ninetieth chapter of the Book of Enoch (assigned to before B.C. 160), and the *Book of Similitudes* (placed about half a century earlier still), and that in defence of the morality of pseudonymous authorship. The principle of this defence is seen when it is said of the writer of the *Apocalypse of Baruch* that "the similarity of the circumstances suggested that Baruch, the secretary of Jeremiah, must have looked with similar feelings on the earlier scene." The obscure author therefore, without dishonest purpose, identified himself with Baruch, or imagined himself to be Baruch. But does this explain all that the sinking of his own name and individuality implies?

<sup>1</sup> "Books which have influenced Our Lord and His Apostles," &c. By John E. H. Thomson, B.D., Stirling. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. xvi., 497. Price 10s. 6d.

The other volume<sup>1</sup> dealing with the same literature is of a kind for which we are especially grateful. It is an original and independent study of one composition of very great interest, the *Psalms of Solomon*. Great pains have been spent upon the text. Previous editors have had a very meagre basis for their text. The Augsburg MS., from which J. L. de la Cerda printed the *Psalter*, has disappeared. But Messrs Ryle and James have had four MSS. at their disposal, those of Vienna, Copenhagen, Moscow, and Paris, and their edition rests upon a careful collation and estimate of these. In this respect it far surpasses anything we yet possess. An English translation is also given: there is a very useful Commentary; and the historical questions are fully considered. The date is fixed to be of Pompey's time, the foreign invader being shown to be Pompey, not Titus, Antiochus Epiphanes, or Herod. Fortunately there can be little doubt as regards this. The allusions in the second Psalm make it clear enough that it belongs to the close of Pompey's career. The book is also rightly taken to be of Palestinian origin, the place of writing being Jerusalem. The probability of an original Hebrew text is carefully argued, and the Greek translation is assigned to a period not later than A.D. 100. The important question of the circle of thought represented by the book is thoroughly examined, and the right conclusion, as we believe, is reached. The opinion that it comes from the Sadducees has little to commend it. In many respects, the book is rather a polemic or complaint against that party, and its entire attitude is different from that of a Sadducee. The idea that it is the product of Essenism is well put in Mr Thomson's volume. But, apart from other things not easily reconciled with such an origin, there is the absence of the mystical element which is held to belong to Essenism. The argument in favour of the Pharisaic connection, drawn from the political allusions, the theology and other phenomena, is very conclusively stated here. The editors allow themselves a tolerably free hand in the conjectural emendation of the Text. Opinions will differ as to their success in this. At times at least—as in iii., 9; xvii., 37—their corrections commend themselves by their simplicity and fitness. Justice is done to the religious ideas of the Psalms, both Messianic and theological, of Retribution. The somewhat indeterminate nature of their teaching on the subject of Retribution is recognised. The position taken is that they do not limit the principles of retribution to the present life; that they have a clear doc-

<sup>1</sup> "The Psalms of the Pharisees, commonly called The Psalms of Solomon. The text newly revised from all the MSS. Edited, with Introduction, English Translation, Notes, Appendix, and Indices. By Herbert Edward Ryle, M.A., &c., and Montague Rhodes James, M.A. Cambridge University Press. 8vo pp. xciv.-175. Price 15s.

trine of eternal life for the righteous ; and that, while the expressions are doubtful, it is, perhaps, right to say that "our Psalmist denied a 'resurrection to life' in the case of the wicked, although he did not call in question the continuity of their personal existence." The book is a distinct and valuable addition to English scholarship, and to our knowledge of an important piece of literature.

Among smaller publications we notice Mr Callan's volume on *Jerusalem*,<sup>1</sup> a clear, compact, and interesting sketch of the wonderful and tragic story of the Holy City from its beginning on till now ; and Professor Stewart's *Handbook of Christian Evidences*,<sup>2</sup> one of the series of Guild and Bible-class text-books. The latter volume, though of modest size, compasses a great sweep of territory. It gives condensed statements of the more abstruse sections of Apologetics, as well as of the easier. It does it all in clear and forcible language, and in a style thoroughly suited to the object in view. The closing statement as to the cumulative effect of the Christian evidences is especially well done. The great questions of *Revelation* and *Miracles* are also excellently handled. Mr Muir's volume,<sup>3</sup> originally making part of the same series of Guild and Bible-class text-books, is now issued in an enlarged and handsome form. It is written in admirable style, and gives a very interesting sketch of the story of the Scottish Church. There are some opinions expressed from which those will dissent who do not view the history from Mr Muir's standpoint, which is that of an energetic defender of the branch of the Church to which he belongs ; and certain events as well as certain men obtain perhaps a disproportionate place. But the author's judgments are generally just and fair, and he has succeeded in presenting in a very attractive form the results of careful and extensive study. The chapters on the earlier history, the first missionaries, the Culdees, Margaret and David, and those on the first and second Reformations, are remarkably succinct, lucid, and informing narratives.

Professor Sabatier's *L'apôtre Paul*<sup>4</sup> has been widely recognised as one of the acutest, most suggestive, and in some respects, most novel studies of the great Apostle's personality and doctrine. The most

<sup>1</sup> The Story of Jerusalem. By the Rev. Hugh Callan, M.A. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Pp. 96. Price 6d. and 8d.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh and London : A. & C. Black. Pp. ix.-94. Price 6d.

<sup>3</sup> The Church of Scotland. A Sketch of its History. By the Rev. Pearson M'Adam Muir. New edition with Notes and Index. London and Edinburgh : A. & C. Black. Pp. xi., 229. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> The Apostle Paul : A Sketch of the Development of his Doctrine. By A. Sabatier. Translated by A. M. Hellier. Edited, with an Additional Essay on the Pastoral Epistles, by George G. Findlay, B.A. London : Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xix.-402. Price, 7s. 6d.

distinctive thing about it is the attempt it makes to read the Pauline doctrine in connection with Paul's own spiritual experience, and to trace the progress in the former corresponding to a progress in the latter. Whether he is right as regards the particular zones in Paul's thought which he thinks he discovers in connection with particular stages in Paul's life is doubtful. It is still more doubtful whether any antagonism or substantial difference appears between Paul's earlier stage and his later. But there can be no doubt that the doctrine and the experience are in real relation to each other in Paul. It has been a loss to Biblical Theology that this has been overlooked. It is a gain to have our attention directed to it. It is some twenty years now since Sabatier's book was written. We are glad to have it even at this late date in an English translation, and one so good as this. We owe much also to Professor Findlay for the very vigorous and scholarly essay which he adds in defence of the Pastoral Epistles. Sabatier's *Paul* makes stimulating reading, whatever may be thought of some of its characteristic positions. Its value is enhanced for the English reader by Professor Findlay's contributions.

Mr Dyer's book<sup>1</sup> on the *Gods of Greece* consists of a course of Lectures given at the Lowell Institute. It deals chiefly with Demeter, Dionysus, Æsculapius, Aphrodite, Apollo, and with the Sanctuaries of Eleusis, Athens, Paphos, Delos, Cnidos. It contains a mass of matter thoroughly digested and admirably expounded. There are statements in it which a larger acquaintance with the methods of Comparative Religion would modify. Its advantage is that it brings the results of recent excavations under the notice of the general public in a very attractive form. The lectures must have been interesting to listen to. On such subjects as the *Mysteries*, and the *Deification of the Roman Emperors*, Mr Dyer writes to purpose. He describes successfully the larger ideas and more familiar customs of the religion. The value of his book is that it gives a good popular account of the religious system of the Greeks.

Professor Kirkpatrick has done well in publishing the series of Lectures delivered at Ely and in the Cathedral of St Asaph.<sup>2</sup> They deal in a wise and reverent spirit with the Old Testament, its Origin, its Preservation, its Inspiration, and its Use. Their object is to help us to a right temper in presence of the critical questions which are so deeply exercising the public mind. There could be

<sup>1</sup> *Studies of the Gods of Greece at certain Sanctuaries recently excavated.* By Louis Dyer, B.A.Oxon., late Assistant-Professor in Harvard University. London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. 457. Price 8s. 6d. net.

<sup>2</sup> *The Divine Library of the Old Testament, &c.* By A. F. Kirkpatrick, B.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co., 8vo, pp. xviii.-155. Price 3s. 6d. net.

nothing better or more seasonable, and all that Professor Kirkpatrick here says is entirely in harmony with his declared object. He takes in hand the literary processes which have made the Old Testament books what they are, and gives a scholarly account of these. He exhibits the just relations in which the human element stands to the Divine in these books, and the characteristics of their inspiration which are gathered from a study of themselves. He pleads for the recognition of a true criticism, however it may seem to conflict with prepossession and traditional ideas, as the ally of religion and of faith. The closing Lecture is a convincing statement of the permanent value of the Old Testament, and the place it must hold in the Christian Church. Much is to be hoped from the circulation of a book of this spirit, coming from a scholar of Professor Kirkpatrick's name.

A text-book which has gone into its tenth edition needs no recommendation here. Professor Davidson's *Hebrew Grammar* has reached that honourable position. Certain changes, in the introduction of new examples and in the enlargement of some parts where brevity tended to obscurity, will add to the already great merits and widely acknowledged usefulness of the book.<sup>1</sup>

The second volume of the *Expository Times*<sup>2</sup> comes to hand, full of good and varied matter, more than fulfilling the first promise, and doing great credit to the editor's energy. Among many papers that might be specially noticed, we mention those by Canon Cheyne on *Zoroastrian Influence on the Religion of Israel*, Professor Ryle on the *Early Narratives of Genesis*, and Dr Rainy on *Ritschl, Lightfoot, and Hatch*.

Mrs Oliphant has followed up her successful venture with *Royal Edinburgh* for Christmas 1890, by a similar venture with *Jerusalem* for Christmas 1891.<sup>3</sup> The book is as sumptuous as its predecessor, richly illustrated (though in this respect it does not come up to the last year's standard), and written in Mrs Oliphant's wonted style. No grander subject could she have found for her pen, and she takes it up *con amore*. She does not profess to address the erudite. She seems to have rather a scorn of that class. "Let them not lose ten tickings of their watch on this unprofitable writing," is her counsel to them. Nevertheless she has her own opinions, and expresses them with confidence, on questions which anxiously engage the minds of the learned and of others besides. She has her fling at

<sup>1</sup> An Introductory Hebrew Grammar, with Progressive Exercises in Reading and Writing. By A. B. Davidson, M.A., LL.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. viii.-200. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by the Rev. James Hastings, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 284. Price 4s.

<sup>3</sup> Jerusalem: Its History and Hope. By Mrs Oliphant. London: Macmillan & Co. Med. 8vo., pp. xxiii.-515. Price 21s.



Wellhausen and Kuenen, her word on the Book of Jasher, the Pentateuchal problem, the internal evidence of the Psalms, and what not. These are things thrust into the Introduction, which might have been spared without loss to the book. *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*. But this preliminary canter over, she keeps a straight and pleasant course. She directs her strength to her proper task of making the great scenes in an extraordinary history live again. Beginning with David's time, she takes us from stage to stage in the wonderful story till we come to Calvary. She omits much. She passes by the dim times before the days of the Shepherd of Bethlehem, and says nothing of the later passages, with all their tragic interest. But within the limits she sets herself she gives a series of word sketches of the greater scenes and more imposing personages connected with the sacred city. So far, her book is a vivid reproduction of the sacred page on an enlarged scale.

Dr Dods publishes in book form a number of Essays<sup>1</sup> contributed to various periodicals during many years of an extraordinarily busy life. They well deserve republication. Many who read them with profit and enjoyment when they first appeared, will read them with renewed enjoyment and with pleasant memories in this collected form. Opinion has changed so considerably within the last fifteen or twenty years, that it is doubtful whether all judgments expressed in these essays will be as generally acceptable now as then. This question applies only, however, to one or two of these papers, especially to that on Maurice. The book has all the strong, clear qualities of the unwearied author's thinking and writing. All pastors and students for the ministry should study the address on *Preaching*. The characterisation of Erasmus is just, yet generous. The articles on Confucius and Marcus Aurelius are most appreciative. There is a noble ring in the essay on Christianity and Civilisation, which makes it a very opportune statement.

The *Revised Version*, for a year or two the cause of so much debate, and so much in the eye of the public, has passed into strange quietude. The steady demand for it at the bookseller's counter, however, shows that it keeps its hold upon a large, and, we hope, increasing class. Its merits are so great, after all abatements are made, that it would say little for English discernment if it were to sink out of notice. We welcome, therefore, the fresh witness offered to the contrary by the publication of three new editions.<sup>2</sup> These are

<sup>1</sup> Erasmus and other Essays. By Marcus Dods, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 8vo, pp. 376. Price 5s.

<sup>2</sup> The Revised Version of the Bible. London: Henry Frowde, and C. J. Clay & Sons. Ruby, 16mo, thin, with Indexed Atlas, pp. 956 ( $6\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{3}{4}$  inches). Price from 12s. 6d., in Turkey morocco. The same, Minion 8vo ( $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{3}{4}$  inches). Price from 20s., in Turkey morocco. The same, Pica, Royal 8vo ( $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2} \times 2$  inches), from 52s. 6d., in Persian morocco.

marvels of the printer's art and the binder's. The use of the Oxford India paper in its most improved quality makes it possible now to do what a few years ago would have seemed quite impracticable. In one of these editions we have a volume of 2688 pages, comprising the five original royal octavo volumes, but presenting a type which it is a pleasure to read, and having the great advantage of continuous printing in one column. But each of these new editions has its own great and distinct recommendations, while all the three are wonders of clearness, cheapness, handiness, and elegance. The University Presses have excelled in these even their former achievements.

Father Bridgett's *Life of Bishop Fisher* has been followed by his *Life of Sir Thomas More*.<sup>1</sup> Both Lives are carefully written, and deserve attention. The interest of the second is greater than that of the first, but both show diligent study of the sources, and, for the most part, a fair spirit. Both commit themselves to estimates which are appropriate to the Roman Catholic point of view rather to any other. But neither can be charged with blind partisanship. Various things have occurred of late to direct attention anew to More. Among the signs of this renewed interest is the publication of Mr Rigg's elegant edition<sup>2</sup> of More's translation of the *Life and some of the Writings of that extraordinary genius, Pico della Mirandola, "the phoenix of the arts."* Father Bridgett does full justice to a rare and beautiful character. His book would have been still better if it had had less of the controversial element, and less of the disposition to disparage his predecessors in the same field. But the book has merits which deserve frank recognition. Not the least of these is the acquaintance it gives us with More's writings, which, in spite of their remarkable qualities, both grave and gay, are apt to pass into undeserved neglect.

We report with pleasure a new edition of Archdeacon Farrar's *Seekers after God*,<sup>3</sup> one of two or three books which we should place first in the ranks of this indefatigable author's many publications; a new edition also of Dean Paget's *The Spirit of Discipline*,<sup>4</sup> a volume of highly finished yet practical discourses, abounding in fine touches both of style and thought; and another volume from

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Blessed John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, and Martyr under Henry VIII.* By the Rev. T. E. Bridgett. London: Burns & Oates, Limited. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx.-508. Price 7s. 6d.

*Life and Writings of Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England, and Martyr under Henry VIII.* By the same. London: Burns & Oates, Limited. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxiv.-458. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. *His Life*, by his Nephew, Giovanni Francesco Pico. Also three of his Letters, &c. Translated from the Latin by Sir Thomas More. Edited, &c., by J. M. Rigg, Esq. London: David Nutt. Pp. 95. Price 10s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv.-336. Price 3s.

<sup>4</sup> London: Longmans & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii.-318. Price 6s. 6d.

the pen of Phillips Brooks, now Bishop Brooks,<sup>1</sup> of which it only requires to be said that it is equal to anything yet given us by one who stands at the head of American preachers, and has few equals in any country. Mr Gore's *Bampton Lectures*<sup>2</sup> have also come to hand. Reserving this book for a more adequate notice than our limits at present allow, we shall only say that it is a book of note, both for its own merits and as a token that the time is at hand when the attention which has been concentrated on questions of criticism will pass to the great questions of doctrine.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

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<sup>1</sup> The Light of the World. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 373. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> The Incarnation of the Son of God. By Charles Gore, M.A., Principal of Pusey House. London: John Murray. 8vo, pp. xx.-276. Price 7s. 6d.

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## **The Incarnation of the Son of God. Bampton Lectures for 1891.**

*By Charles Gore, M.A., Principal of Pusey House. London : John Murray. Fifth Thousand. Demy 8vo, pp. xx. 276. Price 7s. 6d. 1891.*

WHEN Mr Gore edited *Lux Mundi*, and furnished the essay which was his own special contribution to that volume, he impressed the reading public as the representative of a new type. A convinced and devout High Churchman, he was yet studiously open to ideas and currents of opinion characteristic of our time. He had felt their force, and he had faced the question how far they were valid. Arriving at the conclusion that to some extent they were so, he found reason to think also that they could be harmonised, so far, with the theology of his school. He came forth, therefore, with a scheme modified under these influences. He taught his theology to speak its message to the age, by adopting so far, and adapting to itself, important tendencies of contemporary thought. The conspicuous instance of this was his recognition of results of recent Old Testament criticism. He has been misrepresented, no doubt, on this point, as if he had announced his readiness to admit the whole range of Wellhausen's positions. That was a mistake. Still, he admitted a very considerable range of open questions ; and he deprecated all constructions of the faith, and all interpretations of our Lord's authoritative teaching which would summarily close them. For the rest, the public, in its impatient way, has taken for granted that Mr Gore was thinking of little else than Old Testament questions and the right way of dealing with them. That, too, seems a mistake. Mr Gore has not neglected this part of his responsibilities ; but he has been thinking over his theology in relation to various intellectual interests besides that one.

The Lectures now before us reveal the same habits of thought. The Incarnation is for Mr Gore in no conventional sense the centre of the faith. The right conception and statement of it is, in his view, the chief task of any Christian thinker. This book becomes impressive, because the significance of the incarnate Christ for the writer's mind becomes so apparent to the reader. His candour, his reverence, his frankness, his reserve, all contribute to the same effect. And he has meditated on the doctrine and on its evidences, not indeed in relation to all modern tendencies of thought, but in relation to some.

As for the result, the worth of the book may perhaps be stated on the whole in this way—It shows the reader how the faith of the Incarnation holds its place in a reflective mind which is sensitive to many modern ways of thinking, both on truth and duty, and which would deal candidly with those elements of the time, and give them their proper place. In this way a method and a mode of view are suggested, and a set of positions is indicated which will be useful to many—as much, perhaps, to the thoughtful, non-professional reader as to the theologian. We do not mean by this that the book is weak theologically. Mr Gore is a theologian: he believes in theology: he never forgets the obligations of the theologian in connection with any positions which he takes up. But his survey of the field, while it fulfils the useful purpose above described, has too wide a range to admit of close and thorough discussion of points requiring that mode of treatment.

A word must be said in commendation of the style. The author deals with arduous topics. But he succeeds, at each stage, in putting briefly and easily what he wishes to express, and so passes on to the next point, without haste and without delay. Hence the reader is carried easily along. In addition, Mr Gore is almost always clear, often dexterous, and sometimes felicitous. Some one has said elsewhere that the book is not merely theology, but also literature.

The scheme of the Lectures may be indicated. The first asserts the central place in Christian religion which is held by the Person of its founder; and points out that this depends on the faith that His personality is divine. The second discusses the thesis that Christ, conceived in general in this way, is supernatural on the one hand, yet in a high sense natural on the other. The third considers the function of historical evidence in a case like this, and argues that the evidence, in point of fact, is adequate and satisfying—in particular, the hypothesis of a legendary deification, through the working of the imagination in ardent disciples, is contradicted by what we know. The fourth lecture maintains that the definitions of the general councils—the Catholic dogma—simply represent and guard the primitive faith of Christ as human and divine. They should not be looked on as adventitious growths, but as the same faith, now become conscious of its own meaning. Therefore the considerations which establish the central Christian conviction are available for the articulate and explicit form of it which the Church professes. Having thus reached his dogmatic position, the lecturer is now prepared to illustrate the significance of this great belief, to show how it illuminates for Christians the whole spiritual world which they inhabit. Accordingly, in his fifth lecture, Mr Gore discusses the knowledge hence arising to us of the being and

character of God. In the sixth, he asks what light the Incarnation sheds on human nature. Here he touches also on the limitations which the Son of God accepted in assuming human nature. Hence he finds two great topics arising for discussion. One, which occupies the seventh lecture, is Christ as the source of Authority. The other, which occupies the closing lecture, is the moral standard set by Christ, and the resources for attaining it, which He supplies. Mr Gore intimates that he has not found it possible to include in this course a discussion of the Atonement.

This summary will justify what has been said as to the wide field traversed. To various doubts and questions which have arisen about Revelation in general, Mr Gore, as it were, carries the Incarnation in particular. He finds this great Christian faith tenable in the face of each of them. Then he shows what a light it sheds in turn upon our thoughts of God and man, of Revelation and religious certainty, of moral aims and of spiritual succour. This, let us repeat, is a happily conceived service to many minds. Far stretching relations of various kinds and on all sides, illustrate the place and worth of the great doctrine. But it is a very large survey for two hundred and thirty pages of text and forty of notes. And many questions must be somewhat summarily disposed of, which would bear, and perhaps which demand, a closer examination.

Speaking generally, Old Testament questions are so importunate at present, that Mr Gore's references to them, chiefly in the seventh lecture, had better be first disposed of. He accepts without question, on our Lord's witness, the authority and inspiration of the Old Testament writers generally. "But," he says, "it has been usual to go beyond this, and to assert that the authority of our Lord binds us to the acceptance of the Jewish tradition in regard to the authorship and literary character of different portions of the Old Testament—for example, that the use by our Lord of such a phrase as, 'Moses wrote of Me,' binds us to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch as a whole, and that His reference to the flood, or to Jonah's three days' entombment in the whale's belly, binds us to receive these narratives as simple history. To this argument I do not think that we need yield. The lessons inculcated by our Lord can be shown to inhere in the narratives, even if we cannot be sure of their exact authorship or literary character. That special assistance of the Holy Ghost which we call inspiration may have been given to a Jewish writer in any literary undertaking which the conscience of his age would have approved, as his assistance certainly was given to Jewish agents in imperfect forms of moral action: and what the Divine Spirit could inspire, Jesus in that same Spirit could recognise and use. Further, he must have alluded to the books of the Old Testament by their

recognised names,—the names by which men always will refer to them when they are speaking ordinary human language; just as men will always speak of the poetry of Homer, even if the composite origin of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* comes to be universally recognised.”<sup>1</sup> All this is to be taken along with the declaration, “Let it be said at once that we could not, consistently with faith, hesitate to accept anything on any subject that our Lord meant to teach us.”<sup>2</sup> The question therefore comes to this, what our Lord meant to teach, and how far we can make sure of the meaning we ascribe to Him. How far this will carry us must be settled by examining the instances in which His recorded teaching seems to bear on this class of topics. The present writer must say that he agrees with Mr Gore in the reasons he adduces for thinking that in general our Lord did not mean to decide questions of authorship and literary character, and in many of the general views by which Mr Gore explains our Lord’s modes of expression. He agrees with Mr Gore also in holding that our Lord did emphatically mean to teach the Divine peculiarity and authority of the Old Testament, and that whatever He meant to teach is conclusive.

One debated instance (our Lord’s allusion to the 110th Psalm) was explained by Mr Gore in *Lux Mundi* in a way which called out a good deal of criticism. As there given, the explanation appeared to the present writer more ingenious than solid or satisfactory. Mr Gore returns to this subject (p. 196). As he now puts his case it may stand, we think, as a fairly possible theory, entitled to be respectfully considered. Space does not allow us to discuss it farther.

The matters now referred to, however important, have only an indirect and inferential relation to the doctrine of the Incarnation, and they occupy a small place in this volume. We turn to Mr Gore’s treatment of his main subject. Here something might be said of the view he gives of the history of the doctrine. Reserving that point until we speak of the function he ascribes to the Church, we advert for a moment to his exposition of the doctrine itself. This proceeds, as was to be expected, on the lines laid down in the great decisions of the fourth and following centuries; for these carry out in the main, as Mr Gore argues, the thought of the true Godhead, the true manhood, and the personal identity in both natures, of the Son of God. Beyond urging this view of the Catholic decisions, Mr Gore does not dwell much upon their terms and definitions. His conception of the doctrine comes out mainly in the fifth and sixth lectures,—God revealed in Christ, and Man revealed in Christ. In the latter he takes up the question, which is the centre of the mystery, how we are to conceive

<sup>1</sup> P. 195.<sup>2</sup> P. 196.

a divine Person assuming human nature, or rather what conditions of thought and will we are to ascribe to him whom we own to be thus incarnate. Mr Gore complains, very justly, of the *a priori* style in which this point is often dealt with and disposed of. For himself, Mr Gore manifests, as he usually does, a fine, devout sagacity in singling out the main interests which are to guide his thinking, as well as a consciousness of the dangers mainly to be avoided. He sees that the truth of the manhood has often been prejudiced by the line of thought adopted in dogmatic writings; and he is aware that the grace of the Incarnation can be guarded in our thinking only by a delicate care to do full right to the manhood in its wonderful union to the Godhead. So also he shows a wise caution as to dogmatising about the divine nature, though he does find it needful, in explaining his thought, to lay down a principle of self-limitation, under the influence of sympathy, as the mode of the divine action in assuming humanity. Speaking generally, his reverential thoughtfulness, which is courageous as well as reverential, supplies a wholesome model and a safe guide. But then you look in vain for any estimate of the theological alternatives which have been put forth on this subject in the various schools of pious thought. The Jesuit de Lugo is adduced, indeed, to serve as a warning. But the ancient leanings of the east and of the west—the Lutheran effort to vivify the Church's thought upon the point, with its resolute contradiction from the Reformed side—the Kenotic theories of later writers—these are not named, far less are they appraised. We have not even the reasons given for thinking, as perhaps Mr Gore may think, that these, or some of them, go beyond the line at which discussion is possible or useful. Surely this is to undervalue too much the efforts of generations of thoughtful and prayerful men. If Mr Gore considers those labourers to be imperfect and mistaken, still the only possible progress on these matters, for the Church as a whole, is in the way of wisely profiting by one another's imperfections and mistakes. We should have learned to apprehend more clearly Mr Gore's own thought, if we could learn something of the attitude he takes towards the known ways of thinking of older schools.

Mr Gore starts from the recognition of "phenomena of our Lord's life, leading us to the conclusion that up to the time of his death he lived and taught, he thought and was inspired and was tempted, as true and proper man, under the limitations of consciousness which alone make possible a really human experience" (p. 150). He then inquires what conception of the Incarnation will comport with this. He is persuaded, so we understand him, that the Son carries with Him into the incarnation some mode or measure of the Divine consciousness, so that out of it, out of this mode or measure, the Son

of Man sometimes (or in some degree) acts and speaks. "The Son of God received, as eternally, so in the days of His flesh, the consciousness of His own and His Father's being, and the power to reveal that which He knew." But this consciousness could only have been in a mode or measure, under limitations, for reasons already referred to. And this is to be explained as voluntary self-limitation, upon a principle of sympathy. So we are to understand that "He emptied himself" (Phil. ii. 5-11). Thus we are to take it that in order to true human experience, "the Eternal Son so far restrained the natural action of the divine being as, in St Cyril's phrase, 'to suffer the measures of our manhood to prevail over him.'"

We confess to a reluctance to criticise any thoughts on this high subject put forth by a learned and good man, who visibly desires not to be wise above what is written. We confess also to a great unwillingness, or rather a conscious incompetence, to theorise on the behaviour, and, as it were, the experience of the divine nature in the Son of God, when, in becoming man, He emptied Himself, and became poor. On this we prefer to be silent. But the side of the great mystery which lies next to us is more accessible to our thoughts and words. Apparently Mr Gore holds that our blessed Lord, in His humiliation on the earth, spoke and acted from a mixed consciousness—partly the proper consciousness of Godhead, and partly the human one—the one being limited to allow some play to the other. It may be so: but we cannot say it is a position which seems to us to furnish much help.

We will venture to put this question:—There is evidence enough that our Lord's human speech and action proceeded from One who was never less or other than the Eternal Son of God. But is there evidence that His human speech and action proceeded from any *immediate principle* other than a human consciousness—that is, from human faculties or capacities; this human nature, in the fullness of the spirit, being participant of all knowledge of His own and His Father's being that befitted His person and work, yet participant always in a manner proper to human nature? Was not this the condescension of the Son of God, to live and act so? Meanwhile, that His Divine Nature was fitly concerned in the whole manifestation is the very substance of our faith. But are we qualified or called to say how?

For example, if Mr Gore speaks of the Son of God "receiving the consciousness of His own and His Father's being," may we not as fitly say, that the human soul, replenished by the Spirit, was participant of the consciousness of His own and His Father's being? But when we say so, we speak of the arising of a *human* consciousness, under the conditions of human thought and feeling. And it

may be we ought to think of this not as inherently possessed in virtue of the incarnation, but as imparted.

These questions are not intended to recommend any theory, but to suggest the caution with which every theory should be approached. In so far, however, as Mr Gore aims at guarding the reality of our Lord's human experience in connection with Catholic teaching, he has, we are persuaded, done a very valuable service.

In the seventh lecture Mr Gore considers Christ as the source of authority for Christians. Here he speaks to excellent purpose of the method in which Christ is found to have exercised His authority—a method described as the paternal as opposed to the despotic. When he goes on to consider the channels through which Christ's authority now reaches us, he finds these to be the Bible and the Church. It may be not unfit in this connection to notice the place given to the Church throughout this volume.

As a convinced High Churchman, Mr Gore cherishes a lofty sense of the place and functions of the visible Church—that one conspicuous society which was to administer Christianity to the world's end. He is not conscious of sacrificing any of the essentials of the usual theory on that point. Yet on this as on other heads, a certain tempered and qualified tone is noticeable, as if he were silently making room for facts of history and of experience to which they must be accommodated.

The functions allotted to the Church in defining doctrine, though represented as important, he describes with studious moderation, as after all negative rather than positive:—they are meant to show rather what the truth is not than what it is. And these definitions are recognised almost as necessary evils, instead of being in themselves desirable acquisitions. So, also, the teaching office of the Church is set forth in general as highly authoritative; but the aspects in which it is presented in detail tend strongly to suggest the ordinary experience of human tradition with its fluctuations and its reforms. Mr Gore may know best how to defend the ground; but many members of his school would accentuate their distinctive positions more vigorously than he does. We are more interested, however, in the points to which this remark does *not* apply.

Mr Gore devotes a lecture (the fourth) to this point, that the definitions of the Councils merely guard and explain the original faith. As the peculiarity of the Person of Christ was essential and central to the Apostolic teaching and to the faith of the earliest disciples, so the ecclesiastical doctrine built up during several hundreds of years should be taken as the same, and as in the same way essential and central. Mr Gore is going to expound the doctrine in its ecclesiastical form; and he desires to take it that what the Church has thus formulated is, and is exactly, what the Church at

first received. We agree with Mr Gore in much of what at this point he maintains. We agree with him in repudiating Dr Hatch's objections to the dogmatic effort in the Church. We agree with him, against Dr Hatch, that the germs of dogma, and the materials of it are in the Bible: that the Church had to think and could not live without thinking: that on some subjects and within certain limits she had to distinguish sharply right thinking from wrong thinking: that it is no good objection to the Church's procedure, if, in her enterprise of thinking, she made use of the very best style of thinking then known in the world, viz., the Greek. We agree with him, also, that on the subject of the Person of Christ, the Church in her main decisions was memorably true to the teaching of Scripture. And yet we think it is misleading to identify so absolutely the doctrine ecclesiastically defined, with the doctrine at first delivered by our Lord and by inspired men. For this is the very character of the Church's teaching, that while she may *rehearse* what was originally delivered—in which case she is not teaching; she is but reciting the lesson of the Great Teacher;—yet when she in turn begins to teach the doctrine, she does and must teach it as she has attained to *think* it; therefore approximately, tentatively, *not* infallibly. She relates it, as she can, to the forms and the contents of human thought, and she does so in the use of a wisdom which may be real and sincere, but is never perfect.

It is misleading to say that Bible and Church are the channels of Christ's authority, just as it would be misleading to say, the Bible and mothers. It is true that the Church teaches; and perhaps the estimate Mr Gore would make of the actual influence of that beneficent force is not so very remote from our own. The living Church through all its membership, and through its representative men, is to be continually reporting how it understands the teaching by which it lives, is to be interpreting the apostolic message into the language, relating it to the experience of the time. This teaching is a vital force which cannot be dispensed with. And the great consents as to the right way of thinking on some central questions, recorded in the history of the Church, have permanent interest and claim high regard. But this is not authoritative in the strict and proper sense. This is not an embodiment of Christ's authority. It is the embodiment of the thinking of those who are subject to His authority. They are authorised, if you will, to be about this business; and they are to expect His blessing on it in answer to prayer. But there is no absolute guarantee against error and defection any more than against sin and worldliness; least of all is such a guarantee granted to any one official organisation. Yet Christ will always maintain a Church to serve Him in the world. And, amid all particular mistakes His guidance given to His people's prayers, may be expected to be visible on the whole.



Before closing this notice a word must be said as to the value of the eighth lecture. The subject is the moral standard set up by Christ, and the motives and means which He supplies. Mr Gore dwells most impressively on the necessity of doing justice to our Lord's moral teaching, and points out the fatal facility which has been attained in explaining it away. We are convinced that this must receive, and we think it likely that ere long it will receive, more serious and resolute consideration among Christians. We do not expect the result to appear in any mechanical or conventional asceticism. But loving intelligence of Christ's words may operate in purifying, simplifying, and elevating human lives in ways we too often fail even to dream of. Not less impressive, and not less valuable, is Mr Gore's emphatic testimony to Christ in us, as the secret of life and victory. On this point, as on the former one, Mr Gore's theology leads him to make statements which we cannot approve. His explanation, for example, of the imputation to us of Christ's merits (p. 224), we must regard as a lamentable failure: not the less that it is supported by an illustration from George Eliot, and by a phrase of Augustine's severed from its context. But in whatever schemes of theological connection, let us welcome the emphatic proclamation of the vital verities. "Looking at the matter not historically or speculatively, but personally, what is it for me to be a Christian? It is to know my spiritual life is not an isolated thing, drawing simply upon its own resources. God the Holy Spirit . . . dwells within the temple of my body; and by dwelling there He links my life on to the great system of redeemed humanity. . . . And every temptation, every need, every suffering, every disappointment, is meant to drive me more inward and upward, to realize and to draw upon the hidden resources of my new life—which is 'Christ in me the hope of glory.'" "The doctrine of the inward Christ is a doctrine of which the New Testament is full. Mystical as it is, it has been ridiculed, as fit only for enthusiasts, in a rationalistic age such as the last century; but every revival of vital Christianity brings it to the front again, and roots it anew in the consciousness of serious and devout Christians, though they be plain men and unimpassioned." "We contemplate the pattern of life which stands for ever before our eyes in the pages of the Gospels: and we know that the moral forces which were at work in that life, to exempt it from sin, to overcome Satan, to win the flawless moral victory, are all, without exception and without deterioration, at work to-day. For His Spirit is made our spirit: His life is poured into ours. We look at Him in history to know what we must become: we draw upon His present Spirit in order to its realisation" (pp. 220-224).

**Anthropological Religion.**

*The Gifford Lectures, delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1891, by F. Max Müller, K.M. London: Longmans, Green & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 464. Price 10s. 6d.*

THE third course of Professor Max Müller's Gifford Lectures, contained in this volume, deals with the history of religious ideas concerning the human soul, its future state, and its relations to the Divinity, with the origin and development of ancestor-worship, and those cognate branches of the study of comparative religion, to which he proposes to apply the categoric title of Anthropological Religion.

In these lectures, as in the preceding courses, the author endeavours to trace the stages, pre-historic and historic, whereby the various systems of religious thought have been evolved as products of man's unaided reason in the course of the progress of the race. But, in his view, the God whom man has sought out for himself has never directly revealed His will to man; nor has He, except in the ordinary process of Nature, directly interposed in human affairs. Those records in the past history of the world concerning divine miracles are only the outcome of imperfect comprehension and imperfect expression of natural phenomena, inevitable excrescences in the accounts of human spiritual progress due to human fallibility. Christ is regarded as one of a series of men who, being superior to their fellows in intellect and moral sense, and having acquired a clear insight into the relations of God to man, became on that account the teachers of humanity. Among these leaders of thought Professor Müller gives Christ the first place, His teaching and system being better in degree than, but not different in kind from, the teachings of His fellow-reformers, Buddha or Mohammed; but he accounts the mystery of the Incarnation, as taught in Christian books, as worthy of little regard. The so-called resurrection was the misunderstood expression of the fervent imagination of His followers, whereby they only meant to convey the eternal life of the soul, and the ascension of Christ is a sublime idea materialised in the language of children.

Having formulated these propositions, and others of a like kind in his lectures, he expresses himself with surprise in his preface that he could not have believed it possible that he should have exposed himself to attacks from theologians who profess and call themselves Christians. It would surely have been more surprising if the lectures had been allowed to pass without animadversion, as being opposed to beliefs which the most of professing Christians hold dear.

Of the thirteen lectures in the volume, the first and second are prefatory pleas for freedom of religious discussion and for toleration.

The third and fourth contain a summary of the results of physical religion as set forth in the previous course, and a survey of the history of the doctrine of belief in a God. In the subsequent lectures, the stages are traced whereby man discovered the existence of his soul; and the bearing of this discovery upon funeral customs and upon ancestor worship is set forth. Finally, we are led to the inquiry as to the element of truth contained in this form of worship, which is defined as being the recognition of the divine in man; and this recognition is believed by him to constitute the philosophical basis of Christianity.

The subjects treated in the prefatory lectures do not call for much comment. Happily the time is gone by when it was possible to restrict religious discussion by the exercise of ecclesiastical authority, and very few persons of education and culture hold that the honest discussion of opinions on religious matters should be subjected to any limitation.

It is also generally recognised that it is the duty of reasonable men to show a liberal spirit of toleration towards those who hold views different from theirs. As long as human faculties are unequal and imperfect, so long must there be in the world a want of capacity of seeing eye to eye in matters of faith. The churches for the most part admit this, and have ceased to exact the expression of precise uniformity of opinion from their members. But while this liberty is our right, it is self-evident that if there is to be any degree of unity in a church, there must be some limit to this divergence of belief on the part of its members in matters fundamental. Professor Max Müller would carry the principle of toleration in his ideal church so far as to eliminate all dogmatic articles from its creed.

In his former course of lectures, the author taught that all ideas of the super-material had their origin in the principle of causality, that fundamental condition of thought and therefore of language which requires man to postulate a cause for every effect. The earliest words were significant of actions, and the earliest names of things indicated that the objects named were regarded as agents. But the primitive ideas of agency were derived from observations of human actions, and by a natural mental process other actions, not obviously dependent on human agency, were supposed to be the products of unseen active causes of a similar kind.

Many students of Anthropology consider that primitive man did not at first clearly discriminate between the living and the non-living agents in Nature. They think that as soon as he recognised that motion was a quality possessed by himself during life, he predicated a like dependence of motion in other objects on some kind of life within them. Professor Max Müller repudiates this doctrine of Animism as an insult to human understanding, but the ground of his

objection is largely dependent on the meanings attached to the terms—especially on the extension which is given to the term *anima*. He contends that before an anima is attributed to any object, there must be some concept of the nature of an anima. But in all probability that concept was first arrived at as a vague generalisation from the man's own powers, from the self-consciousness which every reasoning man, however uncultured, possesses, even although he may not be able to formulate the concept. It is scarcely possible to draw a hard line of discrimination between the stage of mental activity in which the first rudimental idea of causation was awakened, and the later definite belief in the existence of an inhabiting soul in Nature. The further development of Animism into Fetichism, or the belief that these causal forces are the souls of the dead, is doubtless a later and corrupt derivative of the earlier and simpler belief.

The digression on page 80 as to the etymology of Zeus is interesting, and the Professor in a vigorous and trenchant manner effectually disposes of those guilty of the heresy of believing in the existence of any relationship between the name of the god and the verb  $\xi\eta\nu$ .

Having endeavoured to show that the growth of the idea of a cause behind the phenomena of Nature is a necessary process of human thought, it is but a step to prove that the belief in a God, to which this leads, is inevitable, and therefore universal. The first concepts were presumably crude, limited, and anthropomorphic, but Professor Max Müller considers that the history of the development of religion has been a history of the successive rejection of all the predicates which have been bestowed by man on the Infinite, leading eventually to the only perfect religion, true Agnosticism. He uses this word in a sense different from that which it conveys in the current literature of the day, not as implying that we cannot be certain of the existence of God, and in some sense of our relationship to Him, but rather in the sense that we cannot, by searching, find out the Almighty unto perfection.

This discovery of God by man could not take place without the correlative discovery of the existence of something within ourselves which caused the phenomena of our consciousness, a something to which we may give the name *soul*. A study of the words used in different early languages to express the idea of soul, gives us some clue to the primitive form of the concept. This line of research is discussed in a most interesting manner in Lectures VII. and VIII. It is hard to say whether or not it may be within the bounds of possibility that we shall ever gain any knowledge of the psychology of man in the primeval period of his existence on the earth. It is true that we have had hitherto no materials upon which to found even conjecture, but although Professor Max Müller speaks dog-

matically on the subject, and tells us that we shall never know what he may have been, yet much more extensive knowledge of early man than we have at present may be brought within our reach in the progress of research. It is strange that one who is so consistent and acute in his studies in the evolution of language should yet discredit the evolution of humanity; and although he is so zealous in the elimination of the element of miracle from all religious systems, yet he speaks as a believer in the special miraculous creation of the human race. That language is a great store-house of the archaic in human thought, is a proposition from which few will dissent, but that it is our only source from which to learn of the thoughts and feelings of early man is not strictly accurate. Weapons, pottery, chipped flints, hearth-stones, burnt bones, mode of sepulture, ornaments, and clothing, are all equally true and suggestive vestiges of primitive intelligent man.

The study of the views of ancient races, and of present-day savages in relation to the soul naturally leads to the consideration of the opinions which they have held as to the condition to which death brings humanity. In this connection Professor Müller regards the continuance towards the dead of the feelings entertained concerning them by the living as the germ of ancestor worship. His theory of the genesis of the first ideas of God, naturally preclude his accepting the deification of ancestors as anything but a secondary mode whereby the Pantheon has been peopled, but he regards it as an important secondary source of divinities, and his discussion of the true character of ancestor worship is of considerable interest. In connection with it there are many paragraphs worthy of careful perusal, containing his views on Fetichism, Totemism, Hallucinations, Shadows, and Dreams, as being primitive originating ideas of religious systems. That in the main he takes just views on these subjects one cannot doubt, although the reader cannot help entertaining a lurking belief that he is occasionally a little too sweeping in his generalisations.

Professor Max Müller carries with him the sympathies of all interested in Anthropology in his remarks on the untrustworthiness of much of the descriptive matter given in the text books with regard to the religions of the world, especially of those systems which have not been defined by becoming embodied in a literature of standard sacred books. The demands as to the qualifications of those who collect and record anthropological phenomena, which he sets out in the chapter, are very moderate—that no evidence be received as trustworthy except that of one who has been an eye-witness of what he attests, that the witness be a credible and unprejudiced one, and that he be conversant with the language of the race he

observes, and one who has checked his own observations by conference with the people of whom he speaks.

The instances adduced in connection with these points, of the religious views of the Andamanese, of the Australians, and of the worshippers of the goddess Kālī, are exceedingly apt cases in point, and well worthy of study.

One other observation of Professor Max Müller's is deserving of note in this connection. It is believed by many that the savage man of the present day is the antitype of primitive man, but the arguments in favour of this opinion are not conclusive, and there is some reason to believe that the races whom we call the lowest savages are the results rather of centuries of corruption and degeneracy than the survivals of a primitive state of human life.

In the discussion of funeral customs as bearing upon beliefs in regard to the state of the dead, some of the most suggestive are those in which weapons, food, clothing, or ornaments are either burned or buried with the body of the dead. This wide-spread practice we have reason to believe prevailed in our own country among our long-headed predecessors of the neolithic age, and it is generally interpreted as being due to the belief that the dead, in what state soever they may be, remained creatures of like habits and passions with their former selves, and were in some occult way able to take advantage of the funeral materials supplied for their use. From this explanation Professor Müller dissents, as he believes that the placing of these articles in the grave originated in a mere impulse, an unreasoning act, and that the belief in the utility of these offerings was of later growth. He has not, however, given us any reason or evidence in favour of his view, and certainly all that we know of the testimony of savage man at the present day is in the direction of the older theory.

Correlated with the belief in the continuance of active existence after death, the question naturally arises, Do the actions of this life affect the future state of the soul? Here, intelligent man in his earliest religious utterances has pronounced with almost unanimous voice that there are to be in the future state rewards or punishments for the deeds of this life. The view embodied in the Vedic phrase, *Karma na kshīyate*, "a deed does not perish," was enunciated two thousand years earlier by Ptahhotep, and had its embodiment in the scenes of the psychostasis.

In the final summing up as to the tendencies of Anthropological religion as here defined, Professor Max Müller gives us some of his own views as to the existence and relations of the soul. He cannot bring himself to believe that the soul has had a beginning, and thinks that it must have existed before. "Our soul on awakening here is not quite a stranger to itself, and the souls who, as our parents, our

wives, and husbands, our children and our friends, have greeted us first as strangers in this life, but have become to us as if we had known them for ever, and as if we could never lose them again. That which constitutes the true self, the looker on, the witness within us, which cannot die nor expire because it has never breathed, that is the Infinite in man which philosophers have been groping for, though he is not far from every one of us." It is the divine or God-like in man.

In the last chapter the bearings of this discovery of the divine in man is brought as a key to unlock some of the problems which press upon us in life. The question is discussed how far the idea of immortality was appreciated in former dispensations, and Professor Max Müller's views are interesting in connection with the recent controversies on the beliefs of the Jews on this matter. He is of opinion that there was among the Jews, for the most part, a belief in existence beyond the grave, and in the bestowal of future rewards and punishments, but he thinks that what he calls true immortality, the communion of the soul with God, was beyond the horizon of the Jewish mind. Christianity, in so far as it is a revelation of man's sonship to God, came as a reaction against the Sadduceism of the later period of Jewish history.

The curious blend of Agnosticism and Christianity set forth in the last lecture is a religious system with a new phraseology. In it the divinity of Christ is no mystery, but was the self-knowledge possessed by Him in a higher measure than by any of his predecessors, that man was the son of God. This process whereby the divine sonship is realised, and which Professor Müller characterises as the taking back of the human into the divine, he calls *anatheosis*. The second birth consists in the realisation that we are thus the children of God ; but this recognition is one which is self-originated, and not like the regeneration promised by Christ, which is a divine gift.

This Neo-Christianity lacks the great central power of the real Christianity, the personal living Christ, the divine Saviour of men. In place of the bread of the real Son of God incarnate, crucified and risen, it gives us the stone of a sham Christ, one of a cycle of human reformers. In place of the certainty of a divine revelation from God to man, we get the aspirations of man toward God, with no other guarantee of their trustworthiness than that furnished by the wide spread of the belief in them ; whose expression is a *vox populi*, and is therefore presumed to be a *vox Dei*.

ALEXANDER MACALISTER.

**Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and  
Patristic Literature.**

*Edited by J. Armitage Robinson, B.D., Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. Vol. II., No. 1. A Study of Codex Bezae, by J. Rendel Harris, M.A. Cambridge University Press. 8vo, pp. viii. 272. Price 7s. 6d. net.*

**The Codex Sangallensis ( $\Delta$ ); A Study in the Text of the  
Old Latin Gospels.**

*By J. Rendel Harris, formerly Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge, and now Professor of Biblical Languages and Literature in Haverford College, Pennsylvania. London: C. J. Clay & Sons. 1891. Royal 8vo, pp. viii. 56. Price 3s.*

PROFESSOR HARRIS opens his "Study of Codex Bezae" with a very interesting description of the qualities and qualifications which must underlie successful investigation into the tangled problems of New Testament textual history.

"There must be a wide acquaintance with languages if we are to understand the bearing of the Versions upon the restoration of the text, and give their evidence the right weight; there must be a keen Semitic feeling which is able to distinguish the Syriasm imported by a translator from that which belongs to the primitive apostolic idiom, or to restore the latter against editorial refinement; there must be a close study of the palæography of the scripts which are involved in the problem; and this study must farther be balanced by an acquaintance with the laws of phonetic change, so that we may not refer rare forms, when we meet with them, to mere accident or to the negligence of the scribes. And in the grouping of the evidence, and the estimation of the relative value of the possible solutions of the problem, a quick imagination must be side by side with a subtle reasoning power on the judgment seat."

He supposes it too much to expect that "all these forms of fitness for critical work should be found in one person." Another may be permitted to record his distinct impression that they all may be found in Professor Harris himself, than whom no one in this generation has consecrated a greater enthusiasm, a more acute scholarship, or more sparkling talents, to the textual criticism of the New Testament. Nor will the reader of these two brilliant monographs on Græco-Latin texts fail to note that they all have been in use in their preparation. Such work as this not only continues the prestige of English scholarship in this field where it has always held a first place, but opens new vistas for Biblical



learning in general. For their proper estimation, it is no doubt necessary to bear in mind the nature of these tractates as "studies." In them, their author does "not pretend to have done more than touch the outside edge of a great subject" ( $\Delta$ , p. 6). It will be easy to say of them that they raise more questions than they answer. This is their merit. They find the problems, define them, advance somewhat their solution, and leave us in better position to estimate properly the nature both of the problems themselves that face us, and of the facts which must enter into their explanation. A few more such "studies," and it may become possible to write the history of the transmission of the New Testament with some exactness.

Primarily, these "studies" are bodies of prolegomena to the two codices with which they deal; or rather, to be exact, they give us, the one a tolerably complete body of prolegomena to Codex Bezae, and the other certain very important contributions towards prolegomena for Codex Sangallensis. Looked at from this point of view, they are above praise. Never have the phenomena of a New Testament MS. been subjected to a more painstaking or a more illuminating scrutiny than is here given to Codex D. The result is astonishing. The MS. which has been declared to "set criticism at defiance," is here seized in the grasp of a criticism which squeezes from it its secrets. We are put in a fair way to know more of this "sphinx among the manuscripts," than of the simplest and clearest of all the transcripts of the Greek text. Nothing in the Codex is too small to attract Professor Harris's attention, or too unimportant to be made to bear testimony to the history of the manuscript. Thus, a series of barbarous notes on the lower margin, of which Dr Scrivener could make nothing, are shown (D., pp. 7 *seq.*) to belong to a system of "*sortes sanctorum*"; and a comparison of them with similar marginalia in  $g^1$  suggests some conclusions as to the whereabouts of D in the tenth century. So the observation of certain peculiarities of the spelling of the MS. (D. pp. 16 *seq.*) such as  $\Lambda\text{I}\Omega\text{N}$  for  $\Lambda\text{E}\text{I}\Omega\text{N}$ ,  $\Lambda\text{O}\text{N}$  for  $\Lambda\text{O}\text{I}\Omega\text{N}$ ,  $\Lambda\text{E}\text{I}\text{C}$  for  $\Lambda\text{E}\text{I}\text{E}\text{I}\text{C}$  in the Greek, and *NEGLENTES* for *NEGLIGENTES*, in the Latin, points to Gallic peculiarities of pronunciation parallel to the process by which Lugdunum became in French Lyons; Burdigalium, Bordeaux; Augustodonum, Autun; and suggests that the manuscript may have been written in Gaul about the sixth century. Again, as the colometry of the MS. is studied, a bright flash of that genius, which really means the action of an alert mind stored with the results of previous studies, suggests that in the line-divisions of Luke xiii. 29, 30, an explanation may be found for a singular reading in the "Acta Perpetuæ" (D., p. 149). There the angels are made to cry of the elect brought

from the four winds of heaven, "Ecce sunt, ecce sunt: cum admiratione." This singular greeting evidently arose from taking the end of the line for the end of the sense, as the passage stands in D, thus:—

"ET VENIENT AB ORIENTE ET OCCIDENTEM  
ET AB AQUILONE ET AUSTRO ET RECUMBUNT  
IN REGNO DEI ET ECCE SUNT  
NOVISSIMI QUI ERUNT PRIMI ET SUNT  
PRIMI QUI ERUNT NOVISSIMI."

Thus arises an irrefragable proof of the early date both of the text and the colometry of D.

The best work of these volumes is given to the study of the Latin texts. We do not know if the Latinity of Codex Bezae has ever been subjected to such careful or to such fruitful investigation. Numerous peculiarities, which might well escape the notice of a less instructed eye as mere careless blunders of the scribe, are traced back to vulgar or antique Latin forms or usages; and thus the book becomes a contribution of no mean freshness to Latin and Romance philology. By the same investigation much also has been done, of course, towards working out the history of the MS.; and much also, we may add, towards working out the history of the Old Latin version. Professor Harris appears to us to have distinctly added to the probability, already strong, that the various Latin texts all go back to one version, and, we think, also, he has added to the probability that the version originated in North Africa. Thus he has advanced the solution of one of the most difficult problems in criticism. He thinks the original Old Latin version was the first line-for-line translation of the Greek text, and looks upon the Latin of *d* as its best and most unaltered extant representative. The evidence which he offers for this is striking—Professor Harris never offers any other kind—but the question must rest meanwhile *sub judice*. He seems to have made it clear, at least, that *d* is not fundamentally a translation of its own Greek, independent of other Old Latin texts (as Dr Scrivener, for example, held), and that its text is very old. The study of Codex Sangallensis is less thorough, though Professor Harris's fear lest an apology is needed for publishing it is certainly unjustified. It, too, is largely devoted to the study of the Latin text, and, through it, of the history of the Latin version. Professor Harris's main contention we regard as made out—that *δ* is not a Vulgate text, but a combination of two Old Latin texts, one of which—probably not the base—was very near to *d*, as the table on pp. 15-17 suggests. The greater part of the volume is occupied with registering and studying the large number of double or alternative renderings

which  $\delta$  presents in its effort to preserve the translations of both its originals. Acute investigations of the Africanisms of the Codex, and attempts to determine the more original rendering of the alternatives, give life to the lists.

One would think that it is surely enough to register all this to the account of two small volumes of studies of two Græco-Latin texts. But Professor Harris has not been content to write brilliant prolegomena to his texts, or even to investigate the philological and literary history of the Old Latin Version by their aid. "The object of this tract," he writes at the opening of the "Study of Codex Bezae," "is to supply the workers with some fresh suggestions as to the handling of the central problem of the criticism of the New Testament, viz., the origin and meaning of the so-called Western text." An earnest attempt to solve this problem is a great undertaking; while to have really tracked that vast mass of "Western" composition to its origin, and given a satisfactory account of its rise and growth, would be indeed an epoch-making performance. The most prominent fact concerning the "Western" text (so-called purely conventionally) is its very early, very widespread distribution. Especially has it always called for notice that the earliest versions are deeply stained with its peculiarities. In particular, those two venerable monuments of the New Testament which nourished the spiritual life of the two ends of the earth, Syria and North Africa, are at the same time monuments of the "Western" text. The problem is, so to account for the origin of the demonstrably most corrupt text as to account by some likely hypothesis also for its very early broad distribution, and, in particular, for its presence, already fully developed, in the early part of the second century, in both North Africa and Syria. Both of the most natural hypotheses, that it originated in Syria or that it originated in North Africa, have, of course, received the support of theorists. Professor Harris has sought to subject the likelihood of each to careful investigation. In his admirable study of Tatian's Diatessaron, published two years ago,<sup>1</sup> he was evidently carrying in his mind the possibility that Tatian's Harmony might be the root out of which this upas-tree grew, and testing this hypothesis from step to step. That line of investigation, however, proved wholly unfruitful (D., p. 186). In the present volume he seeks to test the opposite conjecture, and here he meets with more satisfaction. He expresses the result in the stirring words: "And now we have at last succeeded in tracking the Western corruptions to their origin." His reading of the problem is, that practically the whole body of "Western" readings ("nine-tenths,"

<sup>1</sup> *The Diatessaron of Tatian, a Preliminary Study*. By J. Rendel Harris. Cambridge University Press, 1890. 8vo, pp. 68.

he says, p. 203), have arisen from the Old Latin Version, from which first an accompanying Greek text has been "thoroughly and persistently Latinised" (p. 107), and, then this Latinised text spread from Rome as a literary centre over the world. "The conclusion to which we are led," he writes (p. 177), "is an astonishing one: the hydra-headed Western text has been resolved into a single form; that form is the primitive Western bilingual; its apparently Eastern character is a delusion, for the Old Syriac texts lean on a Graeco-Latin, and perhaps simply on a Latin base. That the Sahidic version, and other Egyptian attestation, sometimes complicates the question by an apparently greater geographical distribution than would seem to be possible for truly Occidental readings, is an illusion arising from the fact of our ignorance that the Sahidic version demonstrably has stolen Latin readings." The theory is certainly an attractive one of great verisimilitude in itself; and Professor Harris has spared no pains or ingenuity in working it out and illustrating it in detail.

The hinge on which the whole matter turns, is, of course, the fundamental question as to the systematic Latinisation of the Greek text of D and its textual compeers. That a very complete assimilation has taken place in the adjustment of the Latin and Greek texts of Codex Bezae to one another is obvious, and has always been recognised. But although the charge of Latinisation has been repeatedly brought against the Greek, modern opinion has settled down to accounting for the assimilation by the Græcising of the Latin version. In reopening the question under Professor Harris' guidance, it is clear that, for fruitful results, we must carefully distinguish between three several inquiries:—(1), Whether and to what extent the hand of a Latin-speaking scribe has left traces of itself in the writing of the Greek of this Codex; (2), Whether and to what extent the Greek text has been corrupted from its parallel Latin text; and (3), Whether and to what extent corruptions arising from one or the other of these causes can be traced in other documents, which may be thus proved to share in corruptions arising on Latin ground or from a Latin version.

That the Greek text of D shews signs of having been written by a Latin-speaking scribe, and has to this extent been Latinised, has always been recognised. Some of the corruptions thus introduced, such as the insertion of Latin letters into the Greek text, and the intrusion into the Greek here and there of Latin forms and terminations, are enumerated, for example, by Dr Scrivener<sup>2</sup> in his *Prolegomena*. These are, of course, recognised by Professor Harris (D., p. 46), as the "natural accidents of the case." To what extent this

<sup>2</sup> *Bezae Codex Catabrigiensis* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co., 1864) p. xxx.

cause will account for apparent Latinisations, students will differ much in judging. To us it seems to account for many instances which Professor Harris might prefer to assign to other causes. It is certainly the account to give of the intrusion of Gallic faults of pronunciation into the spelling of the Greek text, examples of which have been already quoted; and having been allowed as a *vera causa*, much may be properly attributed to it (on the principle of parsimony, if for no other reason), which, in other circumstances, might be thought to require other suppositions to account for it.

The fact thus brought to our memory, that given corruptions may often with almost equal plausibility be attributed to any of several origins, greatly embarrasses us when we come to ask whether there is any convincing evidence that the Greek text of D has been corrupted from its parallel Latin. Professor Harris presents a great body of evidence, most ably gathered and marshalled. But we find ourselves reading this most interesting, and, in any case, most instructive mass of material, with much wavering of mind. One after another, we set the alleged instances aside as not conclusive,—as such as might indeed mean Latinisation as Professor Harris explains them, but need not do so. Other explanations occur to us as equally likely, or even more likely. We ultimately find ourselves scanning the lists narrowly to discover whether there are any instances which pretty clearly point to Latinisation as their cause. Many which Professor Harris considers certainly such do not strike us so. We are afraid that we do not lay the stress of proof in this relation which he does, even on his ingenious discovery of a Latin Hexameter verse in the gloss to Luke xxiii. 53 (p. 47). We are greatly instructed by his comparison of Homeric parallels; we think he has ferreted out its source in the Homeric Centones, and we await with eagerness his half-promised study of these curious collections and their influence on early Christian literature. But we deem it not impossible that the Latin translator of Codex Bezae's text—just on account of his familiarity with the Centones (p. 236)—may have restored a metrical feature to the allusions which he recognised as surviving the ruined metre in the Greek; while the differences in the translations found in *d*, *c*, and the Thebaic version (as, *e.g.*, in their varied renderings of the genitive absolute) seem to render it likely that they all were translating from the Greek, and from this Greek. But we cannot go into detail. Suffice it to say that the instances are not numerous in which we feel justified in calling in the hypothesis of Latinisation to account for the corruption. Nevertheless such instances do seem to exist. Mark viii. 2, last clause (pp. 58 and 89), is one of these. Here what Professor Harris calls the fearful Greek of D, *οτι ηδη ημεραι τρις εισιν απο ποτε ωδε εισιν*, seems best

accounted for as an attempt to render back into Greek the Latin by its side: *quoniam iam triduum est; ex quo hic sunt*. Mark ix. 34 (p. 58) seems another, and, we may add, a characteristic case. Here the Latin expansion of *τίς μείζων* into *quis esse illorum major*, seems to have been taken back into the Greek to produce the Bezan, *τις μίζων γενηται αυτων*. In Mark iv. 36 (p. 69) *αλλαι πλοιαι* may have been written instead of *ἄλλα πλοῖα*, under the influence of the Latin, *aliae naves multae*. In Luke xxii. 12 (p. 80), it seems quite possible that the *οικον* has come in from the Latin, *superiorem domum*. In the blundering repetition of the first two clauses in the middle of John xvii. 11 (p. 65), we read at the end of the Greek, *και εν τω κοσμω ειμι*, corresponding to the Latin, *et in mundo sum*, where "sum" is for "sunt," in accordance with a phonetic interchange of *m* and *nt*, investigated by Professor Harris (p. 121). It looks as if the Greek *ειμι* has arisen by correction from this misunderstood "sum" = "sunt." If these instances be allowed, it would be only fair to allow the same cause to have been probably at work in certain similar but less clear cases, such as—*e.g.*, in John xvii. 25 (p. 67); Mark v. 18 (p. 78); viii. 25 (p. 79); xiv. 72 (p. 79); Matt. xi. 22 (p. 84); Acts ii. 6 (p. 85); Matt. xv. 11 (p. 85); xviii. 22 (p. 96); Mark x. 12 (p. 101); xiv. 1 (p. 102); Luke xxii. 7 (p. 102); Mark xvi. 11 (p. 103). The great body of the instances adduced, however, we have felt constrained to look upon as instances rather of consent of the Latin with the Greek, than of corruption of the latter to the former. But, although we cannot see our way clear to adopt Professor Harris's conclusion that "the whole of the Greek text of Codex Bezae, from the beginning of Matthew to the end of Acts, is a readjustment of an earlier text to the Latin version" (p. 41), we think he has proved that in the transmission of the Graeco-Latin texts there has been an interaction of the Greek and Latin, by which not only has the Latin been adjusted to the Greek, but also occasionally the Greek to the Latin. Now that Professor Harris has proved this, we perceive, indeed, that it was to be expected in the nature of the case. The opinion which he has formed as to the extent of this Latinisation seems to us, indeed, extreme: to say "that the Latin is rarely, if ever, an accommodation to its conjugate Greek, while, on the other hand, the Greek is almost always accommodated to the Latin" (*Δ*, p. 1), seems almost to forget not only the fact which is immediately afterwards (p. 3) spoken of as "admitted," that in an interlinear text (which he supposes the ancestry of *D* to have been) the Latin is adjusted to the order of words of the Greek, but even the fundamental fact that the Latin is originally a translation of the Greek. We must still believe that the Greek of Codex Bezae, in all its essential peculiarities,

antedated its Latin, and is its original. But we are led to understand that in the nicer adjustment of the Greek and Latin texts, in interlinear and parallel texts, in which line-lengths, word-order, and word-numbers, and the like, were, and ought to be, brought into exact correspondence, now and then the Greek has suffered corruption as well as the Latin.

With this conclusion reached, we have to deny ourselves the pleasure of finding the darkest problem of New Testament textual history solved by Professor Harris's acute investigation. The cause he has uncovered with such scholarly skill seems to have been operative in too narrow a circle of readings to serve as key to so complicated a lock. The suggestion that at least one of the odd glosses of D may have been ultimately due to reminiscence of the Homeric Centones may possibly bear fruit in explanation of others. And the proof of Latinisation in however narrow a circle of readings, may supply the student of readings with a new source for the explanation of the origin of special readings here and there. It does not appear, however, that Latinised readings gained any wide extension in the texts: we have not observed any which we could recognise with any confidence as such, of widespread attestation. If we could see our way open to allow all the instances of Latinisation which Professor Harris looks upon as such, we would need to admit, no doubt, that the total Greek transmission was affected by it. He seems, indeed, at one place to exclude B from this form of corruption: "Amongst the codices which have occasionally Latinised, will be found  $\aleph$  I,  $\Delta$ , &c.; whether B has been entrapped in any cases into error is a question which must not be prejudged, and it almost requires a special and extended investigation; but it looks as if B had escaped" (p. 113). Elsewhere, however, his discovery of Latinisation includes B also (pp. 116, 118, 207, 229). But though we may not be able to adopt this opinion, it is possible for the student to look upon Latinisation as one of his resources in explaining sporadic readings.

It is odd that the widespread extension which we cannot find proved for Latinised readings, we are bound to admit that Professor Harris has made good for Syriacised ones. Syriasm, no more than Latinism, will explain the "Western" text. But Professor Harris has shown that Syriasm does occur, and must be reckoned with in the study of readings. We do not see but that the explanation which he offers (p. 178) of the reading,  $\Delta\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}$ , in Mark viii. 10, as arising from a Syriac dittograph of the equivalent of  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$ , must be accepted. His similar explanation of the intrusive  $\Sigma\alpha\mu\phi\omicron\upsilon\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu$  in the Bezan text of John xi. 54 (p. 184) seems equally irresistible. In the presence of these, we can hardly refuse to ascribe to the same source the odd

Bezan reading of Acts xiv. 27 (p. 185), where *μετα των ψυχων αυτων* takes the place of *ἐν αὐτοῖς*. But *Δαλμανουθα* is read in Mark viii. 10 by nearly all extant documents, only D and some other "Western" texts escaping. Whence it seems to follow that a very rarely occurring Syriac corruption lies at the base of "Neutral" and "Alexandrian," and, indeed, of nearly the whole Greek transmission. The bearing of this on an opinion which Professor Harris broached in his "Study of Tatian's Diatessaron," to the effect that a Pre-Tatianic Syriac Passion-Harmony underlay the "Neutral" and "Alexandrian" transmission, and is the true account to give of the origin of those odd corruptions, the so-called "Western non-Interpolations," is obvious.

In the course of his discussion, Professor Harris lays great stress on traces of deliberate doctrinal depravation in the textual transmission (pp. 228, 233). We have not been able to follow him in this, whether as regards the instances he adduces of Marcionite or those of Montanistic corruptions. The only case of doctrinal depravation of the general text which seems proven beyond doubt is the asceticization of the text by introducing commands of "fasting." It is interesting to observe the opinion of so well-furnished and independent a scholar as Professor Harris on some of the most disputed readings. The reader may consult him on John i. 18 at p. 252; on Acts xx. 28 at p. 253; on Matt. xix. 17 at p. 229; on John vii. 53 *seq.* at p. 195 and *note*; and on Luke ii. 22 at p. 68.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

### **The Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood of Our Lord.**

*The Baird Lecture 1891, by Wm. Milligan, D.D., Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in the University of Aberdeen. London: Macmillan & Co. 1892. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii. and 374. Price 7s. 6d.*

PROFESSOR MILLIGAN has laid the theological world under obligation by completing his Croall Lecture on the "Resurrection" by this Baird Lecture on the "Ascension and Priesthood of Christ." For, common as are apologetic writings upon the Resurrection, systematic works upon either the Resurrection or the Ascension are rare. Indeed, Dorner's memorable sections in his *Glaubenslehre* on "The Continuation in Heaven of the Prophetic, Priestly, and Kingly Offices of Christ," part of Medd's Bampton Lecture on "The One Mediator," the last third of Thomasius's *Christi Person und Werk*, and Hasse's *Die Lehre des verklärten Erlösers im Himmel*, exhaust the complete surveys known to me of the life of our Lord in his *Status*



*Exaltationis.* Whilst quite equal in general thoroughness to these earlier systematic studies, Dr Milligan's presentation in some parts reaches a yet higher level, and Lecture iv. in this second Baird Lecture on the "Gift of the Spirit," seems to me as notable as Lecture v. in the Croall Lecture on "The Bearing of the Resurrection of Our Lord upon Christian Life and Hope."

There is a fulness of treatment which is not systematic, and there is a systematic treatment which is not full. Dr Milligan's method is as thorough in range as in affiliation. His thought moves on patient and undaunted,—unresting, unhasting,—careful to include and discuss all points and finer aspects of the subject as they legitimately arise, especially alert to all illumination derivable from luminous exegesis. The style, too, fits the method like a glove; it is at once clear and full and serious and stately, argumentative but not tiresome, with a certain bigbodiedness and affable dignity, not without eloquence of the massive kind.

The lectures are six in number. The first deals with the fact of the Ascension, its necessity, its difficulties, and its consequences. The second treats of the Heavenly High-priesthood as the Melchisedek high-priesthood, a knotty subject elaborated with great care and instructiveness. The third is concerned with the High-priestly Work of Presentation, Intercession, and Benediction. The fourth considers the Gift of the Spirit by the Heavenly Priest, its nature, its function, the time of its bestowal, and the recipients of the grace. The last two lectures lead us to the Church on Earth as the Sphere of the Heavenly Priesthood, this reflected priesthood being investigated as to the Life of the Church, as to her Work, to her Worship, and to her Confession. In the working out of this elaborate scheme, striking thoughts and phrases occur on almost every page.

As an instance of the timeliness and manner of these lectures, let a passage be cited, that upon the present need of the Church, pp. 225, 226—

"There is need for the divine. We have yet to see that more fully. In the meantime, let the necessity for the human occupy a moment's thought. The Incarnation has for ever sanctified and confirmed that necessity. . . . There can be no more profound mistake in religion, and there has been none more fatal, than to hope to elevate the divine by sacrificing the human. . . . No fresh schemes of benevolent exertion, added to thousands that have gone before and perished, will meet our wants. Not the world only, but the Church, is weary with the multitude of interests by which she is stimulated. Simply to increase the number of these completes the weariness, and makes men long for rest from disappointment and perplexity in the grave. We need a more inspiring view than we commonly possess of the influence of Christian truth, a more

powerful impression of the strength which Christ supplies for Christian life, a brighter and more hopeful colour to be spread over every department of Christian labour. We need to recover the buoyancy, the generosity, the passion of youth ; and we can only obtain these by becoming young again in the ever-fresh aspirations of a humanity which, from season to season, fills its branches with a new spirit of life, and clothes them with new leaves and flowers. What, in short, the Church needs is not to extinguish humanity under the pressure of a too limited conception of the divine, but to bring the two into the closest possible connection. . . . When we feel that the Spirit dwelling in us comes from One as human as He is divine, shall we have not simply 'life,' but 'life abundantly.' "

The thought, a little subtle, is as true as it is beautifully expressed. The weary Church will renew its youth as it appropriates the fact that in the Spirit of Christ there is a palingenesis, the "more life and fuller" that we want, the new birth of thought and art and practice and society with which the whole creation travails in pain.

How sympathetic and scholarly an interpretation of the New Testament underlies this whole doctrinal presentation has been more than hinted. The Epistle to the Hebrews, especially, comes in for much clear-sighted interpretation. To my mind, however, the weakness of the book is the lack of an equally sympathetic study of the Old Testament. And it seems to me that two innovations would have been withheld if the appreciation of Levitical doctrine had been more keen. According to Dr Milligan, the high-priestly office of Christ commenced at the Cross. This is one peculiarity in his results ; and, according to Dr Milligan, the true conception of the Atonement is life and not death. This is another peculiarity. Both views seem to me inconsistent with the theological teaching of the Old Testament.

"When," asks Dr Milligan (pp. 72-81), "did the priesthood of our Lord begin?" "It began," he answers, "upon the cross." In so replying, Dr Milligan refuses to speak, as theologians have spoken for fifteen hundred years, of the priesthood of Christ on earth prior to the crucifixion, and even of the priesthood of the Divine Word before His incarnation. That the Divine Word is, and ever was, priest as well as prophet and king, is negated by this view. Curiously enough, a clear definition of priesthood is nowhere given, and what is said concerning priesthood is taken, not from the Old Testament, but from incidental references in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Now, according to the entire Old Testament, upon which, moreover, the views of the Epistle to the Hebrews are manifestly based, priesthood is mediation, the privilege of approaching Deity and at the same time representing others to whom the privilege of approach is denied. Upon such a view of priesthood

there is entire agreement amongst Biblical theologians of all schools ; and upon such a view there is a profound truth in saying that the Incarnate Logos, and even the Pre-existent Logos, is our great High Priest.

A similar fault in method has led Dr Milligan to formulate his peculiar view of the Atonement (pp. 128-149). Our Lord's atonement is His offering ; and His offering is an offering of life. "Life," he says, "not death, is the essence of atonement, is that by which sin is covered." At more length, Dr Milligan expresses his view as follows :—

"For Himself and for the members of His Body He accepted the sentence, 'The soul that sinneth it shall die.' . . . This, however, is no more than the first part of the one great step taken for us by our Heavenly High Priest. A second part followed. As the blood, or, in other words, the life, of an animal was liberated [*sic*] in death, in order that, by the sprinkling, a union might be effected between the offerer and God, so the blood, or, in other words, the life, of Christ was liberated on the Cross in order that our life in His might be united to the Father in the closest communion and fellowship. . . . A third part still remained. . . . The life thus united to God was actually surrendered to Him in a perpetual service of love and praise."

In a word, the Atonement of Christ is the continual offering to God of the life of Jesus. But surely Dr Milligan has been misled by the common but unfortunate identification of atonement and sacrifice, an identification which is never made in the Old Testament. That the risen and glorified Saviour surrenders Himself to the Father in perpetual sacrifice is a very blessed truth ; and that, one with Him in a gracious solidarity, all believers may also present acceptable sacrifice to the Father, is another very blessed truth ; but sacrifice, or offering, or presentation, whether on our Saviour's part or ours, is one thing, and atonement is another. Life, not death, is the essence of offering, truly ; but death, not life, is the essence of atonement. So the entire ritual of the Old Testament demonstrates. Offering is only permissible after atonement ; the presentation of the blood of the victim, the presentation of the surrendered life of the victim, must be made, before any presentation of self or substance, of life or the product of life, can be acceptable. When, therefore, Dr Milligan says, "Thus we obtain a view of our Lord's work, by which its two great stages, that of His dying upon the Cross, and that of His presenting Himself to His Heavenly Father in the Most Holy Place, are united under one conception—the conception of offering," his view is one-sided. In the Biblical view, offering is one thing, atonement is another, and to identify them is to misconceive them.

ALFRED CAVE.

**A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel.**

*For the use of Students. By A. A. Bevan, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. University Press, 1892; p. 235. Price 8s.*

THE author has designed his commentary for "students," and those for whom it is intended will find it extremely useful. A better linguistic commentary could hardly be given. The author's acquaintance with the Shemitic dialects is wide and exact; and even those who are not students in the narrower sense will not seldom find something which adds to their knowledge. Though the linguistic notes constitute the feature of the work, the general interpretation of the Book of Daniel is not neglected. The meaning throughout is carefully shown. A summary of the chief ideas and the didactic purpose of each chapter is prefixed to it, and general questions of exegesis, such as the meaning of the phrase "son of man"—which the author does not take in a personal sense—the four monarchies, and the "time, times, and half a time," receive clear though brief treatment.

Some preliminary general questions are treated in the introduction. Of great use, as helping to clear up a subject which to many minds is rather hazy, is the chapter on the linguistic character of Daniel. Here a lucid account is given of the Aramaic dialects, Eastern and Western, to the latter of which the Biblical Aramaic, as well as the Targums, belong; and the subject is further illustrated by an appendix on some recently discovered Palmyrene inscriptions. Of interest, also, is another chapter on the Septuagint of Daniel. The original translation into Greek was displaced by the later one of Theodotion; but, of course, it was the earlier rendering that influenced the language of the New Testament. And here some may feel that Mr Bevan has been almost too mindful of his purpose to be "short," for a fuller account of this version in some of its more general bearings would have been acceptable. The author regards Daniel as a work of the Maccabean age, in agreement with most modern scholars. His allusions to writers who maintain the antiquity of the Book are sometimes needlessly sharp, and the footnote (p. 206), "that people who believe 'the time of the end' to be still future, should write commentaries on the Book of Daniel, is one of the most singular examples of the irony of history," is a sarcasm with no great point.

Mr Bevan considers the four monarchies to be Nebuchadnezzar, or the Babylonian, the Median, the Persian, and the Greek, including Alexander and the Syro-Greek or Seleucid empire. Perhaps most can be said for this, though certainly in ch. viii. (v. 3, 4, 20), the Medo-Persian, with its two horns, the greater coming up last,

seems treated as a single kingdom. The idea of a unity composed of two things, one of which was superior to the other, seems also expressed in ch. vii. 5, where it is said that the second beast "lifted up one side"—i.e., one side appeared higher than the other. Mr Bevan would read the *pass.* "was lifted up," for which, however, there is no authority. Besides, the word *listar* is then difficult to construe; and the idea that the beast appeared "half crouching" seems to have little point. The question is not of much moment, for either the Medo-Persian must be divided into two, or the Alexandro-Syrian, into two, the latter division giving the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Alexander, and his successors, extending into the Greco-Syrian as the four. Of much more interest is a question of interpretation, both in Daniel and the Apocalypse, raised by the symbolism of "beasts." It is generally said that the beasts symbolise "kingdoms," and in a certain sense this is true, but not in the abstract way often represented. The beasts symbolise kingdoms wielded and animated by kings, or rather, they symbolise kings wielding the power of kingdoms, which are the embodiment of the spirit and character of the kings. Hence it is said to Nebuchadnezzar, "thou art that head of gold," and when "a man's heart" is given to the first beast (ch. vii. 4), this refers to the change in Nebuchadnezzar's character (ch. iv.). The two-horned ram (ch. viii. 3) is the Medo-Persian empire, represented by the two dynasties, or rather, probably, the two persons, Darius the Mede and Cyrus. Nowhere is there a personification of the abstract idea of a power or kingdom. The "beast" of the Apocalypse is often interpreted as a symbol of the abstraction called the "world power," or the Roman imperial "system," as Weiss puts it. Such abstractions are not symbolised in Scripture, and probably never occurred to a Scripture writer.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

## Das erste Buch der Bibel nach seiner inneren Einheit und Echtheit dargestellt.

Von O. Naumann: Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 8vo, pp. viii. 386.  
Price, M. 5.

IN its "inner unity," the first book of the Bible (Gen. i. 1—Ex. vii. 7), is a subtle polemic against the errors and vices of heathenism in general and the Egyptian religion in particular. The fundamental error of heathenism is its false conception of the relation between God and the universe. Hence the first step towards the founding of the true religion must be a lesson in cosmogony, such as we have in the first chapter of Genesis, where the Egyptian ideas

of generation, emanation, pantheism, &c., appear as the dark background against which the inspired writer consciously sets his sublime doctrine of creation. Here God is revealed under the name *Elohim*, the Creator and Lord of the visible universe. In chapters ii., iii. (based on another Egyptian "source" in which Babylonian elements are incorporated) He appears as *Jahve-Elohim*, the Preserver and Regenerator, who *re-creates* the earth, in accordance with the Egyptian belief in a periodic renewal of nature. Finally He is introduced as *Jahve*, the Governor, the Lord of the moral order of the world. The principal theme of the Book of Genesis is the unity which underlies these three different manifestations of God,—a unity of which the patriarchs were ignorant, but which the author (Moses) endeavours by all sorts of subtle indications to insinuate into the minds of his readers. Side by side with this main argument runs the exposition of the doctrine of the divine image in man, with its twofold endowment of *Zeugungskraft* and *Herrscherkraft*, the one connected with the word *צלם* and the other with the word *דמות*. In opposition to the heathen notions of necessary evil and inscrutable fate and dualism in the divine nature, it is shown by numerous examples how, under the government of the one righteous God, the destiny of men and nations depends on their use or abuse of these God-given powers. With the promise to Abraham of a numerous posterity and possession of the land of Canaan, the two aspects of the image of God seem to be merged in the ideal of the future kingdom of God to be realised in Israel; and in the last part of the book, the history of Joseph and the oppression, this divine State is contrasted with the world-power as embodied in the Tyrant-State of Egypt, of which it appears that Joseph himself was the founder. The clue to the authorship of the book whose unity is thus established, is found in the suitability of this peculiar kind of teaching to the circumstances of the Israelites on the eve of their departure from Egypt. "Diese Loslösung des erwählten Gottesvolkes aus den Fesseln des heidnischen Aberglaubens vollzieht dieselbe Führerhand welche . . . sein Volk aus der Knechtschaft der Ägypter zu befreien sich anschickt." We may add that while Moses is the real author, the function of "redactor" is, somewhat superfluously, assigned to Aaron.

Such is Naumann's view of the purpose, plan, and authorship of the first book of the Bible. It will be seen that the weight of his argument rests on the traces of Egyptian influence which he believes he has discovered there. These he has searched out and elaborated with amazing industry, but, as it seems to us, with too little tact and discrimination. For one thing, he does not distinguish between the esoteric pantheism of the Egyptian sacred writings and those primitive beliefs which are common to all ancient

peoples. We do not require the Egyptian "nif" to account for the double sense of נִיִּף, or the analogy of "ba" to explain how נֶפֶשׁ is used of the lower animals, exactly similar phenomena occurring all the world over. Again, it is only his prejudice in favour of Mosaic authorship that has led him to seek for Egyptological affinities and neglect the far closer formal parallel of the Babylonian Creation Tablets. Of the Babylonian religion, indeed, he does not profess to have made any special study; and we are utterly at a loss to know how he has come to regard it as dualistic, or to identify it with the religion of Zoroaster. But, after all, these are matters of subordinate importance in estimating the value of Naumann's work. It is a critical theory we have to do with, and it must be judged by its success in solving acknowledged critical difficulties. Let us see how it works when applied to one of the simplest problems presented by a critical study of Genesis; a problem, too, of which Naumann fully recognises the existence, and to the solution of which it may almost be said that his whole book is devoted. We mean, of course, the use of different names for God. We have already indicated the principle by which our author endeavours to reconcile this fact with the assumption of unity of authorship. The threefold revelation of the one God expresses the germ of truth contained in the divine Trias of the Egyptian theology, and corresponds also to its division of the universe into three spheres, each with its supreme deity. In order to lead the Hebrews from these conceptions to the true knowledge of God, Moses on the whole uses the name of God appropriate to the particular kind of revelation in hand. If, as frequently happens, he interchanges the names, and makes Elohim assume the rôle proper to Jahve, or *vice versa*, that is to exhibit the unity of essence that lies under the diversity of revelation. But even this latitude is not enough to make the theory plausible; each name of God has to undergo a variety of modifications before it can be made to suit all the connections in which it occurs. Thus, Elohim represents the Egyptian conception of God, and Jahve the Babylonian; and again, Jahve is the good, and Elohim the evil god, of the Semitico-Babylonian "dualism." Jahve is, besides, the god of light, the god of destiny, the supreme god of the Babylonian astral worship, and so on: Jahve-Elohim is equivalent to Haelohim, the "higher unity" of Jahve and Elohim, and this again to El-Shaddai, the Covenant-God of the patriarchs and the shepherd-god of the Semitic nomads. This last determination (were it not that all interpreters are agreed upon it!) would appear to have been suggested by the remarkable circumstance that the name El-Shaddai occurs just seven times in these chapters, while Jethro had seven daughters who were shepherdesses. With so many theological spectres abroad we may be prepared for

startling effects. When we find Jacob's simple vow at Bethel—"Jahve shall be my God"—turned into a declaration that henceforth he will worship Jahve under the name Elohim, we are at first disposed to regret that the familiar appellative sense of Elohim should have so completely escaped Naumann's memory. But then, what an insight we gain into the development of the patriarchal religion! It marks (this misinterpreted vow) the transition, "*von dem ursprünglichen semitischen Jahve-cultus zu dem namentlich in Ägypten gepflegten Elohim-cultus, der den ersteren in den Hintergrund treten liess.*" Whether this was a forward or a retrograde step we have not been able to make out; in any case we could wish that Jacob's wives had taken it. Leah and Rachel—the one a worshipper of Jahve and the other of Elohim—have their domestic rivalry inflamed by religious animosity, and the story furnishes an illustration of the evil of polytheism even more than of the evil of polygamy. Leah is at last convinced, from experience, of the identity of Jahve and Elohim, but "*der Rahel ist allem Anschein nach die bessere Gotteserkenntniss nicht gekommen!*" The result is that Joseph, the son of this Elohist mother, is the first of Jacob's children to go down to Elohist Egypt. Perhaps these things are an allegory. But, allegory or not, the question is whether any sensible man will prefer this explanation of the characteristic use of the divine names to that which Naumann so decisively rejects—the hypothesis of different written documents, exhibiting the stylistic peculiarities of their authors.

It must not be supposed, however, that Naumann assumes an entirely hostile attitude towards the critical movement of the last hundred years or more. On the contrary, he is careful to point out, from time to time, the "elements of truth" that he is able to recognise in three of the phases through which it has passed—the "Urkunden"-hypothesis of Astruc; the "Ergänzungs"-hypothesis of Tuch; and the "Bearbeitungs"-hypothesis (a strange misnomer, by the way) of Wellhausen. Unfortunately the elements of truth which he finds in these theories are elements which the authors of them would never have recognised. Here we must call attention to the peculiar sense in which he uses the word "sources" (*Quellen*). In Pentateuch criticism the word has a definite and well-understood meaning. It means the separate narratives that have been pieced together by the successive "redactors" of the Pentateuch in such a way that they can still be distinguished by their literary and other characteristics. Naumann, of course, has a right to employ terms in any sense he chooses, but he would have saved his readers much trouble and confusion if he had plainly stated at the outset that, to him, "source" means nothing more than "source of information," or of ideas. The Babylonian and Egyptian mythologies, oral



traditions, genealogies, local and national customs, etc., all these are "*Quellen*," while the "*Hauptquelle*" is divine revelation. The only *written* sources at the disposal of the author of Genesis would seem to have been the genealogical lists, which were mostly of heathen origin. But in those days a genealogical list was a very instructive document. Each name was symbolic of the character and destiny of the person who bore it, so that, by the aid of etymology, supplemented by oral tradition and a little imagination, it was possible to reconstruct the history, and clothe the dry catalogue of names in the flesh and blood of living human relations. After this fashion, we are to understand that Moses composed great part of the book of Genesis. Now this raises another important question, to which we can find no satisfactory answer. Are the Genesis narratives history, or are they fiction? We cannot help suspecting that on this matter Naumann tries to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. To us, at all events, it appears that unless his exposition deals with actual historical events it loses whatever plausibility it might have had. Yet, in one place, Wellhausen is taken to task for the innocent manner in which he has tried to prove a contradiction between two sources by reckoning up Ishmael's age at the time he was expelled from Abraham's tent. He should have known that it is the manner of tradition to transfer the history of the tribe to the person of its ancestor, and that a glaring discrepancy like this only shews the freedom with which the author of Genesis has manipulated the tradition which was his principal source for this part of the narrative. If this means anything, it surely means that the stories of the patriarchs are ethnographic legends, with perhaps a kernel of historic truth wrapped up in them. Further on we learn that the thirty-eighth chapter is pure allegory, that the story of Joseph and his brethren is the history of successive immigrations of Semitic tribes into Egypt, that Joseph himself is the first Hyksos king, who supplanted the native monarch, and took the government into his own hands. This seems sufficiently explicit; still we cannot get rid of our first impression that Naumann's whole theory falls with the historic character of the record. If, for instance, Jethro's seven daughters are representatives of the seven planets, what can we make of Moses himself, who married one of them? When we consider that it was from the father of these planetary representatives that Moses is supposed to have got most of his information outside the range of his Egyptian learning, we feel that here at least the historical and the mythical have got into uncomfortably close relations. We have heard of critics who believed that Genesis was partly historical and partly legendary, but never before of one who brought the matter to so fine a point as this.

We shall only add that in Hebrew grammar and etymology

Naumann is as daring and original as he is in exegesis. מִקֶּרֶם cannot mean "eastward," must mean "von Osten her"; שָׁרִי is a dual, possibly connected with the Egyptian-Asiatic divinity Seth, or the goddess Sati = Hathor; אֲדֹנָי (lord) is originally the Egyptian word for the sun's disc; חַמְסִים is a plural, and may be derived from the substantive חָמָם; חֲרָפִים seems to come from רָפָא, "heal"; הִתְחַת אֱלֹהִים אֲנִי means "Bin ich *nicht unter* Elohim?" In reality, however, grammar counts for very little in a work like this. If Naumann fails to win disciples, it will not be for his bad grammar, nor for his defective mastery of critical method, but chiefly because his results do not commend themselves to that common-sense of average mankind, which, where fairly informed, is doubtless, as Hatch has said, the ultimate solvent of all critical and speculative theories whatsoever.

J. SKINNER.

### Old Testament Theology ; or, The History of Hebrew Religion from the Year 800 B.C.

By Archibald Duff, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Old Testament Theology in the Yorkshire United Independent College, Bradford. From 800 B.C. to Josiah 640 B.C. London and Edinburgh : A. & C. Black. 8vo, pp. xvi. 343. Price 10s. 6d.

THE question is being freely asked, What will be the precise effect upon generally accepted views of Old Testament religion if the results of critical analysis, according to the now dominant theory, should be regarded as established? Especially what opinion is held upon that point by devout evangelical scholars who have accepted the prevailing theory? The views of Old Testament religion which Wellhausen holds he has expressed in uncompromising language, and made sufficiently plain to all; but what measure of modification in their views of Old Testament religion is thought necessary by evangelical teachers, men who hold fast by the main doctrines of Christianity, to whom "the Israelitish religion" is not, as it was to Kuenen, "one of the principal religions of the world, nothing less, but also nothing more"? That question Professor Duff essays to answer in a series of volumes, the first of which is before us. The work done in the field of Old Testament research thus far has been mainly analytic, it is time that constructive work should follow; and Dr Duff proposes to give "in constructive historical form the results of such research in the special field of Hebrew religion."

He begins with a series of introductory studies on the Pentateuch, giving reasons why investigation cannot begin with the books

which stand first in the Canon. The unquestioned records of Hebrew religious life begin with the earliest "writing prophets," who prophesied in the eighth century B.C. Accordingly, Dr Duff's work opens with them. The present volume covers the period from Amos to Josiah—i.e., from 800 to 640 B.C., and includes an examination into the books of Amos, Hosea, certain parts of Isaiah, and Micah. Dr Duff's method is to begin with an analysis of the book to be studied, then to consider the writer as a man, in his work and the scenes of his activity, then to deal with the "antecedents" of his doctrine, or his "religious opinions genetically considered," then to give a full outline of the prophet's teaching in itself, tracing out, if need be, any progress or development observable in that teaching. Each is then set in his place in relation to Hebrew religious history. In the course of exposition, Dr Duff introduces free translations, or paraphrases of passages from the various prophets, so as to give to an English reader a more vivid impression of the meaning than could be gained from the quotation of the words, either of the Authorised or the Revised Version. An outline analysis of what is described as "The Amos-Revelation" will give an idea of Professor Duff's mode of treating his subject. The revelation is described as coming "amid wrestlings," thoroughly human, but "in company with God;" it consisted in "breadth and keenness of conscience," the first writing prophet being essentially the prophet of conscience, rising in his standard above the tribal conscience, and demanding a larger righteousness, inasmuch as Jehovah of Hosts was "Over-Lord" in relation to all gods. Amos' views of man, of revelation, and of the nature of God are then described, illustrated by extracts from the prophet's writings, and the section closes by an account of the religious problems which Amos left unsolved. A similar treatment is pursued in the case of each of the prophets whose works are analysed, and the parts are connected together so as to present a picture, according to the author's view of it, of Hebrew religion during the eighth and half of the seventh century before Christ.

In estimating the value of the work, it is right to put in the forefront the fact that Professor Duff is an able and earnest Christian teacher. His material has been prepared largely in the progress of his work amongst the students for the Christian ministry, and he seldom loses sight of that fact. He apologises for "preaching too much," but no devout student of the Scriptures will regret the prominence that is given to the fact that it is a *religion* which is being studied, not a mere series of literary documents. The exposition is that of an eager, even enthusiastic teacher of religion, and every effort is made to quicken the words of the ancient record into full life, and show their bearing upon religious problems which are as

important in the nineteenth century A.D., as they were two thousand five hundred years ago.

The great burning questions of Old Testament criticism are not, properly speaking, debated in this volume. A decision upon them is taken for granted. It has been virtually arrived at before this constructive exposition begins. The only approach to argument on the subject is in the section on the Pentateuch. This appears to us to be either too long or too short. It only contains thirty pages, and, of course, cannot give even an outline of the reasons which have led Professor Duff to the views he holds, but his remarks—*e.g.*, on the *Torath-Mosheh* (pp. 24, 25), and the authorship of the book of Deuteronomy—deal in a far too summary fashion with topics which need to be elucidated, if not debated. But Dr Duff promises a fuller exposition of these points in a future volume. In dealing with the prophets Amos, Hosea, Micah, there are happily no differences of opinion to discuss, and, in treating of Isaiah, Professor Duff merely selects those chapters which he believes were written by the prophet, without arguing out his reasons for the course he takes. The author's views, however, appear very plainly from time to time. In speaking of Hosea's work, he says, "Because men need a sanctuary, therefore ere long a sanctuary law shall be exalted, and for a time obeyed. Sacrifices will not seem sacred unless they become separated from the family meal and the common places of resort. . . . The sympathetic prophecy of Hosea is not enough. Law must appear ; ritual must be used in the ages to come" (p. 149). This is a representative passage, illustrating the way in which Professor Duff's "constructive" method assumes, without debate, the positions of critical analysis. Such a method obviously has its advantages, but in this country, until the more advanced conclusions of that analysis have been fairly established, it is attended with drawbacks quite as obvious.

Leaving such debatable questions on one side, the chief thing to be said about this book is that it is instinct with life, and must be full of stimulus to all students of the Old Testament, especially to those younger students for whom it was, in the first instance, prepared. The colour and glow of Dr Duff's style sometimes interfere with the accuracy and precision of form which is expected in a professor's dissertations. But the author is determined at all costs to make the words he expounds full of a deep, living significance to his readers. He "de-polarises" many familiar religious expressions in order that none may miss their meaning. "Son of God" is translated "very Divine Being ;" *Logos*, "an idea of God's way ;" *Torah* is "a brief story and theory of Jehovah's relation to Israel's past history." A "Moses-Torah" is explained to mean "a theory of the deliverance and deliverer of Israel." Hosea is said to have

written such a Moses-Torah. These examples will show that to some of Dr Duff's explanations and paraphrases exception might well be taken ; but he does not debate such points, hastening on to give in earnest words his own view of their meaning.

Another characteristic of the exposition is the extent to which the author discerns progress, development, movement, everywhere. Not only does he trace out marked progress in the idea of God and of religion in passing from Amos to Hosea, and from Hosea to Isaiah, but in the compass of one short book of a minor prophet room is found for the "development" of the writer's thought. Dr Duff speaks in one place of "that flux of thought, that process of the soul's alchemy, that advance from one way of thinking to another, which singularly and most truly marks men who are in close fellowship with God ;" and, again, of "that constant self-contradiction, that very living flux and upward advance," which marks the conceptions of Amos. No doubt theology has often deserved the reproach of being too rigid and stereotyped, and even Biblical theology has not always been ready enough to mark the progress of which Prof. Duff speaks, but in reaction against one extreme he fails to guard against the other. In describing Leviticus, he says, "Never was there a more fascinating story of life, so intensely interesting is the evident progress of reflection, of wonder, of a very agony of striving after peace in the soul." Several passages we had marked illustrate this "movement," which is characteristic of religious, as of all life, very effectively. In others, we are bound to say, the author seriously over-strains his point, and there is another side of the truth—the continuity and stability of the religious teaching of the prophets—to which sufficient prominence is by no means given.

Dr Duff is an accomplished Hebrew scholar, and there are abundant signs of his ability in this respect throughout his work. We doubt, however, whether his etymologies are always so assured (even when the authority of Lagarde can be quoted) that he is warranted in building upon them the theological conclusions he seeks to establish. Space will not warrant our examining into the explanation given of Jehovah as the Life-causer, Jehovah Elohim as "Jehovah belonging to the Far-reaching ones," of טוב, "good," as meaning "pleasant," in a eudæmonistic sense, or of רַחֲמֵי, "forgiveness of sins," as the "eliminating of twistedness" out of Zion. The somewhat full discussion of the root Q-d-sh and its derivatives (p. 161), contains, along with much that is instructive and stimulating to students, who are only too apt to treat words mechanically, more than one questionable statement.

With the substance of Dr Duff's exposition it is impossible to feel anything but hearty sympathy. As he says, "The real study of the

Old Testament consists in learning how men then thought of God, and how, by God's providence, they moved on to know Him better." The greater part of this volume consists in an unfolding of such thought and knowledge of God, as presented by the early prophets, and Dr Duff's exposition is marked by great spiritual insight, deep feeling, and often eloquent utterance. We cannot profess to agree with the author in many of his statements, assumed, as we said above, without discussion; but resting, it is presumed, upon evidence which will, sooner or later, be forthcoming. Dr Duff, in dealing with Hosea's teaching, speaks of "the new faith in Jehovah the Over-Lord, God over all the Baalim" (p. 114). And, again, he says, "To Hosea, Jehovah is a national God—that is, He is co-ordinate to some extent with the Baals and other national or tribal deities." There is a whole theory of "religious development" wrapped up in these expressions, quite unwarranted, as it appears to us, by any language of the prophet, or any other evidence here adduced. Similarly we cannot follow Dr Duff in his exposition of what he calls the new "Zion-faith" in the early part of Isaiah's history, and the frequent mention of the prophets' "opinions" seems to point to a view of revelation with which many would by no means be prepared to sympathise.

But it is to be borne in mind that Professor Duff is traversing ground almost every inch of which bristles with controversial questions, latent, if not patent. In dealing with these topics, Christian teachers must for the present on both sides refrain from dogmatism, patiently reason out their differences, and try to learn from one another. Much may be learned from Dr Duff's work by all Old Testament students, whether or no they agree with his premises or his conclusions. Even more must all devout students be grateful for the deep religious earnestness displayed in this exposition of Old Testament theology, and acknowledge the stimulus imparted by the author's enthusiastic interest in his subject. This volume furnishes a valuable contribution from one special point of view to the rapidly accumulating literature on the subject of Hebrew religion, and probably does but prepare the way for more important contributions on the part of the author, containing more complete and fully wrought-out arguments yet to follow.

W. T. DAVISON.

**The Early Religion of Israel as set forth by Biblical Writers, and by Modern Critical Historians.**

*Being the Baird Lecture for 1889. By James Robertson, D.D., Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 524. Price 10s. 6d.*

THE last word has by no means yet been spoken on the question of the critical analysis of the Old Testament. The theory which has obtained the suffrages of so large a proportion of scholars in Germany, and some of the most eminent in this country, has many tests yet to pass before it can be considered a verified hypothesis. One of these is the simple test of time, which has proved fatal to theories even more plausible and widely accepted. The test of time means, however, of course, only the power of the theory in question to account for all the facts, and victoriously to meet the series of objections successively launched against it. In other words, the Kuenen-Wellhausen hypothesis concerning Old Testament history must prove itself to be not only a highly ingenious analysis of literary documents, but a workable and working explanation of Jewish religious history. If it fails in this, it fails in everything. All its complex and elaborate machinery of documents, "worked over" by successive writers and "redactors," will fail to save it from destruction, but will rather enhance the ignominy of its failure.

It is from this point of view that Professor Robertson approaches his subject. It is needless to say that the Professor of Oriental Languages at Glasgow University, who has lived for many years on the borders of Palestine, possesses all the scholarship requisite for his task, and none but an able scholar could have written this book. Yet it is not as a *savant* chiefly that Dr Robertson writes. He does not discuss linguistics, nor does he encumber his pages with an embarrassing wealth of quotations from the pages of other scholars. He desires "to approach the subject in such a manner that an intelligent reader of the English Bible may not be placed at a disadvantage, and to present the questions in dispute in such a shape that he will be able from the first to follow the argument." Professor Robertson, while not disparaging current criticism, pleads for "a criticism of a saner sort, such as we should employ in the ordinary intercourse of life or apply to a modern author," interpreting the words of a writer of Scripture "in a fair and common-sense fashion," and ready at times to confess its own ignorance. He thinks that criticism needs criticising, lest the prevailing theory should itself become "traditional," and be accepted by multitudes

on no better grounds than those on which the former view became traditional.

It needs some courage to take up such a position in face of an array of high authorities, and we at once proceed to give an outline of the arguments by which Professor Robertson supports it. The importance of Israel in the history of the world depends upon its religion. Of that religion, says Professor Robertson, there are at present two contending theories claiming attention, which may be called respectively the Biblical and the Modern theory,—the one set forth consistently by the Biblical writers, the other formulated by modern critics and historians of Israel. That there was a “development” of some kind in the religious history of Israel is certain. What was it? In order to answer this question, Dr Robertson does not begin by discussing the details of the current critical analysis, but starts with unquestioned documents of the eighth century B.C., the writings of the prophets Amos and Hosea. He does not under-estimate the importance of the discussion concerning documents,—to which indeed he devotes some chapters at the end of his book,—but he holds that the Biblical theory does not depend upon the authorship and mode of composition of the Hexateuch; and for the purposes of his main argument, the tedious business of “verifying the sources” may be dispensed with.

Issue is fairly joined, then, on the common ground of the writings of the ninth and eighth centuries B.C., within which fall the earliest writing prophets; and it is contended that both as literary and as religious products, the prophecies of Amos and Hosea imply a background with which the critical theory does not supply them. Professor Robertson concludes that this period is “neither the earliest literary age nor the time of commencement of the prophetic religion.” Can the traces of earlier literary and religious activity be found? It is not difficult to show the possibility—nay, the strong probability of written composition in Israel long before the ninth century, and the author, reasoning only from data accepted by the critical school, seeks to show that the earliest history writers were not at the stage of floating myth, but that the eighth century is a time of “broad, historic day,” when Israel had a definite account to give of itself and its early history. He complains that Stade and other critics, by their persistent mutilation of documents as containing “unhistorical” elements, remove all fixed standards of appeal; but taking the main tenor of the prophecies of Amos and Hosea, he claims to make it clear that a “long foreground” is required for Israel to make such a “start” as is therein implied, and that the critics, in their account of the pre-prophetic religion, nowhere explain the rise of prophetic religion, if the prophets were, as they assert, originators, not reformers.



The three points which Prof. Robertson insists must be proved before the critics have made good their position are these—*First*, it must be clearly shown that before the time of the writing prophets, the religious beliefs and observances of Israel were on the same level as those of their neighbours, and that this represented the *normal* and *authorised* religion. *Secondly*, it must be shown how it came to pass that Israel remained Israel, so markedly different from her neighbours. *Thirdly*, the process of development must be satisfactorily traced out by which Israel arrived at the “ethic monotheism” of the prophets. Six chapters, constituting the main body of the work, are devoted to maintaining the thesis that in these respects the critical hypothesis has failed to make out its case. We cannot follow the author into the details of his arguments; suffice it to say that, as regards the naming of the Deity, the views held as to the dwelling-place and the representations of the Deity, as well as the kind of sacrifices offered to Him, the arguments of Kuenen, Stade, Wellhausen, and others, are subjected to a severe criticism, which shakes, if it does not overthrow much of the fabric of their hypothesis. The “Jahaveh Religion” is then examined, and Prof. Robertson claims to have shown that Jehovah never was a “tribal God,” that no sufficient explanation is given of the rise of the special characteristics which, later on, distinguished Jehovah from Chemosh, Moloch, and the gods of the nations round about Israel: therefore that the higher qualities discernible in the writings of the earliest prophets were present in the religion from the first. Prof. Robertson’s analysis of the “ethic monotheism” of the prophets, as described by the critics, and his arguments that this could not have had the origin implied in the theory, are especially effective and cogent.

The question whether the positive institutions of Israel had not a much more fully defined shape and authoritative sanction in the eighth century than modern historians allow, occupies the next two chapters. Prof. Robertson argues that “a Norm or Law, outside of the prophets, and superior to them,” was acknowledged, and that there are strong reasons for ascribing to Moses a definite and authoritative system of law. In the case of the Passover particularly, the theory fails to account for the facts, and in the worship and ceremonial generally there was a reference, which the critical theory does not allow, to special events in the nation’s history which marked them out as Jehovah’s people.

Last of all comes a consideration of the Three Codes. Prof. Robertson’s arguments do not concern so much the literary history of the documents as the religious history which lies behind them. He contends that Wellhausen, and those who agree with him, give no satisfactory account of the introduction of the various Codes, or

of what happened in the intervals between. He dwells upon the weakness in the application of the argument from silence, and in the "praxis" and "programme" elements of Wellhausen's theory. Finally, he argues that the reversal of the order of law and prophets is not borne out by facts, that the character in which the prophets are made to appear by the critics is inconsistent, and that the religious history of Israel did by no means turn on a struggle of parties; that while the Biblical theory, justly stated, will stand the test of a sober and common-sense criticism, the modern critical theory is unnatural in its treatment of documents, does not explain the great crises and turning-points in the history of Jewish religion, and gives a view of its development, which could not for a moment be maintained, were it not for the underlying postulates concerning the supernatural which form the basis of the whole.

We have given a somewhat full outline of these lectures, and allowed Prof. Robertson to speak for himself—through a very inadequate medium of interpretation—because we think that the line of argument here adopted is the strongest which can be taken against the prevailing theory concerning the composition of the Pentateuch. This book raises deeper questions than the date and authorship of certain Old Testament books, important as these are in their place. Those who have defended the traditional view hitherto have too often allowed themselves to be lost in the discussion of the details of the "Codes," and the arguments for and against a particular system of analysis. Prof. W. H. Green of Princeton, who has distinguished himself as a resolute champion on this side, has not always made the most of his own case. Prof. Robertson, in this volume, places first the things that are first in order of importance, and he devotes the strength of his argument, not to the topic which claims logical priority, but to the most serious point at issue. He is entitled further to all the respect which belongs to one capable of appreciating the point of his adversary's case. The positions of Stade, Wellhausen, and other prominent Old Testament critics are stated with commendable fulness and fairness. Somewhat too much prominence is perhaps given to the extreme views of M. Maurice Vernes, who serves as a kind of "awful example" of what criticism may lead to, but no partisan advantage is taken of mere technicalities or slips in detail.

It must be clearly understood, however, that Prof. Robertson does not undertake to defend the "traditional" theory, as that is often understood. He admits, and often strongly states, its difficulties. That the legislation as recorded in the Pentateuch should contain the same laws, repeated with little or no alteration in the same collection; that discrepancies should be found in different places on the same subject, while laws relating to diverse subjects

are brought into strange juxtaposition, these are well nigh insuperable difficulties on the theory that Moses wrote substantially the books that have been called by his name. He admits that "the expedients that have been resorted to in order to remove these difficulties are very often artificial and hazardous" (p. 382). He contends that the Biblical theory of the early religion of Israel, in order to be rightly understood, must not be "burdened with the assumptions with which it has been often 'traditionally' encumbered" (p. 464). He does not discuss the authorship of the records that have come down to us, partly because he believes that the authorship often cannot be ascertained, but chiefly because the trustworthiness of the testimony is not made to depend chiefly upon author and date. The strength of Prof. Robertson's case—and it seems to us, in certain of its features, exceedingly strong—is that he gives so much freedom of literary analysis to the critics whose judgment he questions, and upon their own view of disputed books convicts them of propounding a view of the religion of Israel which does not account for the facts, or give even a plausible explanation of the history of a *religion*. Even as an account of the rise and growth of a *superstition*, the critical theory is defective, but as a study of genuine, deep, religious history, it fails most lamentably to give a coherent and credible account of its rise, progress, and significance. In pressing this argument, Prof. Robertson writes simply as a student of religions; he does not rely upon any arguments drawn from the New Testament, or any *a priori* assumptions concerning Divine Revelation. But he pleads that in these days it is understood that religion is not based upon fraud; that the habit of describing Mohammed as an impostor is obsolete among fair-minded men; and that the most favourable construction is usually put upon the work of religious leaders. But, in the case of Israel, a nation universally allowed to be of the first importance in the religious history of the world, "the greatest characters, instead of being spontaneous actors in a great life-drama, are merely posturing and acting a part upon a stage."

It is clear that these arguments apply only to one school of critical analysts. They do not hold as against the position occupied by Delitzsch in his later years, or by the more moderate representatives of criticism, especially in this country. But they contain a not unfair description of the critical theory in the hands of men like Wellhausen and Stade, who are the acknowledged leaders of critical opinion; and Prof. Robertson's plea in arrest of judgment will prove to be very timely if it enables students to discriminate between critics who unfortunately are too frequently classed together. The publication of this volume is one among many indications that educated religious opinion in this country will

probably refuse either entirely to reject the critical work done in Germany, or to accept it *en bloc*. The contribution made by Great Britain to the controversy may very well prove to be the sifting, or pruning, by practical good sense of theories which English scholarship is hardly laborious enough, and is certainly not ingenious or speculative enough, to have originated. But it by no means follows because the traditional belief of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, long mechanically held in the Christian Church, is given up, and some of the principles which regulate the critical analysis of it are accepted, that we are compelled to accept the views of Israelitish religious history which are identified with the names of a few prominent rationalistic critics.

We understand this to be the main plea of Professor Robertson's Baird Lectures, and in putting it forward just now he has rendered timely and valuable service. We have not in this brief notice attempted any detailed sifting of the author's arguments. The full discussion of a single point of detail would exhaust our space. All his positions are by no means of equal strength, and some of them appear to us to be very doubtful. But the book must be reckoned with as probably the strongest on the conservative side of the Pentateuch controversy that has appeared in this country. If Professor Robertson is not held to have made good all his contentions, he will at least have rendered important service in checking the tendency to accept a dominant theory in a mechanical, unintelligent fashion. The issues are too serious to be trifled with. The acceptance of *some* of the methods employed by Old Testament critics would leave little standing of the New. Professor Robertson has made a protest which will not be disregarded by those who think it to be timely and useful, and which cannot be safely disregarded by those who consider it to be reactionary and mistaken.

W. T. DAVISON.

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### Sermons Preached in Lincoln's Inn Chapel.

*By Frederick Denison Maurice. In six volumes. London: Macmillan & Co. Vols. I-IV. Cr. 8vo, pp. 306, 344, &c. Price 3s. 6d. each volume.*

Few men of the last generation carried with them through life so marked an individuality and so intense a spirit as Frederick Denison Maurice; few so whole-heartedly threw themselves into the best movements of their time; and few did more to mould the religious thought of the best minds. If one needs to be of the inner circle of followers before he can agree that "no such mind as Maurice's has

been given to the world since Plato's," it was an acute observer who had no personal knowledge of him who said, "I know many whom he has moulded like a second nature, and these, too, men eminent for intellectual powers, to whom the presence of a commanding spirit would, in all other cases, be a signal rather for rivalry than for reverential acknowledgment. The effect which he has produced on the minds of many at Cambridge . . . is far greater than I can dare to calculate, and will be felt both directly and indirectly in the age that is upon us." His intellectual qualities certainly had something to do with this influence, but it is mainly to be credited to his character, to his tenderness and unselfishness—which passed the tenderness and unselfishness of woman—to his humility, his ceaseless seriousness and intensity, and, perhaps, above all, to his absolute sincerity. It was, however, rather as a personality than as an author that he influenced his generation, and it is doubtful whether many of his writings will live. For the most part, a man must make his choice, and either pour his life into the general life of his time, or stand aside and look at men and things with the dispassionate eye of the artist or philosopher. Maurice chose the former rôle, and, consequently, although such books as his *Patriarchs and Lawgivers*, or his *Epistles of St John* ought to live, his literary work as a whole suffers.

It would, indeed, have been discreditable to the "British public" had there been no demand for a reprint of the Lincoln's Inn Sermons. They are in every sense remarkable and exceptional sermons. A first reading may not, indeed, captivate a novice. To one who is but making his acquaintance the sermons may seem nothing more than a series of surprises; a text—a mere conjuror's hat—out of which the preacher produces the most unexpected and incongruous articles. It will seem to such a reader that Maurice habitually gathered figs off thistles, or, at least, would never think of going to a fig-tree for figs, and that, under the guise of an absolute simplicity, there is being exercised a most bewildering ingenuity, which at times amounts to a kind of legerdemain. But if the reader has patience, and can allow this true man to impart his wisdom in his own fashion, he will shortly be rewarded by finding himself led into deeper meanings of Scripture than he had before perceived, and confronted with a power in its words previously unfelt. For everywhere Maurice takes it for granted that the words of Scripture had a real and comprehensible meaning to the people to whom they were spoken, but that the whole blessing or terror of them is as much for us as for them. The vagueness which at first seems to characterise the preacher's ideas is gradually seen to be merely the dust which is necessarily stirred in sweeping away misconceptions and traditional ideas, and there remains a solid substructure of essential

truth based on the very nature of things. For no reader can escape the conviction that all that is urged in these sermons is the very truth, and the most sane and incontrovertible reason. But, perhaps, above all, what forces itself on the reader is a feeling—almost a sense—of the supreme importance and reality of the Kingdom of God on earth, and the comparative unimportance of everything else except in so far as it is connected with this. Few sermons, indeed, are so much what sermons ought to be, so unlike what sermons commonly are.

MARCUS DODS.

### **A Hebrew Lexicon for the Old Testament.**

*By Prof. Carl Siegfried, D.D. of Jena, and Prof. Bernhard Stade, D.D. of Giessen. With two Appendices: I. Lexidion for the Aramaic parts of the Old Testament; and II. German-Hebrew Vocabulary. First Part, א to עֵבֶר. 8vo, pp. 480. Leipzig: Veit & Co., 1892. Price of whole work, 15 Marks. To be completed possibly by the approaching Easter.*

A LEXICON of this kind has been long wanted. Gesenius's Thesaurus, 2nd Edition, appeared in 1829-1853, with the Index in 1857. In the author's preface to the first volume, with its pathetic story of the death of his beloved son Edward, the suffering but courageous man records his hope to finish the whole work by 1837. He toiled on, however, until 1842, when he finished the first part of Volume III., and then died. Professor Roediger completed the great work. All our dictionaries of later date have been mainly repetitions of Gesenius's, excepting Fuerst's, which is rather wild in its ways. We are still using, therefore, what dates from 1829. Possibly publishers have hesitated at the cost of production. The attitude shown toward Old Testament studies by large classes may also have stood in the way. Students, however, have been quietly at work. A mass of monographs on words have been printed, chiefly indeed at the cost of the authors, as theses for graduation or otherwise. The works of De Lagarde, Orelli, Ryssel, Baudissin, Guthe; the commentaries of Ewald, Hitzig, Hupfeld, Riehm, Delitzsch, Graf, Dillmann, Davidson, Cheyne, Smend; the analytical and historical work of Bleek, Kuenen, Oehler, Wellhausen, Stade, Schultz, Duhm, Smith; and the grammatical treatises of Ewald, Olshausen, Stade, Kautzsch, all contain treasures rich and large that must be known by the master, but are hard to find for the scholar, and are all unknown to the public. These have lain awaiting the lexicographer. Hitherto we have had no lexicon adequate to the existing knowledge of Hebrew. But the task is now happily undertaken by Professors Siegfried and Stade;

and their work, nearly complete, is here in our hands. The demand for such a work is rising. Hebrew religion is becoming a very centre of interest; the Old Testament is proving to be a popular book. The new Lexicon is a tangible proof of this.

The method of Drs Siegfried and Stade is in some sense tentative. They record the various views of scholars, but generally withhold decision as to which view is preferable. Let us take in illustration their article on the famous word אֵל. They give first the old-fashioned theory of its derivation from a supposed stem אָל = *to be thick, stout*, which stem, however, they do not give at all as an existing Hebrew word; and in support of this theory they refer to Gesenius and Hitzig, who have passed away, and also to Nöldeke. Then they give the theory of derivation from אָלָה (or אֵלָה, whose meaning = *reached out*, they do not give); and in support of this, they name Ewald and Lagarde, also Dillmann and Nestle. Finally, they quote Stade's own opinion, from his Grammar, where אֵל is marked as "an isolated word of variable pronunciation." The article gives also many references to uses of the word in the texts, and closes with enumeration and translation of those remarkable passages containing the phrase יֵשׁ לְאֵל יְרִי. It would have been well to indicate the important critical discussions of this phrase. Thus the student will still need the judicial counsel of the teacher, and will often hesitate in his work. Let us hope for a speedy demand for a new edition, in which there may be even fuller references, and also independent verdicts, judicial but decided.

On the use of אֵל as a prepositional word there is clear indication of the meaning of the root ("he reached out"), and abundant reference is given to the discussions of Lagarde, who was never weary of publishing fresh light on this word.

Let us note a few more selected illustrations of the book's service to us.

On מִזָּה = *a measure*, new and needed light is given.

On מִזָּה (see Isa. lxx. 11, and Cheyne on this passage), the possible meaning, *a deity* (*Jupiter* ?), is omitted; although מִזָּה in the same passage is well discussed.

מִזָּה. In treatment of such words excellent use is made of recent historical work, and its discussions of the value of the names that occur in the book of Genesis.

מִזָּה is one of the most important words in the language; and the Lexicon comes up well to the task of recording summarily the rich studies of it made by Ewald, Hupfeld, Hitzig, Dillmann, and





the Lexicon virtually a Concordance. This adds eminently to its value.

But such suggestions are for the followers of Profs. Siegfried and Stade, rather than for themselves, to consider. When shall we Englishmen undertake a task like this, and construct from independent study a dictionary thoroughly adapted to all our English wants? Let us hope that interest in the Old Testament may extend amongst us. Meanwhile, we cry a hearty "Well done!" to these two scholars in another land who lead so well, and we wish their work a speedy introduction to our class-rooms and libraries.

ARCHIBALD DUFF.

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### Exposé de Théologie Systématique.

*Par A. Gretillat, Professeur de Théologie à la Faculté Indépendante de Neuchâtel. Tome Deuxième Propédeutique II. Apologetique, Canonique. Neuchâtel : Attinger Frères. 8vo, pp. xiv. 653. Price F. 10.*

THE volume on Apologetics, second in the plan of Professor Gretillat, has been the fourth in the order of publication. The first volume appeared in 1885, the third volume in 1888, the fourth in 1890, and the second bears on its title page the year 1892. He gives reasons for his departure from the natural order of publication, which may be held as satisfactory. Readers of this volume ought also to have in their possession the first volume, in which the Professor sets forth his view of the relation of theology to the other human sciences, and his view of the relations of the theological sciences to one another. It is well that they should have clearly before them, Professor Gretillat's conception of the place and function of Apologetics in the encyclopædia of theological sciences because of the importance of the discussion in itself, and because it has determined in a measure his treatment of the question. In truth, theologians are far from being agreed as to the place and function of Apologetics. What is its place in theological science? what its aim, its problem, its method? and what object is it to have in view? are important questions, to which various and contradictory answers have been given. Writing in the *Studien und Kritiken* in 1846 Kienlen says, "Since theological Encyclopædie has been successfully cultivated in the Protestant Churches, no theological discipline has had so strange a fate as Apologetics. A fugitive and a vagabond, it has been driven from one province of theology to another, and has nowhere found a fixed dwelling-place. In the latest time it has almost come to pass, that whosoever finds

it shall slay it." In the years that have passed since Kienlen wrote, some progress has been made in the several theological sciences, and in the conception of their relation to each other, and to the whole organism of theology, and yet there is no approach to agreement as to the place and function of Apologetics. Never was better work done in Apologetics than has been done within the past fifty years, but there are no signs of agreement as yet as to what place Apologetics is to have amongst the theological sciences.

It would lead us too far afield were we to describe and criticise M. Gretillat's encyclopædic scheme, and the place he assigns to Apologetics. To speak broadly, Apologetic is in his view part of the Introduction to Systematic Theology. "The time is come," he says, "to present the Biblical doctrine in the synthetic completeness of its elements,—that is to say, in the normal relation of each part to the whole, and of the whole to each part.

"In order, however, that that operation may be accomplished with success, it is necessary to determine, first of all, the relation of the Christian fact to other historical phenomena, and not only to assign to it its legitimate place in the series of these events, but to make good the title-deeds of Christianity in its claim to be a supernatural fact issuing from a divine and definite revelation; finally to set forth in their moral and dogmatic value the documents in which these revelations, finally recognised as such, are deposited. This is the task of the Introduction to Systematic Theology in its two principal sections, Apologetic and Canonics" (Vol. I., p. 245). Briefly, M. Gretillat's definition of the problem of Apologetics is, "the task of Apologetics is to establish by the ordinary means of historical criticism, that the facts which form the foundation of the Christian religion have really happened." This is, no doubt, an important task, which, were it well done, would be of unique value. At the same time, there is other work to be done which must lie within the scope of Apologetics. For example, we have the whole question of religion, which, in its nature, in its meaning, and in its history, as manifested among all races of men, has won for itself so vast a place in the literature of the present. M. Gretillat complains that the science of religion has been cultivated mainly in the interests of the study of evolution, but has the science of religion no part to play in the defence of Christianity? Granted that in the science of religion we "cause Christianity to enter into a series of terms in an indefinite process," and so far rank it with other religions; a comparative study of religions may yet have the effect of proving that Christianity has a unique position in relation to them. Why should we deprive ourselves of the opportunity of showing that the needs of the human race—the thirst of the intelligence for truth, the longing of the heart for life, the demand

of the conscience for guidance—as these are revealed in the history of all religions, have been met and satisfied in the religion of Christianity? Other topics are also not included in M. Gretillat's definition. Let us, however, look at what M. Gretillat has done.

He has given us a somewhat meagre historical sketch of the history of Apologetics, which in many instances becomes a mere catalogue of names. Then he comes to the theory of the Apology of Christianity, which he discusses in three sections. (1) The object, (2) the means of the Apology of Christianity, and (3) the competence of Apologetics. The object has been already stated. As soon, however, as we come to the discussion of the means of Apologetics ere we are aware we are in the midst of a controversy between the Protestant and the Roman Catholic Churches. And M. Gretillat proceeds to discuss the rival claims of authority and individuality. We, ourselves, are familiar with the claims of private judgment, but we should hesitate ere we brought this polemic question within the scope of Apologetic. For one thing it belongs to "Polemics" not to "Apologetics," and when we are discussing the question of whether Christianity has a right to exist, it does seem out of place to inquire as to what outward form its authority is to assume. The fundamental facts on which Christianity is based must first be proven; if they are disproved, the further question falls of itself. In truth, however, M. Gretillat seems to have been forced into this discussion by circumstances peculiar to his own Church and country. He has been constrained to look not on the kind of Apologetic which Christianity needs, but, in this instance at least, at the peculiar needs of French-speaking peoples. This particular discussion is one in which his polemic is directed mainly against M. l'Abbé de Broglie, between whom and M. Gretillat there seems to have been a prolonged controversy, and we are constrained to read a lengthened refutation of the Abbé's argument. We are constrained to read of Pascal and the Port Royalists, of Rousseau and the Savoyard Vicar, of the Vatican Council; and, on the other hand, M. Gretillat forces us to read too much about Secrétan, Schérer, and others. The reading is interesting, no doubt, in its place, but it is not Apologetics, and it is somewhat provincial.

We get into a wider region and into one of more general interest when we pass on to consider the general relation of religion to revelation, and have to deal with the nature and the successive degrees of revelation. With unmixed pleasure we have read his discussion on Natural religion and its verification, on final causes in Nature, and their relation to the supreme cause. His criticism of the various schemes of dualism, monism, materialism, dynamism, and pantheism is clear and incisive; and the discussion of polytheism, and of the rank to be assigned to polytheism in the series

of religions, shows a fine appreciation of the state of the question to-day, and reveals a thinker cautious, well-informed, and one who will not commit himself to the maintenance of untenable positions.

We find, however, that Mr Gretillat is most happy when he has to deal with historical facts and their verification. Is a supernatural fact possible? is the question he sets himself to answer, and in a series of paragraphs he shows the ontological possibility of supernatural facts, which really is a defence of miracle and its possibility in answer to Strauss, Renan, Littré, and others. He shows, also, that miracles are morally possible, that there is a moral congruity (*convenance*) in supernatural facts, that revelation is necessary for man even in his normal state, and *a fortiori* necessary in his fallen state. Then he seeks to set forth and to justify the modes of action of historical revelation in Nature, and in that course of history which we call sacred. In a masterly chapter he summarises next the evidence for the historical reality of the Christian facts. We have the testimonies of the Jews, of the pagans, of the primitive Christians, and we have a clear statement of the fact that the Primitive Church based its existence on the resurrection of Christ, and its faith in the resurrection of Christ was the very life of the early Church. From the resurrection of Christ thus attested, the author leads us back to the teaching, the miracles, the moral perfection of Jesus Christ, and we are thus enabled to see as a whole the historical argument for Christianity. These eighty-five pages are, in our view, the most valuable in the volume. We may not agree with the philosophy of M. Gretillat, nor with his science; we may think that he has introduced topics into the discussion which might have found a fitter place elsewhere, and has omitted topics which ought to have been discussed, but this summary of the historical argument, so masterly in its grouping, so cogent in its convincing power, will persuade most people that M. Gretillat has not laboured in vain.

After having set forth in the concluding section the Divine origin of the Christian fact, the fulfilment of the Old Testament in the Person and work of Christ, the present and future Sovereignty of Christ in the Kingdom of God, and the equality of Jesus with God Himself, M. Gretillat passes on to speak of Canonicity, and the normative character of the primitive documents of the Christian faith. But we cannot at present deal with this interesting part of his book. The topics discussed are the mode in which Divine Revelation is communicated to human intelligence, the element of inspiration, the limits of inspiration, relation of inspired thought to language, relation of the word to Scripture in the products of inspiration, relation of religious inspiration to esthetic inspiration, and to scientific activity, from which he passes on to consider

Canonicity, its notes, marks, and evidence. His treatment of the subject may, on the whole, be described as satisfactory, though there are some points to which exception may be taken.

JAMES IVERACH.

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### Unterricht im Christentum.

*Von Professor Lic. Theol. W. Bornemann. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 2 Aufl. 8vo, pp. xvi. 300. Price M. 4.*

PROFESSOR BORNEMANN claims that his work is distinguished from similar expositions by a new arrangement of materials, by a constant reference to real life, and to the realisation of Christian thought, by a regard to all the burning religious and moral questions of the present time, and in other ways which need not be enumerated. A perusal of his work leads to the conclusion that he needs no apology for its appearance. He has done real service to Evangelical theology by its publication. His new arrangement of materials, though at first somewhat startling, may be defended. He places the "doctrine of the last things" at the beginning, in connection with the exposition of the doctrine of the Kingdom of God. The doctrine of the Person of Christ is set forth before the doctrine of God is touched; and the doctrine of justification is treated by him in connection, not with the doctrine of the Person and Work of Christ, but with the doctrine of God. It may be said that, by placing these doctrines in these positions and relations, we obtain a new and fruitful view of them. What we have found most characteristic and most suggestive in the present work may be set forth in his own words—"This exposition proceeds on the principle that in everything which belongs to our salvation the historical Jesus Christ is our only authority, our foundation, and our stronghold. It does not therefore limit itself to a treatment of Jesus in a section 'on the Person and Work of Jesus Christ,' and to give incidentally here and there words of Jesus as proofs, signs, and decisions. Rather, in every section is the question conscientiously asked: How has Jesus in His words, in His silence, in His deeds, placed Himself in relation to it? What light falls from His whole Person on this or that problem?" This habit gives a freshness, power, and vividness to the exposition of Christian doctrine which are admirable. If we need to make any complaint, it would be that our author follows Ritschl too closely in those places where Ritschl is weak and unsatisfactory; as, for example, in his treatment of the proofs for the existence of God. Here both Ritschl and our author might have learnt something from Dorner.

JAMES IVERACH.

# **Die Apostelgeschichte ; Ihre Quellen und deren geschichtlicher Wert.**

*Von Friedrich Spitta. Halle: Buchh. d. Waisenhauses.  
8vo, pp. xi. 380. Price M. 8.*

THIS is a striking and important book on a problem now pressing urgently for solution. Like every attempt to dissect an ancient book into the various documents out of which it is supposed to have been pieced together, it is a work of great labour, and cannot be mastered without a good deal of patience. Though the book has been half a year before the public, the German scholars do not seem to have made up their minds, or at least to have pronounced their judgment on it. We cannot discuss it in detail,—for that, a larger book than Mr Spitta's own would be required,—but our readers will like to have a report on the contents of a book which, if we are not mistaken, is destined to be a good deal heard of.

That the writer of Acts made use of certain written sources for his work, is plain to every reader ; but what the sources were, and how much the writer himself knew, and what method he followed in drawing up his history, are questions which have been much debated. Those sections in which the first person plural is used (xvi. 10-17, xx. 4-15, xxi. 1-18, xxvii. 1, xxviii. 16) are manifestly from a journal kept by one of St Paul's travelling companions ; the apostolic decree (xv. 23-29), and the letter of Claudius Lysias to Felix, are presented to us as written documents to which the historian had access ; and many have thought that he must also have found the speeches, or at least some of them, preserved in writing. So far, things are pretty plain ; but the conviction is growing among scholars that it must be possible to go further than this in tracing the sources of Acts. The Gospel of Luke is undoubtedly based on written sources ; the prologue all but says so, and the student of the Gospel sees that it is so. If Acts is by the same writer, it was probably produced by the same method. So at least many students now believe ; and it seems likely that the study of Acts will, for some time to come, be concerned with the attempt to dissect the book into its various sources. Attempts of the kind are already multiplying. Dr Bernhard Weiss, in his "Introduction to the New Testament," makes an elaborate analysis of the book, and assumes one written source for the earlier and another for the latter part of it, while most of the difficulties found in the various narratives are traced to the awkwardness of the editor. Weiszäcker, in his "Apostolisches Zeitalter," makes a similar attempt for the latter part of the work. A new dissection of Acts by Feine is to be noticed in another number. And we be-

lieve that Dr Sanday, at the Church Congress last autumn, expressed the wish that some competent scholar in this country would take up the question of the sources of Acts. May we not hope that he will see his way to do so himself? If, as seems to be the case, criticism must inevitably take up this labour, it must be done in English for readers of English, as well as in German; and who so competent as he?

May we point out, before proceeding with Mr Spitta, how great the advantage would be if we could know, even very approximately, what witnesses to the facts of the early history of the Church we actually have before us in Acts? If some of them are earlier than others, and had better opportunities of knowing the facts, and if we could know that, it would add immensely to our confidence with regard to a matter which concerns the Christian world very nearly. If the book is taken as all of a piece, all equally from one writer, then the credence we can place in it is measured by that which we can place in the weakest part of it; but if there are parts in it which are weak, a dissection of the book into its elements might enable us to put these on one side, and to regard what remained with more confidence than we can now place in the book as a whole. The task of making this dissection is certainly one that requires great sobriety of judgment: but if it is necessary, as so many now declare, it is no doubt possible to do for Acts what has been done for Genesis, and we can, at all events, refuse doubtful and imperfect solutions of the problem till the right one makes its appearance.

Mr Friedrich Spitta, whose dissection of Acts is now before us, has already published a work of a similar nature on the Apocalypse; so that he has a practised hand. He expresses in the present work a desire to deal in the same way with the synoptic Gospels—he is not wanting in confidence. His book on Acts, however, he tells us, was planned and, for the most part written, fourteen years ago, so that it is not a hasty performance. There is no hesitation or uncertainty in his utterances. He expresses himself as one who has had the documents from which Acts was written before his eyes for a decade; he has become intimate with them; he has all their habits and tendencies, all that each says or omits to say thoroughly by heart, and can pronounce in a moment whether the view of an opponent is one that these authorities admit. To the reader, of course, to whom the grounds of this assurance are not so familiar, it is at first rather strange; but he learns as he reads on that Mr Spitta's work is never done carelessly, that he is most conscientious and thorough, and possesses great knowledge and good scholarship. With many of the positions taken up in this book we cannot agree, but we have always found Mr Spitta interesting and sugges-

tive, and believe his book to be one which the student of Acts will long require to have beside him.

And what, then, is his theory? The main position of it may be stated in few words. It differs from all previous theories on the subject in asserting that the writer of Acts had before him two written works, both of which went over the whole history from the settlement of the Church at Jerusalem to Paul's arrival at Rome. From these two works, Mr Spitta holds, the writer of Acts derived practically the whole of his materials, fitting the two accounts as well as he could into each other, and supplying very little beyond what was necessary to make them read as one narrative.

This is the result of the discussion: it is worked out gradually, one section of Acts after another being taken up. In the first chapter it is found that there are two accounts which, in many points, do not agree together, of the first residence of the Christians at Jerusalem. In one (i. 15-17, 20-26), the company of believers, consisting only of the disciples and relatives of Jesus, remains in the temple (this narrative is found to be continuous with that in Luke xxiv. 50-53); in the second (i. 4-14, 18, 19), there are one hundred and twenty of them, and they occupy an upper room. The writer thus gets on the trail of his two documents; and in each section of Acts he afterwards takes up, he succeeds in finding the same two documents again. The difficulties which criticism has found in each section are shown to be due in many cases to the fact that we have before us not one narrative only, but two, which do not perfectly agree; and on separating these two from each other, it is generally found that one of them presents a simple and clear narrative, and that what is not simple and clear admits at all events of some explanation in the connection of the source where it is found. Thus, in chap. ii., there is *firstly*, an account of the first outburst of glossolaly, or the gift of tongues, in the Church; and interwoven with this by the compiler is the miraculous promulgation of the word in different languages, a quite different story, formed on the model of the Rabbinical tradition of the giving of the law to the nations. The former of these is set down to the source A, which is continuous with the third gospel, the second to source B, which now appears to be more inclined than A to miraculous representation. In chaps. vi. vii., to mention this example also of Mr Spitta's method, there is *firstly*, an account of a popular tumult, leading to the murder of Stephen by the populace, and the speech of Stephen is a part of this; and, *secondly*, an account of a judicial trial of Stephen before the Sanhedrin. The former is due to A, the latter to B. In the chapters from here to chap. xiii., A's narrative consists of a few verses merely, noting the diffusion of the Word outside Palestine in consequence of the persecution which arose about Stephen (chap. viii. 4 is repeated and



carried forward in chap. xi. 19), and saying nothing about Paul ; while in B the account of the conversion of Paul (chap. ix.) follows the death of Stephen, and there are then a whole set of narratives about the extension of the Gospel to the Gentiles by the activity of several of the apostles (chaps. viii. x. xi). In this way Mr Spitta gets his two sources, which he prints entire at the end of his volume in an admirable translation of his own.

Arrived at chap. xiii., where Acts takes up the history of Paul, not to return again to Jerusalem except with him, Mr Spitta has to consider whether there is a change of documents at this point, but concludes, as we have already indicated, that there is not, that A and B both embraced the whole period covered by Acts. And here the reader's feelings undergo a change. Up to this point Mr Spitta's dissection of Acts into two documents has tended to the removal of the difficulties criticism has raised about these narratives. In A we have a clear and matter-of-fact record, in which the success of the Gospel is ascribed to the preaching of the apostles, while the wonders and signs are mostly traced to the later source B, which makes the miracles of the apostles and the fear which fell on all who heard of them, the reason of the progress which was made. After this, however, the difficulties of the narrative of Acts are of another kind, and Mr Spitta's method does not so easily dispel them. How to reconcile the history Paul gives us in his own Epistles with the history we read in Acts is a problem no one can ignore, and for which the most various solutions have been found. The solution proposed in this volume is different from all its predecessors. In his source A, Mr Spitta claims that he presents us with a narrative which at no point conflicts with the apostle's own statements ; it is in B that statements are found which it is hard to harmonise with Paul ; but this result is attained by means which many will regard as very questionable, and the difficulties raised may turn out as formidable as those which have been disposed of.

Mr Spitta's contribution to this controversy must be allowed to be a notable one. He considers that extravagant consequences have been drawn from certain passages in Paul, especially the first two chapters of Galatians, and believes that that Epistle does not represent the normal temperature and conduct of Paul, but represents an episode in his life and in his thinking which was of sudden rise and short duration. In fact, he does not believe in that division in the early Church of which we have heard so much since Baur ; Paul had never any conflict with the heads of the Church at Jerusalem, he thinks ; it is not just to take Galatians as the normal expression of his mind ; there was not much difference, certainly no hostility, between him and the authorities at Jerusalem. This is what source A tells us of the subject, and Paul's epistles do not conflict with

this, not even Galatians ii. when Mr Spitta is the interpreter of that famous passage.

As regards outward matters, such as journeys and meetings, the method before us appears signally fitted to help in disentangling the well-known problems. Galatians only tells of two journeys to Jerusalem before the date of that Epistle, but Acts tells of three, in chaps. ix. xi. and xv. But if two of these journeys in Acts are parallels to each other, if the journey in xv. belongs to B, the later and less trustworthy source, and A's account of the same matter is that in chap. xi., then Acts also has only two journeys. This is here put forward as the truth of the matter. And if it be said that the visit to Jerusalem in chap. xi. comes before Paul's first missionary journey, while that in chap. xv. comes after it, we are met with the assertion that the visit of chap. xv. stood in B after chap. xii., and represents an agreement Paul came to with the apostles of Jerusalem before he set out at all on his more extensive travels. But the account in chap. xv. tallies with Galatians ii. much better than Acts xi. 30. This latter, A's account of the visit, seems to make it a very ordinary and matter-of-fact event rather than an event on which the fate of Gentile Christendom was suspended, and at which the two branches of the Church were seriously at variance. To meet this difficulty, an interpretation of Galatians ii. 1-10 is given, which is meant to show that the interviews there spoken of were not of the exciting and critical nature that nearly all scholars have supposed. This piece of interpretation we may say frankly has shaken our confidence in Mr Spitta's judgment more than anything else in his book. He makes the passage say that Paul made this journey because of a revelation made perhaps to others, perhaps to him, in the church at Antioch; that it was to Judea he went, not only to Jerusalem, and that he communicated his method of teaching the Gentiles to the heads of the churches in the villages of Judea; that Titus was circumcised, not, however, under compulsion, but voluntarily; that Paul laid no weight on any authority which might be conferred on him by persons of position (*ἀπὸ τῶν δοκούντων* dependent on *εἶναι* τι, not *vice versa*), that the *δοκοῦντες* *στῦλοι* *εἶναι* of ver. 9 are not the same people as the *δοκοῦντες* of ver. 2. At any cost, the visit is to be made to appear not an anxious and momentous one, as to any ordinary reader it must appear to have been, but a very commonplace affair. And this in order that the passage in Acts xi. 30 may appear to relate to the same occasion.

With regard to the missionary procedure of Paul curious results are reached. It is found that the writer of the journal and the writer of the A source are the same person; and as the whole of the A source is thus traced to a companion of Paul, his narrative of the travels is placed above suspicion. Now, it is this writer, according

to Mr Spitta, who represents it as Paul's invariable custom on reaching a town to proceed to the synagogue and address the Jews and proselytes there. B, on the other hand, is found to represent Paul's practice differently. According to this source, he generally addressed himself first to the Gentiles; and where he is said by this source to have gone first to the Jews, as is done in several instances, it is in order to demonstrate by their unbelief the absolute necessity of turning to the Gentiles. Paul, in his Epistles, represents himself so decidedly as sent to the Gentiles, not to the Jews (*e.g.*, Rom. i. 14), that criticism has found it hard to think that he addressed himself habitually to the Jews before proceeding to address Gentiles; and should it be proved that the statements to that effect in Acts are by a companion of the Apostle, much that has been written, even by such scholars as Weiszäcker, will require to be revised. After this, we are prepared to find that Mr Spitta places in the source A, which he prefers, several of those statements in which Paul is reported to have complied with Jewish rites and practices.

The striking absence from Acts of all references to the troubles, known to us from the Epistles, in Galatia and Corinth, is explained by the assertion that the writer was not with Paul at the time when these troubles took place. It is certainly true that the narrative is full before this period and after it, but very scanty just at the period of the Epistles. We have not met in this book any attempt to account for the equally remarkable absence from Acts of specific Pauline doctrine. Mr Spitta believes that Paul and his doctrine occupy a larger space in the New Testament than their importance in the early Church would warrant; he also believes that the intense occupation with anti-Judaic doctrine, which marks the epistle to the Galatians, was episodic with Paul. That state of mind had passed away, it is here said, when Paul wrote to the Romans, and it was not an element of his thinking from the first, as Pfleiderer and others assert; he did not think Paulinism, in fact, if we may use such an expression, till the occasion arose for it. This appears to us to be a very weak part of Mr Spitta's construction. The Roman Epistle puts the argument against the way of salvation which the Jewish Christians favoured, as strongly if not so vehemently, as that to the Galatians, and it seems to us quite incredible that the system of thought which led him to reject that way of salvation could be an occasional or transitory growth in his mind. And how a travelling companion could keep a journal of Paul's proceedings, and write a narrative of them, without ever giving a hint of the thoughts which were characteristic of him, that is hard to understand; hard, too, to resign ourselves to the belief that such a reporter is to be taken as a fit witness on the subject, on any points beyond those of routes

and dates ; so that Paul's own writings should have to be construed as far as possible to harmonise with his report.

In the latter part of Acts source B becomes more scanty, yet his hand is recognised in the Ephesus stories of chap. xix., in the temple transactions, chap. xxi., the meeting of the Sanhedrin, chap. xxiii., and the meeting with the Jews at Rome in chap. xxviii. Altogether, Mr Spitta reckons in A forty sections, and in B forty-two, and finds twenty-four of each to be parallel to each other.

The questions on which the identification of sources throughout the work depends are of a nature and extent which precludes discussion of them in such a place as this. In many instances Mr Spitta appears successful in his detection of double narratives ; in many instances his result seems to us very doubtful. He confesses that no difference of vocabulary has been made out between his two sources, but intends to study this side of the question more fully. It is true, as he remarks, that if the circumstantial evidence identifying the two documents is satisfactory, the absence of difference in language cannot upset it, since the reviser may have assimilated his two sources to each other in this respect. In the meantime, till careful examination by those interested in the subject shall have tested Mr Spitta's results, they must be regarded with great caution. He has proved a very great deal according to his own estimate. He has provided not only a dissection of Acts complete from the beginning of the book to the end, but also a new theory of early Christianity, a new view of the life and work of the Apostle Paul, and interesting new lights on the growth of historical tradition about apostolic personages. Perhaps it will not all stand the test of time and of examination. But the book is one which cannot fail to help the study of Acts. It is an honest and earnest attempt, and will do something to hasten the time when the distressing doubts and difficulties which surround the subject will get themselves adjusted, and we shall know clearly, as far as the materials will suffer us to know, how the apostles lived and wrought.

ALLAN MENZIES.

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### **Church and State in Scotland : A Narrative of the Struggle for Independence from 1560 to 1843.**

*The Third Series of Chalmers' Lectures. By the Rev. Thomas Brown, D.D., F.R.S.E. Edinburgh : Macniven & Wallace. 8vo, pp. 244. Price 7s. 6d.*

DR THOMAS BROWN's name has hitherto been associated with the careful editing of those authentic memorials of 1843, which, collected into his *Annals of the Disruption*, form the best "memoirs to

subserve" the history of that great crisis. And now that he has passed the Moderator's chair of his Church, it was natural that it should lay upon him the more extended task here fulfilled. Dr Brown treats the question from a special point of view. The legal argument, and the Scriptural argument, for Scottish Church independence, he leaves as they have been stated by his predecessors, Sir Henry Moncrieff and Dr Wilson. Even the history, in so far as it merely proves that the Church always claimed to be independent, and occasionally made the claim good, he thinks it unnecessary to resume. But a question remains: What was the power and practical value of this independence in our history? Has it done anything in the development of Scotland? and, if so, what? The special object of these pages is to show that it has been a living force, influencing and moulding history in the past, and having therefore presumably important work in the future. Dr Brown carries out this in a lucid, measured, and weighty narrative, on which we have only one word of criticism. It accepts throughout the Scottish forms of thought, forms of theology, forms of law, and corresponding phraseology; and makes no attempt at comparison with the ideas of other countries across the Channel, or even across the Border. But then,—this falls in with the special purpose which he has set himself to work out. It is not the genesis, or even the value, of our Scottish ideas with which he deals. He has his own views upon these. But what he attempts and effects is to trace the dynamic results of these ideas upon the *subjecta materies*, the lump of nationality which, after so much hammering, still calls itself Scotland.

And in one point he goes beyond this programme, and sets forth—I think, for the first time, at least from the side of the Free Church—that the origination of its great movement was really in an important sense *ab extra*. It was even more so than Dr Brown has claimed, and the full investigation of the important view which he has initiated would bring the historian into the full stream and mid-channel of world history. For, in his view, the source of 1843 was the Voluntary controversy and the Reform movement of 1832. But the British Reform movement of 1832, with the Voluntary theory as part of it, was merely a belated wave of the great tide of European Revolution, which, first in 1789, then in 1830, and again in 1848, covered the topmost towers of Europe, and can never be said to have receded. When Dr Marshall of Kirkintilloch was opening the Voluntary controversy in Glasgow, Paris was listening to the protest of Liberalism against a Bourbon Charter which made Catholicism "the religion of the State." The words were struck out, and an assurance of equal protection to all *cultes* was substituted in the constitution. And from the position so attained,

France, amid all its changes and cataclysms, has never receded ; while more recent years have seen first Germany, and then Austro-Hungary, move up in this matter alongside of it. The seed of it all came, of course, across the Atlantic with Lafayette, and it was our own older thinkers who dropped that seed in the hard New England soil. But all this is trite and acknowledged history, though transacted on the great scale ; let us see Dr Brown's distinctly new contribution to his own country's chapter of it. The Voluntary controversy "whose history," our author says, "has never been written," was opened by a Synod sermon in April 1829. But this was only a preliminary step. "What really stirred it was the passing of the Reform Bill three years afterwards. Scotland had just been roused by a political agitation, which, at one time, came very near to becoming a Revolution. But the Reform Bill became law ; the middle classes were enfranchised ; among these Dissent was powerful, and the political ascendancy, identified with Moderatism, was overthrown. Old institutions were threatened all round ; the advocates of Voluntaryism naturally availed themselves of their opportunity ; the Edinburgh Voluntary Association was formed in September 1832, and similar societies arose all over the country. Five months afterwards—29th January 1833—a great meeting was held in Edinburgh, which I well remember, for I was present."

The way in which this movement outside the Establishment was the source of the subsequent movement inside it is deduced by our author partly from the current history, and partly from his own reminiscences. On one point the new Evangelical and the new Voluntary men were agreed—Dr Chalmers and Dr Wardlaw were alike. Church freedom was essential to Church life ; and while the former denied and the latter asserted that such freedom was possible in the relation to the State and Parliament which is expressed by the word "Establishment," both were united in holding that, in the event of its turning out to be after all impossible, there must be immediate separation. "This was the truth which the Voluntary controversy drove home on the minds of men." How far the Scottish judges were right in their decision on what all Establishment implies, and how far the men of 1843 were right in holding that this produced the very *casus* in anticipation of which they had pledged themselves to their Voluntary friends,—on points such as these we make no enquiry here. But the result was at last a memorable sacrifice to conscience. And Dr Brown, who has already done so much to reproduce its glow, may be congratulated on having shown in these lectures how, years if not generations before the flame was kindled, the fuel was piled upon the hearth.

A. TAYLOR INNES.

**Georgs des Araberbischofs Gedichte und Briefe.**

Aus dem Syrischen übersetzt und erläutert von V. Ryssel, Ord.  
Professor der Theologie in Zürich. 1891. Leipzig: S. Hirzel.  
Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xx. 240. Price  
M. 7.

In this valuable monograph, Professor Ryssel does not break fresh ground. In the year 1883 he published in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* a translation of the greater part of the most important specimen of George's epistolary remains, which was afterwards published separately under the title "A Letter of George, Bishop of the Arabs, to the Presbyter Jesus." The original Syriac had been published as far back as 1858 by the late Professor de Lagarde in his *Analecta Syriaca*. The attractive personality of the scholarly bishop, we are informed in the preface to the work before us, so captivated his translator that he resolved to make accessible to all whom it might concern the whole of the former's original work, to the exclusion, that is, of the otherwise important translations which George made of eminent Greek authors, notably of Aristotle.<sup>1</sup> We have accordingly in the first hundred and forty-five pages of this closely printed volume, each page of which contains the same amount of matter as a page of Dillmann's commentaries, a translation of the poems and letters of George, the latter distributed according to contents under the various heads of Church History, Exegesis, History of Doctrine, &c. The remainder of the volume, less than one-half of the whole, is mainly occupied with notes of the utmost value to all students of Syriac literature, in which obscurities are cleared up, difficulties explained, and information supplied regarding earlier writers quoted or referred to by the learned bishop. To the whole is prefixed a sketch of the life of the "Bishop of the Arabs"—more precisely of the Arab nomads on the borders of Mesopotamia—from which we learn that he was a native of the diocese of Antioch, was born *circa* 640 A.D., became a pupil of the Syrian Jerome, Jacob of Edessa, whose *Hexaëmeron* he completed on his master's death, was consecrated in 686, and finally died in the year 724 A.D. Full justice is done by Professor Ryssel to the ability and learning, the critical insight and methods, and the *bonhomie* of Jacob's most distinguished pupil, and the result is a picture of an interesting and lovable personality.

Beyond the letter to the Presbyter Jesus or Joshua, above referred to, none of the poems or writings now translated have as yet been published in the original. The translator, however, is able to make the welcome announcement in his preface that the Academia

<sup>1</sup> See article "Syriac Literature" in the *Encycl. Brit.* (9th edit.) p. 841a.

dei Lincei is about to publish the two longest of George's poems in its "Transactions," and Professor Lagarde had also signified his intention of bringing out a complete edition of the bishop's works.

As regards the contents and arrangements of Professor Ryssel's book, a brief indication must here suffice. We have first of all a translation of his two poems on "The Monks' Mode of Life," and (this in a longer and a shorter form) on "The Consecration of the Chrism." These poems may be of little artistic merit, but they are documents of great value for the history of monasticism, and of the sacraments of the Eastern Church. George's most important contribution to Church History, however, is his above-mentioned letter to the Presbyter Joshua, in the first three chapters of which (pp. 44-54) he answers the latter's inquiries regarding the mysterious "Persian Sage," now known as Aphraates, who also bore the name of Jacob. Prior to Lagarde's publication of this letter nothing was known of this "earliest Father of the Syrian Church" beyond three brief references by writers of whom the oldest dates from the tenth century (Bar-Bahlul).<sup>1</sup>

George was equally without reliable information regarding Aphraates, and in his reply to Joshua he sets himself to examine and appreciate the evidence of the documents themselves with all the patience and learning, and much of the critical ability, of a "higher critic" of the present day. Another chapter from the same letter, which the historian of the Eastern Church cannot afford to neglect, is the fifth (Ryssel, p. 54-58), on the life and teaching of Gregory, "the Apostle of the Armenians," generally known to us by his surname, Illuminator.

Of less importance are George's explanations of passages from Ephraem and other Fathers, while, on the other hand, the student of the Christological controversies that have been the bane of the Syrian Church, and of the other doctrinal developments of the period, will be rewarded by a study of George's letters. They are of special importance, to give but a single example, for the proper estimate of the influence of the Pseudo-Dionysius and his characteristic doctrines.

It only remains to congratulate Professor Ryssel on the manner in which he has executed his self-imposed task. His monograph is a model of German thoroughness and accuracy, as was to be expected

<sup>1</sup> See Wright's edition of the "Homilies of Aphraates" (1869). As this scholar refers for the citations from Barhebraeus and Ebed-Jesu to the costly and to many inaccessible *Bibliotheca Orientalis* of Assemani, I may perhaps give here a reference for the former to Abbeloos and Lamy's edition of his *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum* (Louvain, 1877) vol. iii. pp. 33, 34 (cf. vol. i. p. 85, 86), and for the latter, to the small Roman edition of 1653, p. 54, 55. For full title see Nestle's *Literatura* in my translation of his Syriac Grammar.



from one who, with some three or four others, stands in the first rank of the Syriac scholars of the Fatherland, to one of whose Universities we may hope soon to welcome his return.

ARCH. R. S. KENNEDY.

**Une Nouvelle Conception de la Rédemption : La Doctrine de la Justification et de la Reconciliation dans le Système Théologique de Ritschl.**

*Par Ernest Bertrand, D.D. Paris Librairie Fischbacher.*  
8vo, pp. 505. Price not stated.

**Der Evangelische Glaube und die Theologie A. Ritschl's.**

*Rectoratsrede v. W. Herrmann. Marburg, 1890.*  
8vo, pp. 31.

**Der Glaubensact des Christen, nach Begriff und Fundament.**

*Untersucht von Eduard König. Erlangen u. Leipsic, Deichert Nachf.*  
8vo, pp. vi. 173. Price M. 3.

RITSCHL's theological influence is no longer merely in the air. It has gone farther. Already its effect is perceived in the thoughts and words of not a few religious teachers in several Protestant lands and Churches, more or less aware of the source whence it proceeds. For all professed theologians the movement has a keen interest. This turns mainly on the fact that Ritschlianism presents a positive reconstruction of Protestant theology, instead of that mere disintegration of its established doctrines with which modern divergents from orthodoxy have hitherto wholly occupied themselves, when they touch on theology at all. The keener, therefore, because of this, its higher and worthier aim, has been the criticism to which the new theology has itself been subjected. The attacks upon it are already numberless, and from all sides of the ecclesiastical field. Within the German Church, divines of such mark as Frank from the side of the firmest Lutheranism, as Lipsius and Pfleiderer from that of the more recent Liberalism, have made it the subject of elaborate brochures. There is something to be gained, however, by viewing it with Dr Bertrand, from the more neutral standpoint of another Evangelical Church. We have here an examination of it conducted in the calm and lucid style of the best French Protestant school.

The introduction contains a condensed notice of Ritschl's own theological work, together with some allusion to that of his best-

known followers, such as W. Herrmann, H. Schultz, Kaftan, and Harnack. In the body of the book there is (1) an impersonal and impartial account of the leading Ritschlian positions; then (2) a fair and patient discussion of their merit. This critical part gives first a brief exposition of the philosophical and theological postulates of the system; then a discussion, partly exegetical and partly dogmatic, of the ideas of Justification and Reconciliation set forth in Ritschl's well-known masterpiece; and, finally, a reply to his attack on the evangelical doctrine of expiation. To give more detail would only be to anticipate what readers will find in the treatise itself.

The attractive characteristics of this new theology are already known to a wide circle of theological readers. To have what is professedly an entirely fresh believing system of Christian doctrine expounded with the force of intense conviction, and with the ethical glow which it takes from the lips of such a living teacher as W. Herrmann, is no common delight. Its prominent features in the hands of all its best representatives are—its peculiar (Neo-Kantian ?) epistemology, its rejection from the Christian doctrines themselves of all alien philosophy—the purely positive (*i.e.*, unspeculative) foundation on which it seeks to build them—*viz.*, the revelation of God embodied in the historical Jesus—its emphasis on the moral elements in the Christian religion—its promise to entrench the Christian within the certainties of his redeemed consciousness, so as to secure his belief undisturbed by all changes which advancing discovery in Science and Criticism may bring about. In common with most who have subjected the system to any searching examination, Dr Bertrand finds these professed advantages, in too many cases, illusory. He has entered with considerable detail into the refutation of the several doctrinal positions. Most evangelical thinkers will recognise as the most patent defects of a system professing to be Biblical and evangelical its treatment of the Divine character and of human sin; above all, its omission of the spiritual centre of the Reformers' doctrine of personal salvation—Union to Christ—and the undue prominence given, instead, to the fellowship of the Christian community.

After a candid, and on the whole just, analysis of his theology, the writer concludes with this brief estimate of Ritschl's true magnitude as a theological figure. "The theology itself is not so new nor so original as its disciples would have us think. Its theories of the Kingdom of God, of Reconciliation, of the Church had been developed and formulated long before by Menken, Schöberlein, and Schleiermacher. But what constitutes the originality of the Göttingen theologian is the comprehension and force with which he binds together his philosophical, exegetical, and dogmatic

conceptions into one vigorous and compact *fasciculus*. In an epoch like ours, which in the region of religious thought shows such an exhaustion of creative power, believers ought to hail with gratitude the name of a theologian who has won by his labours the respect and esteem of contemporary thinkers. Amid the superb disdain entertained by philosophers in our day towards Christianity, one is glad to meet a man of the courage of Ritschl, who proclaims so distinctly the high intellectual and moral authority of the Divine Word, and who bows down so entirely before the clear and solid teaching of our Lord and His apostles. This 'good confession' witnessed to Biblical revelation by a savant of such breadth and celebrity attests the eternal youth and unconquerable vitality of the Christian Religion."

GERMAN theologians of any aspiration invariably think themselves bound to prove their spiritual descent from Luther by bringing up, in some form, his Doctrine of Faith. Ritschlians claim this infallible mark *par excellence*. The topic of Faith bulks largely in all utterances, especially from the right wing of that movement. Herrmann's "*Gewissheit des Glaubens*," &c. (second edition, 1889), and his last year's Rectoral Address to his own University of Marburg, are among the most recent of these utterances—the latter characterised by more than all its author's characteristic eloquence. Herrmann's main positions are, that Christian faith rests upon no external evidence, upon no course of argument, not even upon the testimony of the Bible, but is itself created by its object, Jesus Christ, and is a direct Divine working upon the believing subject himself. It is, therefore, its own evidence, identical in certainty with one's own experience — is, in short, an element of the Christian's own existence.

IN König's compact brochure these main positions of the more evangelical Ritschlianism are carefully examined. This short treatise, indeed, professes to be a complete review of the whole question concerning Christian or Saving faith in its Idea and Ground, as that has been a living problem in the Evangelical Church ever since the Reformation. The review is so comprehensive and up to date as to range from the description of Faith in Melancthon's *Loci* down to Canon Scott Holland's paper on Faith in *Lux Mundi*. But it is evident that the utterances of Herrmann and other Ritschlians have been its main occasion. The two fallacies of the new view are well handled. The one is the confounding of the evidences with the Object of faith, and the other of faith itself with its results. The Supreme Object creates the faith, no doubt; but there is a denial of any reasonable process

or evidence through which the Object is revealed. The experience which results from faith is, no doubt, its best seal and confirmation ; but the act of believing and the resulting life are not the same. This doctrine of " Faith " is not so much mistaken as mystified, wrapt in a luminous haze which renders all definite outline imperceptible.

J. LAIDLAW.

### **Lehrbuch der Symbolik.**

*Von Dr G. F. Oehler, in 2ter Auflage von Th. Hermann. Stuttgart: Steinkopf. 8vo, pp. xii. 707. Price M. 11.*

SINCE its first publication sixteen years ago, this Compend of Comparative Creed-findings has held its ground in Germany as the best hand-book on the subject. Even the treatises of Philippi (1883), Kattenbusch (1890), and H. Schmidt (1890), which have appeared since, cannot be said to have superseded it. Indeed, the second author named unhesitatingly declares it to be still the best for its purpose. In form the book was posthumous, consisting of the lectures which its well-known author was wont to deliver in the course of his professorial work ; but these were evidently left in far more complete and compact shape than (*e.g.*) those other lectures of his on " Old Testament Theology," which have, nevertheless, been to us in their English dress (Clark, 1874-75) so welcome and suggestive. The first edition of the present work was prepared by Dr Oehler's pupil Johann Delitzsch, the too early taken son of the revered Leipzig Professor. The slight additions made by him to the original work mainly bear upon modern Romish controversy ; and more particularly consist of a brief estimate of the symbolic significance of the Vatican Council (1870), which had not come under the review of the Tübingen Professor himself, for Oehler's last semesters fell during its session. The present edition is brought well up to date. Its enhanced value arises mainly from the labour bestowed in verifying, improving, and extending the references which in such a work must be unusually numerous. To the conscientious worker this brings a sure, though a tardy reward, so little marked as it is to the eye upon a mere cursory perusal. The editorial additions are pretty numerous on minor points. Noticeable for its fresh interest is the use made of recent investigations, such as those of Caspari and Harnack, in reference to the date and character of The Apostles' Creed. This use is in the direction of carrying its authority nearer than some former critics have done to the first Christian age. Dissent is expressed, however, from the Romish view that the *Apostolicum* is independent of Scripture, derived

perhaps (as Grundtvig suggests) by oral tradition from words of the Risen Saviour to His disciples. "Tradition, no doubt," says the editor, "it is, and as such acknowledged even by the Evangelical Churches, but tradition not standing over against Scripture,—rather fully and entirely created by it."

With exception of the ample and able work of Dr Schaff we have nothing in English that furnishes students with material for the entire study of Symbolism. And even beside Dr Schaff's three volumes, there is room for a work like this, were it translated, where in the compass of one readable volume, could be seen at a glance the main facts pertaining to the formation of the Creeds and Confessions of Christendom; and, what is of more moment, a condensed view is given of the aid to the study of doctrine to be derived from their comparison and contrast. Winer's "Comparative View" is no longer adequate to the needs of our generation in this field.

The three prefaces to this hand-book, that of Johann Delitzsch, the note by his renowned father, and the introductory words of the present editor are specimens of the kindly human glow which good Teutonic writers can, on occasion, mingle with their most abstruse and unemotional researches.

JOHN LAIDLAW.

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### **Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte.**

*Von Dr Wilhelm Möller, Ord. Professor der Kirchengeschichte in Kiel.  
Zweiter Band. Das Mittelalter; Erste und Zweite Hälften.  
Freiburg i. B., J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh: Williams &  
Norgate. 8vo, pp. 560. Price M. 13.*

THIS second volume (in two "Hälften") of Möller's excellent "Lehrbuch" of the History of the Church embraces the too much neglected but profoundly interesting and important period of the Middle Ages. The author's plan leads him to draw the line between ancient and mediæval Christianity at Gregory the Great (590). The mediæval period then extends to the close of the fifteenth century, and includes four main divisions—I. From Gregory the Great till Charlemagne; II. From Charlemagne till the middle of the eleventh century; III. From the middle of the eleventh century till the death of Boniface VIII. in 1303 (the "flowering time" of the Papacy and of the mediæval Church system); and IV. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The history of the torpid and unproductive Greek Church in these several periods is easily disposed of, though sufficient space is given to leading events and movements (Mohammedanism, Monothelitism, Image controversies). The rich

and comprehensive development of the Western Church occupies the larger part of the volume. Here also it seemed at first as if Christianity was about to perish through the infection of the rude vigour of the Germanic kingdoms with the corruption of the old civilisation. In this connection, Möller pays a striking tribute to the part played by our own islands in the regeneration of religion on the Continent. "The mission from the British Islands," he says, "scatters anew the Christian seed, acts upon the Church of the Frankish kingdom, and lays the Christian foundations in Germany and Friesland. Gregory the Great's work, the mission among the Anglo-Saxons, creates a powerful factor of Christian culture. Hence proceeds Boniface, whose activity coincides with a new great elevation of the Frankish kingdom under the Pepinides, and has for its result that inner penetration also of German political life with the institutions of the Romish Church on which the further development of the Christian West rests" (p. 2). The sketch of the ancient British and Scoto-Irish Churches themselves is brief but adequate, putting all the main points clearly before the reader (pp. 40-45). The body of the work is a marvel of condensed learning. The author has an enormous mass of material to deal with, but keeps it well in hand, and pursues a clear and easily followed path. In orderly, consecutive, readily apprehensible statement, we have no hesitation in saying that his book is a great improvement on the manual of Kurtz—the work with which it most invites comparison. All along the route it bristles with points of interest. Just prominence is given to the mediæval missions, the rise of the monastic orders, the development of church institutions (diocesan episcopacy, parishes, rise of national churches, &c.). On these last points comparison should be made with Dr Hatch's chapters on the same subjects. Attention should be given to the admirable statement of the mediæval Papal theory on pp. 285-291. The limited space at the author's command does not prevent a tolerably full and able statement of the system of that great mediæval thinker—John Scotus Erigena (pp. 187-189). The notices of the schoolmen and mystics are also apt and to the point so far as they go. Finally, the movements of Wickliffe and Huss, and the work of the so-called reforming councils, are carefully and adequately sketched. Thorough knowledge, clear method, lucid statement, a power of seizing and distinctly exhibiting the main points in a period or movement—these are the qualities in this book which are likely to put it in the front rank among our text-books of Church History. It would be well if it could soon be produced in an English dress. We regret to observe the intimation of the gifted author's decease on January 8th, 1892.

JAMES ORR.

## **Das Verhältniss des Thomas von Aquino zum Judenthum und zur jüdischen Litteratur.**

*Von Dr J. Guttman, Landrabbiner zu Hildesheim. Göttingen:  
Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.  
8vo, pp. 92. Price M. 2.40.*

DR GUTTMANN'S monograph is an interesting study in the theology of the Middle Ages. The main object of the writer is to show how largely the Angelic Doctor—the greatest scholastic theologian—availed himself of the philosophical and theological works of Jewish scholars. Protestants have always been ready to acknowledge the indebtedness of the Reformers of the sixteenth century to the Jewish grammarians and exegetes of the Middle Ages. Dr Guttman shows that, in the domain of dogmatics, the greatest pre-Reformation theologian was not slow to draw from Jewish sources.

The author divides his subject into three parts :—

I. Thomas Aquinas and Judaism.

II. The relation of Thomas Aquinas to the philosophy of Gabirol.

III. The relation of Thomas Aquinas to the religio-philosophic system of Maimonides.

The most interesting part of the discussion is that which deals with the relation of Aquinas to Maimonides. The latter was an ardent disciple of Aristotle. Early in the thirteenth century the philosophy of Aristotle became popular among the Christian schoolmen. And the problem before Maimonides and Thomas was practically the same—to harmonise Aristotle and the Bible. In the *Moreh Nebhuchim*, Maimonides devoted to the accomplishment of that task all the resources of the most profound thinker and ablest dialectician of the Middle Ages. His work became a storehouse for the Christian scholastics of the thirteenth century ; and Dr Guttman's little volume shows the free use of the *Moreh* on the part of Aquinas, and the close agreement on many important questions between the Christian Doctor and the Jewish Rabbi. Of course, like other doctors, these great men differed—as in respect to the divine attributes, the divine knowledge, and other matters. It could scarcely have been otherwise, considering the point of view of the Christian theologian as compared to that of the Jewish Rabbi. But when the Rabbi's conclusions are not accepted, his opinions are referred to with the utmost respect.

At the basis of the philosophy and theology of both Aquinas and Maimonides lay the doctrine of Revelation ; and on this subject these great men followed Saadiah—the first learned Jew who made any serious attempt on a large scale to harmonise the rising

philosophy of the Arabian schools with the teaching of Scripture. In any such attempt a foremost place was required for human reason. And Saadiah, loyally accepting, as he did, the divine revelation given through prophets and others, and clinging to the position of the Talmudists, felt called on to show, on the one side, that there was no contradiction or disagreement between revelation and reason, and, on the other, that revelation was not superfluous, that it stood in a very important practical relation to reason, and, in the interest of reason itself, could not be dispensed with. His view was very much this: that revelation was the full, perfect expression of reason. The one was in complete harmony with the other. The truth taught in revelation, and the truth attained by reason were one and the same. Why, then, a revelation at all? was the question. For a purpose worthy of God, and of the highest importance to man, replied Saadiah. The aim of revelation was to help man to a speedy attainment of results, for which otherwise long periods of broken research would have been required. The revelation not merely communicated truth, but it imparted such an impulse to the human mind, in its search for truth, as carried it easily over what might otherwise have impeded its progress for ages.

Perhaps the most interesting question raised by Dr Guttman is that concerning prophecy. The learned doctor bestows unstinted praise on Maimonides' treatment of this subject. The Jewish Rabbi appears to have held that every person is endowed with the gift of prophecy. The faculty must be properly cultivated, but the prophetic message is within the reach of the natural powers. It is required, indeed, that the mind be carefully trained, that the physical constitution, the moral character, and especially the imagination, be as perfect as possible. The man in whom these conditions are realised requires, further, the divine call, in order to the active exercise of the prophetic gift. The question at once arises, Why should the divine call be necessary in order to the use of a natural endowment, while no natural impediment blocked the way? There is no answer, unless it be this, that Maimonides was, in his heart, as loyal to the faith of his fathers as to the philosophy of Aristotle, and that the task he set himself was beyond even his remarkable powers. It occurs to us to ask why, if every man is endowed with the faculty of prophecy, there have been comparatively so few prophets? On Maimonides' ground the answer will be that Carlyle was not a prophet in the proper sense, because of his bilious constitution; nor Byron, because of his loose views on morals; nor Bunyan, because of his want of education. As for Socrates, Plato, Buddha, Confucius, and such like—well, if no moral or physical flaw can be proved, all that can be said is that God indirectly prevented them from prophesying, in the strict



sense, by not calling them to the exercise of the prophetic function.

Maimonides' view of prophecy is broad enough to cover the most rationalistic theories of modern times. The great Christian scholastic does not agree with him on some important points. Dr Guttmann does not dwell on the differences. But he has rendered a valuable service in showing the influence exercised in the Christian Church by the founder of rationalism in modern times—the great Rabbi of whom it was said—"From Moses to Moses there was none like Moses."

Did Aquinas, while freely availing himself of the labours of Jewish scholars, share the prejudices of his time against the Jewish race? It would be fair to urge that an active part in those persecutions of the Jews, which were the disgrace of the age to which Aquinas belonged, would be specially unbecoming and blameworthy on the part of one who owed so much to the leaders of Jewish thought. But, on the other side, it would be unreasonable to expect that Aquinas should be altogether beyond his age on the general question of the treatment of the Jews. In point of fact, while Thomas, in his teaching, accepted, and when called upon, defended the regulations from time to time issued by the Church with regard to the treatment of the Jews, personally he appears to have been entirely free from that hatred of the Jews which was a prominent feature of the history of his day.

The general principle seems to have been that the Jews were the slaves of the Church, and that the Church was entitled to dispose of her property as she deemed best—a principle wide enough to serve the selfish purposes of many of those who took the lead in the persecution of the Jews. A multitude of questions arose in connection with these unfortunate children of Israel. Usury, of course, was a frequent subject of discussion. This is how Aquinas deals with it. Usury is forbidden to the faithful. Interest is not to be offered for a loan of money, because the man who offers interest, for the sake of a selfish advantage, provides an opportunity for the usurer, and shares his sin. This might seem to settle the point; but the practice of borrowing and lending money was far too general to be got rid of by a piece of dialectic. Some justification of the state of things which prevailed was required, and the casuistry of the Middle Ages was equal to the occasion. Thus, no man may lead his neighbour to sin. But a man may use the sin of his neighbour for a good end, as God uses the sin of man. No man may lead a neighbour to the practice of usury; but if a man finds a neighbour practising usury, he may take a loan for a good end. Ergo: Q.E.D.; the end justifies the means.

On many of the questions raised in connection with the Jews,

Aquinas was not in advance of his contemporaries. But Dr Guttman gives him full credit for a sympathy with the Jews, and a breadth of view in dealing with them, rarely met with at the time. Especially important for the Jews was Aquinas' position that no Jewish minor was to be baptised, and that no compulsion should be used with the view of converting Jews to the Christian faith. It is a pity that Aquinas could not have been transferred from his chair in Paris to the camp of his contemporaries, the Teutonic Knights, who, while the Angelic doctor was preaching toleration in behalf of the Jews, were compelling the Prussians to accept Christianity at the point of the sword.

GEO. G. CAMERON.

ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑ εἰς τὴν ΚΑΙΝΗΝ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΝ ὑπὸ Ν. Μ.  
ΔΑΜΑΛΑ. τόμος Β'. Ἐν Ἀθήναις.

*Large 8vo, pp. 1048. Price 15s.*

A PATHETIC interest attaches to this work. It bears the date 1892 on the title-page, and the year had little more than begun when Professor Damalas died suddenly in the train while returning from his morning bath at Phalerum. It adds to the pathos to know, from the preface, that after the publication of the first volume of his Commentary, which was of the nature of an Introduction to the New Testament, he had to wait sixteen years for the means to publish the second, now in our hands. Just when, through the generous help of Mr John Stephen Sculitsee (Ἰωάννης Στέφανος Σκυλίτσης) of Chios, and others, including the brothers Ralli, he had been enabled to issue the second volume, containing the first half of the Synoptic Gospels, and to cherish the hope of proceeding uninterruptedly with the Commentary as far as the Book of Revelation, the learned author has been cut off, and his great work, the only attempt at a Commentary in modern Greek on an extensive scale, will, it is to be feared, remain a *torso*. This is deeply to be regretted for the sake both of sacred learning and of religion. For the sake of religion, because the issue of a Commentary so learned and sober and practical from the bosom of the Greek Church, even though by a Greek Churchman so pronounced as Professor Damalas, is not only of itself a hopeful sign, but is also calculated to awaken Christian interest, where it is but little to be found at present,—among the more cultured classes of Athens and Greece. For the sake of sacred learning the loss of Professor Damalas is much to be regretted. As Professor of Hermeneutics in the University of Athens, and a man of extensive scholarship and reading, he was singularly

well-fitted to bring to bear upon the New Testament and the elucidation of its Hellenistic Greek the lexical and grammatical usages and other distinctive features of modern Greek. He uses in this Commentary the literary idiom exclusively, and, as far as the mere matter of Greek is concerned, while we read his Commentary, we might think we were reading Cramer's *Catena*.

This volume of the Commentary deals with the first half of the Synoptic Gospels, taking up the parallel passages, and following the order of a Gospel harmony. The first section contains the narrative of the birth and childhood, with the genealogy of Jesus Christ as contained in Luke i.-iii., and Matthew i., ii.; the second section comprises the narrative of the preaching of the forerunner, and of "the fore-anointing of our God and Saviour for His preaching" (τῆς εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα προαλείψεως τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν); and the third, the narrative of the Saviour's preaching and His miracles in Galilee and the parts around, which carries us to the Walking on the Sea, and the close of the present volume. This last section has no fewer than twenty-eight subdivisions, containing the parallel passages with a verse by verse exposition. The Commentary is a work highly creditable to the author, whose scholarship is both extensive and accurate, whose fairness and candour, so far as we have been able to judge, are unimpeachable, and whose tone is reverent and practical throughout.

He is well versed in Textual Criticism, and seems, for the most part, though not always, to follow the best MSS. authorities. In the Lord's Prayer, for example, he declines to accept ἀφήκαμεν, and prefers ἀφίεμεν, more, it would appear, on subjective grounds. But he omits the doxology, regarding it as a liturgical addition. "It strengthens this supposition," he says, "that in the public saying of the Lord's Prayer (κατὰ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν), the people say it always as far as 'but deliver us from evil,' showing thereby that the prayer stops at this point; but the priest adds the doxology, the meaning of which is, that we ask all these things from God because His is the Kingdom, &c. It was very likely introduced at the end of the prayer at the close of the Apostolic period, according to the custom of the Apostles, who added a doxology after every prayer (Rom. xi. 36; xvi. 27; Gal. i. 5; 1 Pet. iv. 11; and other passages); and the doxology was the one customary among the Jews (1 Chronicles xxix. 11), added by the priest after the Lord's prayer as its appropriate completion."

In the Lord's Prayer, also, his comment upon the much-disputed ἐπιούσιον is of interest. His view of the radical import of the word appears to be original. After quoting Origen to the effect that the word occurs in no Greek author, nor yet in common parlance, but seems to have been coined by the Evangelists for the

occasion, he remarks that "the word has been devised to express in Greek an idea which the Saviour conceived (*διετύπωσεν*) in Hebrew. This Hebrew expression was, we suppose, *לֶחֶם חַיִּים* or *לֶחֶם חַיָּה* (from *חַיָּה* or *חַיָּה* = to be [subsist], or to live); and this expression, 'Our bread which is necessary for our existence or our life,' the Evangelists translated by *ἐπιούσιος*, a compound of *ἐπὶ* and *οὐσία*—that is, *ἐπὶ οὐσία* (*λαμβάνομενος*); like *ἐπιζήμιος*—that is, *ἐπὶ ξημία* (*γιγνόμενος*); *ἐπιμίσθιος*—that is, *ἐπὶ μισθῷ* (*ἐργαζόμενος*); and so on. It means, therefore, the bread taken *διὰ τὴν ὑπαρξιν, διὰ τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν*, the bread indispensable to existence and life." Damalas, however, does not adopt this view without discussing with learning and acuteness the legion of explanations which have been offered—such as the *supersubstantialem* of Jerome, the *to-morrow's bread* suggested by Ambrose, and adopted by Meyer and other moderns, &c. In the Lord's Prayer, too, it is worthy of notice, he follows the early Greek commentators Origen, Chrysostom, and Theophylact, and like our Revisers, gives *τοῦ πονηροῦ* a personal reference.

It is only natural that we should find a doctrinal colouring derived from the author's connection with the Eastern Church. It is no more, however, than we should expect of a convinced and devout layman, as Damalas was. He vindicates the perpetual virginity of Mary in an exhaustive discussion of *πρωτότοκος*, but he has many Protestant commentators with him in this, including, if we mistake not, Bishop Lightfoot. It is interesting to meet with *ἡ Θεοτόκος, ὁ Θεάνθρωπος*, and other expressions which recall the doctrinal controversies of the early days of the Eastern Church. All the same, the Commentary shows abundant references to the Hebrew Scriptures as well as to the Septuagint, quoted as *οἱ Ο΄*; and a copious use of Augustine and other Fathers of the Western Church, of Luther and Calvin, of De Wette, Meyer, and other modern commentators. No English scholar is named, as far as we have observed.

It is sad that this Commentary, the great undertaking of his life, should now be his memorial; but, fragment as it is, it is, in point of conception and execution, so far as it goes, not unworthy to represent, towards the close of the nineteenth century, the noble array of Greek commentators of the early centuries, whose lineal escendant he is.

THOMAS NICOL

## Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur.

Leipzig : J. C. Hinrichs.

- Band VII. Heft 2. Ueber das gnostische Buch Pistis-Sophia.* <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Brod und Wasser ; die eucharistischen Elemente bei Justin. 2 Untersuchungen von Adolf Harnack. Pp. iv. 144. Price M. 4.50.
- Band IV. Heft 2. Athenagoræ libellus pro Christianis, Oratio de resurrectione cadaverum. Recensuit Eduardus Schwartz. Pp. xxxii. 143. Price M. 3.60.*

THIS valuable series of critical studies, begun in 1882 under the editorship of Gebhardt and Harnack, now needs no introduction to students of Early Church History. The first of those here noticed is the complement of Köstlin's discussion of the system underlying the *Pistis-Sophia* ("Theologische Jahrbücher," 1854), seeing that this deals only with its historical aspects—i.e., its position as regards (1) the New Testament and the gospel history, (2) the Old Testament and citations therefrom, (3) Biblical Exegesis, (4) ordinary Christian and "Catholic" elements. These, together with certain distinctive contributions, pave the way to the final question of the age and circle from which the book sprang.

Under the first of these heads, spite of peculiar features, such as accounts of Christ's childhood (where His union with the Spirit is somewhat grotesquely described on the basis of Psalm lxxxv. 11, 12), and of His intercourse with the disciples in the twelfth year after the Resurrection—due probably to the use of a secondary source—Harnack concludes that our four gospels, in a form at least nearer our present text than is Justin, held in our author's eyes a unique position of dignity. And this position is shared by the Pauline Epistles.

As to the Old Testament, his attitude is not other than that of the Church at large ; only he recognises grades among its different parts, the Psalms being his favourite type. But here emerges a noteworthy fact. He cites on a level with the Davidic Psalter not only the (Jewish) "Psalms of Solomon," but also five (Gnostic) Psalms or Odes otherwise unknown, framed on the model of our Psalter in a spirit but slightly coloured by Gnosis, and evidently regarded by our author as both Solomonian and "canonical." Harnack assigns them to c. 100-150 A.D., and to a non-Valentinian source ; recognising in them another instance of the tendency, seen in Barnabas, to christianise the Old Testament (see his *Dogmengeschichte*, I. 100 f.). As might be surmised, the Biblical exegesis of the *Pistis-Sophia* is arbitrary in the extreme, being based on the idea

that the Scripture text is ἐν παραβολῇ, and needs Gnosis to render it ἐν παρηγορίᾳ. In this, however, it was not peculiar. All through the second century the Church had lost the key to its Bible, and was vainly fumbling with the lock. "Irenæus and Origen were the first to effect a change, and that incompletely." But it is upon its noteworthy anticipations of "Catholicism" that Harnack lays most stress. Here, as generally, Gnosis is the pioneer of the Church; and its mistakes are essentially those of the pioneer as he breaks fresh ground. Here, moreover, we get Gnosis telling its own story directly, and not through the medium of its critics. The resultant impressions are given as follows:—"Its whole Christianity consists in expiations (penitential prayers) and sacraments (mysteries): both derive their certainty and power from the person Jesus Christ." Again, "it must be apostolic; its doctrines must rest upon authentic apostolic sayings—upon words of the Lord through the apostles." Thus the Pistis-Sophia is a sort of "Teaching of the Lord through the Apostles." But the contents show that, in its eagerness to confront new problems with real apostolic tradition, Gnosis, as also the ἐκκλησιαστικὴ παράδοσις, fell victim to a large element of pious "legal fiction," when it naïvely assumed that what was found in *current* tradition was the unchanged "faith once for all delivered." This Harnack illustrates at length from the twin spheres of metaphysics and of "mystery" sentiments as to the sacraments. A "physical" notion of the grace in the latter seems implied, at least at times (pp. 61 f. 91 f.); but emphasis is laid on the fact that they avail even for *sinner*s. And this is in keeping with the impression produced—for example, by the dialogues between Christ and Mary Magdalene (the chief of His disciples, not excepting the otherwise favoured John), namely, that the religious interest is at the bottom of all its speculations. Among points of a unique order may be noted the signs of a scholastic sort of *glossolalia* (p. 89), also "the institution of a kind of penitential sacrament" (μυστήριον ἀληθείας βαπτίσματος), typical of a strong tendency in the third century.

Proceeding to discuss its origin, date, and place, Harnack first distinguishes pp. 1-357 as the book of "Queries of Mary and the Disciples as to penitence and forgiveness, together with the Lord's replies," from 357-390, a separate work on "the institution of the penitence-sacrament," emanating, however, from the same circle. Then starting with its general character as the Christianity of "expiative sacraments, penitence, and *askesis*," he fixes the *terminus ad quem* as 302 A.D. (i.e., a time of possible though not actual legal persecution), and the *term. a quo* as 140 A.D. (i.e., earliest date for the four Gospels and Pauline Epistles as Holy Scripture). And finally narrows the period down to 250-300, preferably c. 260-275,

when the Novatian crisis had emphasised the problems of penance and reconciliation. By a further train of reasoning as to the type of syncretistic gnosis characteristic of the book, he skilfully uses Epiphanius to show that it originated among the Archontikoi, a branch of the Sethites in Lower Egypt. The monograph closes with the remark that the *Pistis-Sophia* thus adds a chapter to the history of the genesis of sacramentarian Catholicism.

The main positions of the singularly suggestive study entitled "Bread and Water, the Eucharistic Elements in Justin," may be given in few words. Starting with a summary of those who, like certain Ebionites and Encratites, abjured wine as an element in the Lord's Supper, our author first discusses the objection that an ascetic tendency is sufficient to explain such a fact, pointing in particular to the cases of the Catholic Pionius and the Cæcilius with whom Cyprian remonstrates (Ep. 63), as types of non-ascetic African and Asiatic "Aquarii." This done, he feels that he has a *primâ facie* case for raising the question, even as regards a writer like Justin. And first of all one must remark that Harnack, while engaged with Gebhardt on the preparation of a critical text of Justin, was driven to suspect the presence not only of accidental but also of "tendency" interpolations (*cf.* οἶνον instead of ὄνον *bis*). Before, then, examining the *locus classicus*, Apol. I., 65-67, he tests Justin's usage in several pertinent cases; and concludes that even where quotations suggest the idea of wine—where later fathers discerned such an analogy—he almost studiously avoids the association. When, therefore, the words ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος occur in I. 65, the last two seem to be a gloss, which not only overlaps with ὕδατος, but is absent from cod. Ottob., which here is extant. Then the Mithras analogy cited in c. 66 renders οἶνον in c. 65 *fin* superfluous. So that in the last case, c. 67, the middle noun in the words ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ, becomes in the absence of contextual support already more than half suspect. Harnack is thus able to claim that Tatian is only true to his master's usage when he rejects wine as an essential element in the Eucharist. The "ascetic" theory now being insufficient, Harnack sets forth the ancient data supporting (1) "wine" or "water and wine;" (2) "cup" or "drink" (πόμα); (3) "water;" (4) "breaking of bread" alone, not to mention other edibles sometimes used—*e.g.*, cheese among the Montanists, &c., salt (Clem. Hom. 14, 1; *cf.* Ep. Clem. ad Jac. ix. ἡ κοινὴ τῶν ἀλῶν μετὰληψις), and even oil (Acta Thomæ p. 68). The gist of it all is to throw the emphasis not upon the special elements used, but upon the *act* of using them in common, with gratitude as in God's presence. "A very simple meal is bread and wine; but the simplest is bread and water. Many poor have only bread and

water. . . . The most constant factor is the bread. The content of the 'cup' may vary—being indeed of the nature of accompaniment. The elements of the Lord's Supper, therefore, are the Bread and the Cup (not necessarily of wine)." Harnack traces this spirit in 'Paul (1. Cor. x. 3, 4; though xi. 21 implies use of wine at the Corinthian Agapé; Rom. xiv. 21), John (ἄρτος with nothing, but πόσις as correlate, cf. πίνειν ὕδωρ ζῶν, vii. 37, 38), Ignatius, the *Didachē*, as well as Justin, whose τροφή ξηρά τε καὶ ὕγρὰ (*Dial.* 117) gives classic expression to the free, non-legal view of primitive Christianity as to the Lord's "institution" (cf. Acts ii. 46 κλῶντες κατ' οἶκον ἄρτον, where both what is said and what is omitted is significant). A theory as to the stages in the usage follows. Then comes the moral—viz., critical Patristic texts, and the rooting of "the Lord's meal" in the everyday life of His people—the very presence of "Christ in common things."

The desire for critical texts of the Greek Apologists is already in process of fulfilment. Schwartz of Rostock, who is herein co-operating with von Gebhardt, published in 1888 a scholarly edition of Tatian's "Oratio ad Græcos," and the related Fragments and Testimonies, together with a most exhaustive *Index græcus*—not the least valuable feature. And now he follows it up with Athenagoras in similar fashion. He has Theophilus in hand; while Gebhardt and Harnack are doing the same for Justin's Apology and Dialogue.

Athenagoras is to us little more than a name, as far as external evidence is concerned. Methodius, in the third century, mentions him; but henceforth, with the exception of a confused reference,<sup>1</sup> derived from Philip Sidetes (c. 420), he seems to have sunk into neglect amid the more precisely dogmatic requirements of later ages. This lot he shared in large measure with all the Greek apologists. Witness the fact that our knowledge of most of them depends ultimately on a single MS. But his Platonism is so marked as to make him specially liable to such a fate. Accordingly, we owe it to one man, Arethas, Archbishop of Cæsarea, that we possess the fine "Libellus pro Christianis" at all, not to mention the "Oratio de Resurrectione Cadaverum." The MS. which he caused *Baanem notarium* to prepare in 914 A.D., and which he

<sup>1</sup> Spite of the obvious blunders in Philip's biographical details as to Athenagoras, as they reach us through an anonymous writer, may they not contain some grains of truth? Thus he confusedly connects Athenagoras with Clement of Alexandria. Can it be that he was "the Ionian" to whom, as his early teacher "in Greece," Clement makes reference (Eus. v. 11, 4)? This at least would fit in well enough with those "Montanist" traits in him imagined by Tillemont—i.e., the tendency to regard the prophetic state as one of ecstasy (c. 9.), and to discourage second marriage (c. 33).



corrected with his own hand, is the sole basis for our text, spite of some incidental help as to details derived from three MSS. dependent thereon—viz., cod. Mutinensis (s. xi.), cod. Parisinus 174 (s. xi.), and cod. Parisinus 450 (A.D. 1364), to which may be added cod. Argentorensis 9, a copy of cod. Mutinensis. The three secondary witnesses have many conjectural emendations of their archetype, being therefore of the nature of recensions. To repress the excessive self-complacency of some modern editors by reminding them that there were men of critical sagacity even before their own day, as well as for general reference, Schwartz prints a complete table of their "corrections" (pp. xi.-xxix.). It is out of place here to attempt any direct estimate of the value of the text as restored by Schwartz. But for those who know how to appraise names, it may be as well to remark that, as with Theophilus, so in this case, the editor has had the help not only of Gebhardt, but also of a classical scholar like Wilamowitz-Moellendorf—"quem et alterum editorem dicere debeo." It only remains to call attention again to the extreme value, as sources of reference, of such laborious indices as Schwartz compiles. It is to such that we must look to supply the absence of any adequate lexicon of early ecclesiastical Greek. VERNON BARTLET.

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## The Analogy of Existences and Christianity.

*By Charles J. Wallace, M.A. London Hodder & Stoughton.*  
8vo, pp. xii. 310. Price 6s.

THE title of Mr Wallace's book is obscure; the contents are worthy of the title. The author's design is to unfold the subtle harmony that exists between "the truths which science opens out to us as *real* facts," and "the wondrous spiritual and *real* truths which Christianity would teach us,"—an excellent aim! I have no doubt that the author has really been in the "secret chamber" of which he speaks, where "the mysteries of spiritual truth become more brightly revealed to the seeker after God;" but the gift of utterance has been denied him. Indeed, he himself confesses to having been "untrained in literature and un conversant with the technicalities of systematic writing," whatever they may be, when he first "launched forth into a sea of words." Had he chewed the cud for some years before publishing, he would either not have published at all, or done so to better purpose.

Here are the headings of the chapters into which the work is divided, in the order in which they occur:—Godhead, Supremacy, Food, Law, Dead, Kind, Rest; Life, Material, Breath, Water, Fire; Formation, Sex, Seed, Food, Fruits, Transformation, Para-

dise. And here again, are the opening sentences:—"The first chief characteristic with regard to existences, be they animate or inanimate, is a certain individual identity which possesses each. Each separate existence is as a unity or world in itself. No matter what may be the combination of things, or effect of circumstances, this universal personality, with regard to existences, is to be observed as a natural fact or standard truth, carried everywhere. Each one of us realises in himself, as a fact of supreme importance, that he lives, as it were, alone.

In a sense, then, each one of us is an existence of life now, as 'a god.'" *Ex pede Herculem.* D. W. SIMON.

### Ueber das *Mysterium Magnum* des Daseins.

Von. J. Frohschammer. Leipzig: Brockhaus. 8vo, pp. xii. 183.  
Price M. 4.

WITH this work, the author, who is Professor of Philosophy in the University of Munich, brings to a close a long, and in some respects eventful theological and philosophical career. Such at least, is his personal expectation, for in a private letter to the reviewer he writes:—"This is probably the last book I shall be able to write;" and adds, "It contains a brief account of the scanty result of long, toilsome, and much assailed enquiries in the domain of the philosophy of religion. I have done what I could not help doing. Let others do better. I dare not reckon on general agreement with the conclusions I have reached;—that is out of the question. I have never shrunk from asserting the right for myself to follow where scientific investigation led, and to express the convictions that forced themselves on me; the same right I cheerfully concede to others." A certain tone of sadness, not to say of bitterness, colours the words quoted: nor can any one wonder who knows what their writer has had to endure. From its beginning till now, his life has been poisoned by the Church in which he was baptized. She has been to him in very deed a *Raben-mutter*, as the German has it; and but for the exceptional toughness of his spiritual fibre, he must early have been reduced to the condition of moral and intellectual limpness which is generally the result of a purely Romish training and influence. As it is, one who has grown up in the free atmosphere of an Evangelical Church constantly comes in his writings on pre-suppositions and suppositions, implications and positions, which tell of the ignorance and perversions which dominated his youthful development.

Those among us who think that the Papacy is improving, should

study Frohschammer's life. He calls it a *Historia Calamitatum* : in any case it shows that practically Rome's motto is the significant words used by Ricci, General of the Order of Jesuits in 1761, to the king of France, when the introduction of reforms which might avert its dissolution was urged on him—" *Sint ut sunt, aut non sint.*" To entertain any other view is to live in a fool's paradise.

Frohschammer began his career as a Parish Priest ; then, after overcoming all sorts of hindrances, he became Professor of Theology and University preacher at Munich ; finally, he was appointed Professor of Philosophy—thus attaining, as he says, the goal of his ambition. He owed this latter position to a work on "The Origin of Human Souls," published in 1854 : this same work brought him, about 1856, into a conflict with the Papacy, which ended only with his formal excommunication in 1871. His case indirectly contributed far more to the Old Catholic movement than has yet been recognised. Frohschammer bore not a little of the brunt of that battle for freedom of thought within the Romish Church, the *κῶδος* of which was reaped by Döllinger and his friends.

He has published a good many works, marked by precision of thought and unusual clearness of style—one of the best was "Der alte und der neue Glaube," directed against Strauss ; but his *opus magnum*, on which for twenty years or more he has concentrated his chief thought, is "Die Phantasie als Grundprincip des Weltprocesses," the first volume of which appeared in 1877. The distinctive feature of this System of Philosophy or philosophical view of the world—for such it is—is, that the processes of nature with their varied products, including humanity itself and the historical development through which humanity has passed, are all traced back to one fundamental principle, termed Phantasy or World-Phantasy. As human art, in all its branches, where it deserves the name, is the product of the creative action of the imagination or phantasy, working in the individual genius, so are the innumerable productions of nature from its lowest to its highest forms, from the simplest combinations of matter to self-conscious man, works of art, so to speak, of a power which is immanent in nature just as the imagination is immanent in man ; which power it seems fitting to designate by the same term as we apply to the corresponding or analogous power in man, namely phantasy. The term has evoked surprise in some quarters, foolish criticism in others ; but, after all, if there be recognised at all in the system of things called the world an immanent formative principle, whether regarded as the mode of the divine activity—as it may be—or not, what designation can be found for it of greater approximative accuracy than that of *World-Phantasy* or *Imagination* ? In point of fact, the author, in selecting this word, did but recur, as he himself maintains, to the original meaning

of the root from which the Greek *φαντασία* is derived, namely, *φαντάζεσθαι*, *φαίνεσθαι*, and *φῶς*. Phantasy or imagination, from signifying phenomena of mind which are due, not to impressions from without, but to action within the mind itself, came naturally to denote the activity itself, or the potentiality of which it was the expression. Why not transfer it in this sense to that wonderful power in nature which generates the phenomena and forms that ceaselessly arise and as ceaselessly pass away? But as my intention is simply to convey an idea of the author's meaning, not to defend or criticise his views, I will hasten on. I may just add, however, that he left untouched the question of the origin of the world, and of its immanent principle; conceiving himself to be as little concerned with that metaphysical problem as Kant and Laplace were with the origin of matter and its laws, when they put forth their mechanical theory of the heavens. Whether a *philosophical* system should not aim at more, is a question about which there may be differences of opinion: all depends on one's view of philosophy.

In 1889 Professor Frohschammer published a portly volume on "The Philosophy of Thomas Aquinas." He undertook the work as much for practical as for scientific ends; for he is of opinion that the influence which is being increasingly exercised by the Thomistic philosophy over the Romish priesthood, and through them over the unthinking laity,—especially since 1879, when the present Pope constituted it the semi-official and alone authorised system of the entire Roman Catholic Church,—is a real danger to freedom and all that depends thereon. To this work I would, in passing, direct attention.

In the light of what has been narrated, it cannot but be of interest to learn what Professor Frohschammer has now to say regarding the "Mysterium Magnum of Existence"—the problem of the origin of the world, of God, of religion. The volume thus entitled consists of an introduction and four chapters, headed, "The religious solution of the problem of Existence and its scientific untenableness: Philosophical attempts to solve it; Knowledge of the Absolute and Absolute Knowledge; The Divine Personality; Theodicy." The first heading tells its own tale. The second, after reviewing the efforts of philosophers, from Thales to Schopenhauer, pronounces the judgment that no very satisfactory conclusion has been reached, as far as the problem is concerned, though other important benefits have accrued to humanity from philosophy. As to the third point he says, logically it is unwarrantable to affirm the existence of a conscious absolute intelligence and self-determining will. The last section is devoted, not, as might be expected, to a justification of God as regards the

character of the world He has made and rules, but to the enquiry whether, in presence of the world as it actually is, man is justified in assuming the existence of God as the absolute Ideal of reason ; to which the reply is, *at best doubtful*.

A sad issue of so much strenuous, self-denying, intellectual labour ! one cannot but exclaim. Though convinced of the sincerity of Professor Frohschammer's purpose to find the truth, I cannot help feeling that but for the twisting influence of his ecclesiastical associations, he would have arrived at a more satisfactory, because a truer, result. He is another melancholy illustration of the effect which a demand, by whomsoever made, for the "sacrificium intellectus" must necessarily have on men who are resolved to be true to themselves and to the truth.

D. W. SIMON.

## **International Journal of Ethics.**

*Devoted to the Advancement of Ethical Knowledge and Practice.  
Issued Quarterly. No. 5, January 1892. London: T. Fisher  
Unwin.*

II. The publishers have failed to send me this number in time. I can do little more than give the *contents*, marking as particularly important Nos. 2 and 5. By the *three religions*, Mr Mackenzie means Agnosticism, Humanitarianism, and Christianity. The design of his very thoughtful paper is to show that the permanent power of Christianity lies in the fact that it has succeeded in embracing two elements—the knowableness and the unknowableness of God—which Agnosticism and Humanitarianism agree in regarding as irreconcilable opposites. Among the books reviewed are Sidgwick's *Elements of Politics*, Webb's *The Eight Hours' Day and the London Programme*, Jones's *Browning as a Philosophical and Religious Teacher*.

### *Contents.*

1. The Ethical Aspects of the Papal Encyclical. Brother Azarias.
2. The Three Religions. J. S. Mackenzie, M.A.
3. The Ethics of Hegel. Rev. J. Macbride Sterrett.
4. A Palm of Peace from German Soil. Fanny Hertz.
5. Authority in the Sphere of Conduct and Intellect. Professor H. Nettleship, Oxford.
6. Discussions. The Theory of Punishment. The Labour Church in Manchester.
7. Reviews.

LEWIS A. MUIRHEAD.

**Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie, 1892.***Erstes Heft und zweites Heft.*

Two uninteresting numbers. In the first, Hilgenfeld has a long article on "Priscillian and his Newly-discovered Works," in review of a study by Dr F. Paret entitled "Priscillian, a Reformer of the Fourth Century." Paret seeks by examination of the recently-discovered works of the Spaniard to set his career in a new light, in particular representing him as a reformer before his time, and stigmatising his execution in 385 as a "judicial murder." The ordinary view has been that Priscillian was a heretic of Manichæan tendencies, and to this opinion Hilgenfeld feels compelled (in spite of Dr Paret) to adhere. Paret's representation of his subject is first criticised in detail—that the reputation for heresy was due to Priscillian's indifference to dogma and church constitution, his use of the Apocrypha as Scripture, and his insistence on an "undogmatic Christianity" based solely on Scripture. Hilgenfeld, on the other hand, finds clear traces of a dualistic system of a Gnostic character nearly approaching Manichæism. This is confirmed by contemporary writers—*e.g.*, by Sulpicius Severus, and by descriptions of Manichæan sects in Spain with which Priscillian's name was identified. After a review of the history of the controversy (in the course of which the writer remarks that "such a commotion could hardly have arisen from a merely 'undogmatic Christianity'"), the writings themselves are examined in detail,—the "Canons," "Tractates," and "Polemical Works,"—with a similar result. Hilgenfeld concludes: "We are only strengthened by this discussion in the conviction that Priscillian in no way represents pure persecuted innocence, and that, on the contrary, his teaching offers points of real connection with Gnostic and Manichæan heresy."

A much more interesting article is that by J. Mensinga on "The Gospel of John and the Synoptists," in which certain phenomena of the fourth gospel are used to discredit its genuineness. One of these is a strong "opposition to the world." The Jesus of John uses the word itself more than twenty times in a bad sense, the Jesus of the Synoptists never. The word includes the *whole* of mankind, and its frequent use shows that it represents an attitude of mind. The Johannine picture, therefore, is one of opposition to all mankind, who are declared to be the enemies of Christ and inspired by the devil. This conclusion is confirmed by a view of the whole representation, which is in complete contrast to that of the other gospels. Jesus is there the Optimist, and is painted in beautiful colours. Humanity in its noblest form, love to all, faith in man, are the characteristics of the Synoptical accounts,—as seen, *e.g.*, in

the Blessing of the Children, the Parable of the Good Samaritan, the Repentant Sinner. Christ is a "Gluttonous Man and Wine-bibber." In John nothing of all this is found, but the very opposite. There is a friendship for special men, but not for *man*. History gives us the explanation of this contrast. The tendency to exclusiveness incidental to separate sects showed itself in apostolic times (1 John v. 19). This was only increased by contact with heathen rites and customs. The Christians separated themselves from public life, from theatres, and so forth. It was increased too by the early persecutions. "Is it a wonder then that this opposition to the world became the ruling characteristic of Christianity?" In such an atmosphere the fourth gospel was written. It records the life of a Christian of that time, from the beginning of his faith in the Son of God, through all his troubles with the world, to his martyrdom and glory. The writer concludes with a compliment to "John."

One other article may be specially noticed—on "The Life-time of Christ according to the Commentary of Hippolytus on Daniel." In the recently discovered "Chalki MS." of the fourth Book occurs a passage which fixes the birthday of our Lord as 25th December in the year 42 of Augustus, and the date of the Crucifixion as 25th March 33 A.D., in the year 18 of Tiberius. If this were genuine, we should have an accurate declaration from the first two centuries as to the life-time of Christ, and also an interesting witness that the hitherto rejected tradition of the Ante-Nicene Church did not arise in the middle of the fourth century, being already vouched by a church father of undoubted learning in the second. The genuineness of the passage, however, is denied by the writer on several grounds: (1) by comparison with the MS. already known, which simply declares that Christ was born in the days of Augustus at Bethlehem, and died in the year 33. This is confirmed by a fragment of the eighth century, in which occurs a quotation from Hippolytus. (2) By a passage of Georgius Syncellus of Constantinople, who mentions a tradition in Hippolytus to the same effect, and other notices of church fathers. In fact, no trace is found in either the Eastern or Western Church in support of the passage in question. (3) By the context of the passage, and by an examination of the passage itself, which bears in the names of persons mentioned traces of a later tradition. The passage is the work of a forger, who wished to supply a strong witness for the antiquity of the Catholic chronology.

The other articles are: "Contribution to W. Christ's Treatment of the Greek Patristic," "Luke i. 6 explained in Greek by Origen," "The Eschatological Preaching of Pseudo-Ephraem," "The Hussites in Hungary," "Thomas Aquinas the teacher of Michael Servetus."

FREDERICK J. RAE.

**Samson : His Life and Work.***By Rev. Thos. Kirk. Edinburgh : Andrew Elliot.**Pp. 264. Price 3s. 6d.*

THIS is an excellent Biblical monograph of the sort now happily becoming more frequent among us. Given as a series of pulpit lectures, it is far from being merely homiletic. The didactic use is grounded upon a thorough study of the Scripture narrative, sustained by intelligent reproduction of the most recent geographical and archaic research. The mythical theory of Goldziher and Steinthal is submitted to a calm and well-reasoned criticism in a supplementary lecture. The book supplies a valuable aid to the study of this portion of Israel's Iron Age.

J. LAIDLAW.

**Notices.**

*The Life of Archbishop Tait*<sup>1</sup> appears in its third edition. The book has established itself very quickly in the good opinion of the English public. It does full justice to its subject, and apart from the picture which it gives of the man himself, it is of value for what it has to communicate on some of the more important religious and ecclesiastical movements of the century within the English Church. Archibald Campbell Tait, the Scotch lad who climbed to the throne of Canterbury, was not the style of man to make any great contribution to the thought of his age. But he was the type of man that makes an ecclesiastical leader, the victim of no enthusiasms, but sagacious, with the instinct to look out for the middle way and find it, and with the gift of managing men. A man withal of sincere piety and a genuine interest in the good of his fellows. Like many another ecclesiastic he had to spend his energy on much that is now of small moment. But there are pathetic passages in his domestic life that will be remembered when the interest of his public action is gone ; and his biographers have striven with all faithfulness to make us acquainted with the husband, the father, and the private Christian, as well as with the bishop and archbishop.

Principal Moule's *Veni Creator*,<sup>2</sup> which we are glad to see in a

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury.* By Randall Thomas Davidson, D.D., Bishop of Rochester, and William Benham, D.D., Hon. Canon of Canterbury. Third Edition. 2 vols. London : Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 540, and vii. 630. Price 10s. net.

<sup>2</sup> *Veni Creator : Thoughts on the Person and Work of the Holy Spirit of Promise.* By the Rev. H. C. G. Moule, M.A., Principal of Ridley Hall. Second Edition. London : Hodder & Stoughton. 8vo, pp. 253. Price 5s.



new edition, is a book which addresses itself to the interests of practical godliness. It is at the same time a treatise on the most important points in the Scriptural doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and the author is right in speaking of this as a "special subject of our own time." The statement of the doctrine of the *Person* of the Spirit is comparatively brief. It is most remarkable for what is said of the practical side of the truths expressed by such terms as *Personality*, *Procession*, &c., and of the reserve of Scripture in its exhibition of the personal being of the Spirit. The book is devoted mainly to the doctrine of the *Work* of the Spirit, which is stated in its relation first to the Human Nature of our Lord and our union with Him, and then to the Scriptures as regards both their Authority and their Interpretation. Thereafter regeneration, the conviction of sin, and similar subjects are considered, special notice being taken of the remarkable fulness of Paul's teaching on all that belongs to the ministry of the Spirit. We notice that Principal Moule adopts Bishop Lightfoot's vindication of the rendering *Advocate* for *Paracletos*, regarding *Comforter* as a legitimate paraphrase. He appears to be strongly opposed to the Kenotic theory, and holds by Canon Liddon's view of the limitation of Christ's knowledge involved in His Incarnation. In matters of criticism and interpretation the volume is conservative. No use is made of recent works which attempt to trace the history of the idea of a divine spirit in philosophical and religious thought. Within its own limits the book contains much that is both true and opportune in its doctrinal statements. Many of the New Testament passages, too, are admirably handled, among these particularly the Pauline section on the fruit of the Spirit (Gal. v. 22, 23).

The same writer has finished the sketch of *Charles Simeon*,<sup>1</sup> on which he has been engaged for some time. The task of preparing a new Life of the man to whom evangelical religion owed so much in Cambridge, and whose work there has won admiring recognition from novelists like Mr Shorthouse, no less than from preachers and theologians, could not have been committed to more appropriate hands than those of Mr Moule. And the task has been discharged not only with the sympathy which we expect, but with fidelity, discrimination, and literary skill. The book should revive the fragrance of a name which was potent for good wherever it was known, and to forget which would be to the loss of this later generation.

Among the multitude of books in which travellers and tourists bless a patient public with their impressions of the Holy Land, it

<sup>1</sup> Charles Simeon. By H. C. G. Moule, M.A. London: Methuen & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 276. Price 2s. 6d.

is not very easy now to strike out a distinct path. Mr Ross,<sup>1</sup> however, has succeeded in writing a volume which has quite a character of its own. His book differs from many others in its freedom from romance, and in the vigorous common sense which it applies to its subject. It does not attempt to say for the hundred and first time what has already been said for the hundredth time, neither does it break out in the large gushing descriptions which are so little to be trusted. It limits itself to those broader aspects of the subject which are of most general interest, and it puts them before us exactly as they appear to a healthy and observant eye that will not be misled by illusions. A preliminary bird's-eye view of the physical features, scenery, and customs of the land, is followed by chapters on Jerusalem, Galilee, and the Jordan. There are also sections dealing with "Queer folk in Palestine," the story of the victory of the Crescent, the present condition of religion, and the future of the land. The statements on the Temple Christians, the American Adventists, the Samaritans, and the Russian Pilgrims, are particularly vivid and informing. The book is a thoroughly sane book, entirely trustworthy in the things of which it speaks.

The late Dean Church's important contribution to the history of the *Oxford Movement*,<sup>2</sup> which has already been noticed in our pages, is issued now in the tasteful and handy form adopted for the uniform edition of his works. A second edition is also issued of three *Lectures* by the late Dr Robertson of Irvine.<sup>3</sup> In their oral delivery these Lectures were amongst the most popular of their time in Scotland. In their present form they help us to understand the power and the charm of their author. All three are finely wrought, and contain many touches approaching genius.

Professor Beet has prepared a *Handbook of Christian Evidences*,<sup>4</sup> which, though of small size, and intended chiefly for Sunday-school Teachers, has merits which are lacking in many more elaborate efforts, and is fitted to be useful to a wider circle. It is, for the most part, a digest of his very useful Fernley Lecture on the *Credentials of Christianity*, with an additional chapter in which the question of the Authority of Holy Scripture is carefully discussed.

<sup>1</sup> *The Cradle of Christianity : Chapters on Modern Palestine.* By the Rev. D. M. Ross, M.A. With Nine Photo-engravings. London : Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 256. Price 5s.

<sup>2</sup> *The Oxford Movement : Twelve Years, 1833-45.* By R. W. Church, M.A., D.C.L. London : Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 416. Price 5s.

<sup>3</sup> *Martin Luther : German Student Life : Poetry.* From the Manuscripts of the late William B. Robertson, D.D. Second Edition. Glasgow : Maclehose. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 217. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> *The Firm Foundations of the Christian Faith.* By Professor J. A. Beet, D.D. London : Wesleyan Methodist Sunday-School Union. Pp. 127.

Professor Röhricht's *Bibliotheca Geographica Palestinae*,<sup>1</sup> which came to hand some time ago, is an indispensable book of reference. Professor Röhricht's training and previous contributions to this branch of study make him the man to undertake a task like this, and he has discharged it with exemplary care. The book contains a crowd of notices of authors and publications amounting to 3515. The ample and almost exhaustive Bibliography is accompanied by a Cartography with 747 entries. Some slips and omissions are observable, especially in the case of English terms and publications. But they are surprisingly few and unimportant. The book is a remarkable testimony to the author's extraordinary industry and accuracy, the extent of his knowledge, and his success in gathering about him a body of able coadjutors. The volume is appropriately dedicated to the name of Count Paul Riant, and, though on a less magnificent scale than the work projected by that scholar, it gives the completest list of books and authors which we yet possess on the subject. It gives the titles of all the important publications which have appeared within the last fifteen centuries and more. The expert will find it full of information both curious and important. The magnitude reached by this branch of inquiry in our own day may be judged of by the simple fact that, since Robertson led the way in 1838, between 1600 and 1700 authors have contributed to the literature of the subject.

Encouraged by the well-deserved success of his *How to Read Isaiah*, Mr Blake has prepared a similar volume on the smaller prophecies,<sup>2</sup> including among these the last six chapters of Zechariah as a separate prophecy. He gives them in their proper chronological order—Jonah, Amos, Hosea, Zechariah (ix.-xiv.), Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Obadiah, Joel, and connects them with the relative sections of the historical books. The volume is a well-conceived and carefully executed attempt to make these writings speak for themselves. We shall look for the completion of the plan by the inclusion of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Post-Exilian Prophets.

Professor Bickell's *Messe und Pascha*<sup>3</sup> has found a very compe-

<sup>1</sup> Chronologisches Verzeichniss der auf die Geographie des heiligen Landes bezüglichen Literatur von 333 bis 1878 und Versuch einer Cartographie, hrg. von Reinhold Röhricht. Berlin: Reuther. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xx. 744. Price M. 24.

<sup>2</sup> How to Read the Prophets. Being the Prophecies arranged chronologically in their historical setting. With Explanations and a Glossary. By Rev. Buchanan Blake, B.D. Part I. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 244. Price 4s.

<sup>3</sup> The Lord's Supper and the Passover Ritual. Being a Translation of the substance of Professor Bickell's work termed, "*Messe und Pascha*." By William F. Skene, D.C.L. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. xii. 219. Price 5s.

tent translator in Dr Skene. The Introduction contributed by Dr Skene is as valuable as the book itself, and in some things the translator shows more sobriety of judgment than the author. The most vulnerable statements in the Introduction are those on the officials of the Synagogue, particularly the *Scheliach tsibbur*. On the other hand, there is an important note on the institution of the *Seven* (Act vi. 1-6), in which Dr Skene properly calls attention to the perfunctory treatment of the question even in Bishop Lightfoot's elaborate essay on the *Christian Ministry*, and the easy way in which English commentators (in this contrasting unfavourably with their German compeers) identify that incident with the appointment of the order of deacons. Dr Skene, too, rightly rejects Professor Bickell's contention that the cup in the Lord's Supper was the fourth, not the third, cup in the Passover Ritual. The book itself, like all that Professor Bickell writes, has abundance of matter, both solid and interesting, but suffers from an excess of ingenuity. It will be valued most by those who are engaged in the study of Liturgies, and set great store by them. Its object is to show the connection between the Lord's Supper and the Passover Ritual. The Clementine Liturgy is held to be substantially Apostolic, and to represent, as Probst held it to do, the "Eucharistic service of the entire pre-Constantine Church." The reasoning on which this conclusion proceeds is acute, but too fine-spun to carry general conviction. Neither is the resemblance between the Passover Ritual and the Eucharistic service so complete as the case demands. Professor Bickell has himself to supplement it from the Sabbath Morning Prayer of the Synagogue.

A new edition of Andrews' *Life of Our Lord*<sup>1</sup> is one of the most welcome books of the season. For the general purpose of the student, there is nothing to compare with it. We must go to other books for the fine writing, and for the critical and philosophical questions which lie behind and beneath the historical record. But for an exact statement of the questions which belong to the historical record as we have it, and for a careful, compendious report of the arguments on both sides, this is the volume to consult. It is far and away the most reliable book that we have in moderate compass on our Lord's Life; a book which the student finds it well to have always at his hand.

By his labours in various fields—as a pastor, first in London and afterwards in his own land, a preacher, a friend of missions, a professor of theology, and a writer, the late Dr Christlieb, of Bonn,

<sup>1</sup> The Life of Our Lord upon the Earth, considered in its Historical, Chronological, and Geographical Relations. By Samuel J. Andrews. New and Revised Edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. xxvii. 651. Price, 9s.

earned a good name far beyond the bounds of Germany. He is best known in our own country, probably by his contributions to the literature of Apologetics—his *Best Methods of Counteracting Modern Infidelity*, and more especially his *Modern Doubt and Christian Belief*. He is a man who deserved to be remembered, and the graceful memoir prepared by his widow<sup>1</sup> should be welcome to many. The story of his life is given briefly and modestly. The discourses which follow it give a good idea of his gifts as a preacher.

The last volume of the *Expositor*<sup>2</sup> is as rich as ever in scholarly matter. There are three sets of papers to which students will turn with special interest—Mr Conybeare's on *Some Fragments of a Pre-Hieronymian Latin Version*, Professor Sanday's on the *Present Position of the Johannean Question*, and Professor Marshall's on the *Aramaic Gospel*. The theory worked out with such care in the last-named series demands a criticism which cannot be attempted at present. There are other papers not less able in their own way than these, and at the same time of more general interest, among which we are glad to see several by the former Editor, Dr Cox.

Mr Reynolds<sup>3</sup> in his discussion of Immortality and Mr Newnham<sup>4</sup> in his *Essays* travel over wide fields, and touch some important questions thoughtfully. The former volume contains some suggestive remarks on certain aspects of the question regarding Immortality. But there is a certain indeterminateness in it which is perplexing, and it is apt to wander away into all kinds of subjects—demons, faith-healing, dreams, the Corsican Brothers, and the like. In the latter, there is an unlucky disposition to seek out fanciful interpretations of great texts, of which we have examples in the extraordinary handling of 1 Cor. xv. 24, and Matthew xxvi. 24. On the other hand, there is something to interest in what is said on the doctrine of Eternal Punishment and on the Resurrection of the body.

Mr Loraine<sup>5</sup> collects and presents in a clear and well-chosen form some of the best thoughts of the time on the fundamental

<sup>1</sup> Theodor Christlieb, D.D., of Bonn. Memoir by his Widow, and Sermons. Translated chiefly by T. L. Kingsbury, M.A., and Samuel Garratt, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 452. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> *The Expositor*: Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, LL.D. Fourth Series. Volume IV. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 8vo, pp. 476. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> *The Natural History of Immortality*. By Joseph William Reynolds, M.A. London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxvi. 389. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> *Alresford Essays*. By Rev. W. O. Newnham, M.A. London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. 292. Price 6s.

<sup>5</sup> *The Battle of Belief. A Review of the present aspects of the conflict*. By Nevison Loraine. London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii. 234. Price 5s.

questions of religion. What was done by Mr Evans with great care and some success in his *Jacob Herbert* through the medium of a dialogue or debate between so many speakers, is attempted by Mr Loraine in a different way and with reference to a larger number of questions. Both books should be useful to large classes of readers, the one on the problem of Theism, the other on that of Religion generally and Christianity in particular. Mr Loraine writes in an attractive style, and supports his statements at every step by apt and telling quotations from the literature of his subjects.

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## Primitive Culture.

*Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art, and Custom. By Edward B. Tylor, LL.D., F.R.S. 2 vols. London: John Murray. Third Edition. 8vo, pp. xii. 502, and viii. 471. Price 21s.*

WHEN a work has held its position as a standard authority in any branch of learning for twenty-one years, it needs no better recommendation to the reading public. This is true of the book before us, which, not only in this country, but also in other lands and in the other languages into which it has been translated, is regarded with respect by those competent to judge, as being the work of a master in this department of anthropology. Dr Tylor adds to a vast range of knowledge the faculty of expressing his meaning in a clear, elegant and forcible style; and these qualities give to his writings a charm that cannot fail to impress his readers.

Within the twenty-one years which have elapsed since the publication of the first edition of "Primitive Culture," a remarkable change has taken place in the views of educated Christendom with respect to the subjects of which it treats. The evolution philosophy has insensibly leavened the teachings of theologians, even the most conservative, so that the opinions of the school of Whately, which were at one time alone supposed to be orthodox, have followed the antiquated ideas of geocentrism to the limbo of the historic past, at most to crop out here and there in the form of "survivals." The thoughtful student has come to recognise that the primitive condition of mankind is a fit subject for investigation, upon which we have no source of light except such as is derived from archaeological research. The earliest written records are late in comparison with the date of the origin of man; and the oldest portion of the Biblical narrative tells us nothing of man's primitive condition, and little concerning his origin,—that little being expressed in language that is obscure and metaphorical.

The general scheme of the work has not been materially changed in this edition; but much new matter, the outcome of recent discoveries, has been added, and the whole has undergone some general revision. These two volumes are monuments of profound research, of patient labour, and of skilful arrangement; and, as they discuss topics which concern the ordinary interests of our every-day life, they appeal to a circle far wider than that of those who are specifically students of anthropology.

The task which our author has set before himself is the inductive

analysis of the process whereby man has become what he is in those capabilities and habits which he has acquired as a member of society. Dr Tylor starts from the postulate that human life in these respects is like the material universe, a unity under fixed laws, whose phenomena are the effects of pre-existing causes, which are themselves parts in an unending chain of sequences. Such a view at once brings him into conflict with the belief in the freedom of the human will. If such a freedom be defined as a power of breaking loose from continuity, then he at once rejects it as an impossibility, because incompatible with scientific argument. In his opinion, the will is not free in this sense, but acts strictly and inevitably in accordance with motive, and is quite incapable of causeless spontaneity of operation.

The evolution in culture which is to be traced by the historian is one whose *terminus a quo* is probably beyond the reach of our discovery. Dr Tylor's belief is that mankind in its earliest state was in a condition of rude savagery, but gifted with the capacity of improvement under the influences of its environments; and that, by a species of Lamarckian evolution the existing stages of culture have been attained. As to the ethical and mental states of our palæolithic ancestors we have no sources of knowledge. Dr Tylor assumes that, in general, those present-day races, who use material weapons similar to theirs, occupy a platform of culture comparable with that of their earliest predecessors. There is an appearance of probability in this, but we must not ignore the evidence which is forthcoming that some of the customs of our lowest existing savages have been the outcome of degradation, rather than of uniform continuance. If this be so, the argument from the savage to the palæolithic race is considerably weakened.

While the theory of the universal origin of the savage state as a degeneration from an original high level of culture is scarcely worthy of serious consideration in the face of the practical universality of the remains of palæolithic man, even in the morning lands of the race, yet it is an unproved assumption that the progression has been uniformly and invariably in the upward direction. There are at least indications that degeneration and retrogression have occurred among some races. This has a double bearing on the argument; in the first place, it casts a doubt on the conclusion that it is safe to assume a necessary identity of ethical standard in the two cases of palæolithic and existing savagery. There is a certain degree of ambiguity about the term "rude savage," and, as far as we know, the conditions of a naked savage in prehistoric times, who had not as yet invented the arts of civilization, were quite compatible with the recognition of a purer moral code than that which influences the life of his degenerate descendants.

In the second place, it leads us to pause before we conclude that the character and habits of mankind are really as uniform and consistent as Dr Tylor has assumed. Man's physical wants and organisation are everywhere substantially the same, the laws of matter and force are the same; and so far there must be, in the nature of things, a considerable uniformity. But to seek for an equally necessary uniformity in the mental and moral spheres is a serious step, and we do well to hesitate before we accept the statement that in all respects "one set of savages is like another." When we take into account the notorious untrustworthiness of much that is reported concerning savage races, and the ingenuity with which missionaries and others have been either imposed upon or self-deceived, one learns to receive many of these statements with extreme caution. Dr Tylor has made the basis of his inductions very wide, and, for this purpose, has carefully sought for corresponding, if not identical conditions in many and diverse races; but there is a danger in carrying this presumption of identity too far, leading us to confound analogy with homology in these details, and to assume genetic relationship between customs and modes of life which have had dissimilar origins. What an amount of confusion would be caused were this same looseness of comparison to be carried into verbal etymologies!

In this connection, we cannot but regret that Dr Tylor should have thought it necessary to cumber his text throughout with such an innumerable cloud of witnesses, whose testimony is not all of equal relevancy. In those sections in which he has not done so the argument is clear, but now and then he has considered it requisite to heap up example on example with wearisome prodigality. The relegation of one-half of these references to the footnotes, or to an appendix, would not have weakened the argument, and would have very much added to the ease with which its thread might be followed.

In the prefatory discussion regarding the widespread uniformity of thought and action among mankind, the author warns us of the mistake of supposing any opinion to be true because it is held by the majority of mankind, a fallacy which, he says, affects the minds of all but a small critical minority of mankind. This is doubtless true in the main, as the examples which he has adduced sufficiently prove; but we must not forget, on the other hand, that the critical minority may be wrong and the majority right, if the former act on the equally fallacious principle of believing the converse of this to be necessarily true. Each opinion must be independently investigated on its own merits.

Just as, in the physical structure of animals, the strongest arguments in favour of their evolutionary origin are derived from rudimental organs, so in the history of culture some of the most

interesting and suggestive phenomena are those which Dr Tylor has aptly named "survivals." These are traces of former conditions of culture remaining and cropping out in the midst of a new order of things. The many examples which Dr Tylor gives of these are of great interest, especially the examples from games, proverbs, and riddles.

There are, however, in the discussion of these survivals, traces of the virtual assumption that what survives is necessarily false or puerile. Human progress in knowledge is rarely in straight lines, and there are not wanting instances which show that early beliefs were glimpses of truths. Each of these survivals must be tested on its own merits before its value is appraised. For example, although there is doubtless very much of "superstition, delusion, and sheer knavery" in the records of the phenomena with which psychical research is at present occupied, yet we cannot divorce the scientific from the anthropological aspect of the study; and there may be profound psychological truths in some of these phenomena, which Dr Tylor regards as a direct survival from the region of savage philosophy and peasant folk-lore.

The study of the development of language is one of the most fascinating sections of culture-history, as it is the one department wherein the progressive stages of evolutionary change can be traced with the greatest clearness. We are no nearer to the discovery of the starting-point of articulate speech than we are to the ascertainment of the closely-related starting-point of the human race. Dr Tylor, in his most interesting chapters on this subject, shows himself no partisan advocate of any one of the current artificial theories of the origin of language, "pooh-pooh," "bow-wow," protoplasmic or ideogenic, but he recognises the part which each of the influences invoked in these several theories has taken in the evolution of complex significant sounds. The keynote of his treatment of the subject is the thesis that language is an original product of a state of low culture, an old barbaric engine which has been added to and altered, patched and tinkered into some sort of capability. This view he expands with admirable skill and clearness, and he illustrates his position aptly and not at too great length. The chapter on the evolution of the art of counting is one of the most interesting in the book.

As the relations of man to the unseen forces of the universe have been the dominant subjects of human thought in all historic ages, and among all races, so it is natural that this section of the History of Culture should be treated with appropriate fulness. Hence to this subject more than half of the book is devoted. Dr Tylor starts with the guiding principle that man cannot create ideas, and hence that all these products of the imagination must have been originally derived from experience, subsequently modified by imperfection of

observation, by wilful deception, or by metaphoric or allegorical method of representation. His system differs from that of Professor Max Müller in that he regards the groundwork of mythology to be the real material analogies of object with object. This he considers to have been antecedent to the origination and growth of the verbal myth, and he rejects Noiré's fundamental postulate that no thought can exist independently of language. The two great Oxford authorities, however, agree in that they regard the objective expressions of the religious thought of mankind as the products of subjective mental processes.

Dr Tylor metaphorically defines his position by saying that "there is a kind of intellectual frontier line within which he must be who will sympathise with myth, while he must be without who will investigate it; and it is our fortune that we live near this frontier line, and can go in and out." As our author reduces all the objects of religious faith to the sublimations of myth, it is an obvious corollary that no one is competent to undertake the task of investigation in this department who does not approach it from the standpoint of unbelief.

The regular order of Nature and of natural process has been a prolific source of myths of a first order. These have impressed the imaginations of early poets, the makers of fancies, who have expressed these in allegorical form. The tendency to anthropomorphism, well-nigh irresistible in human thought, has so moulded these traditionally transmitted tales that they have come to us personified in legends or ancient mythological fables. Dr Tylor is not a blind advocate of the reference of all mythology to source in natural celestial phenomena, and he has parodied the vagaries of the extreme writers of this school in his reduction of the "Song of Sixpence" to a solar myth, just as Mr Littledale some years ago, in an article in "Kottabos," proved that Max Müller himself was a myth of the dawn. Dr Tylor believes, however, that a very large proportion of myths have had an origin in the distorted observation of natural phenomena, and he illustrates his view with a bewildering profusion of references.

Myths of a second order, the embodiment of the crude archaic thoughts of the youthful period of the world expressed in pre-historic fashion, he calls philosophic myths. His treatment of these is not so happy as is that of the former section. The Euhemeristic explanation that the Legend of St Patrick banishing the snakes from Ireland, is a popular method of accounting for the existence of ammonites, seems rather far fetched, as Ireland is largely composed of palæozoic rocks. There is probably an element of this nature in the legends of dwarfs or trolls, whereby traditions of the aboriginal inhabitants of countries are preserved, and myths of giants were probably the

memories of past savage and successful conquerors seen through the distorting medium of the mist of ages. It is probable that many of the stories which pass current as examples of this class of myth are originally impostures invented like the stories of many an Irish guide, to cover ignorance, and in this sense they are not original folk-lore. This is specially the case with many etymological, and some eponymic myths. With this last class, however, the destructive critic is not on sure ground, for, knowing how much the names of persons have become used as appellations of places and things in historic time, it is unsafe to premise that all names in past legends are necessarily eponymic myths. The natural inclination of mankind undoubtedly is to make myths complete, and thus when a few names in a genealogy have become historic, there is a tendency to invent those required to fill the gaps. Still, although it may be a puzzle to the historian of archaic times to discriminate the elements of truth from those of fable in early traditions, yet it seems an extreme view to regard all myths as necessarily consisting of the poetic fancies of their authors, rather than as containing shadowy memorials of a real past.

Closely connected with mythology is the section of Culture-History which is concerned with the evolution of religious beliefs, a subject which is hard to investigate in an unbiassed spirit. The first conclusion which Dr Tylor's careful scrutiny of the tribes of mankind establishes is that there is no known race without so much of religion as a belief in the dualism in the nature of man, and in some order of unseen existences able to influence human life. If there ever existed a primitive non-religious state of mankind, such as the evolution theory postulates, there is no trace of its survival even among the lowest grade of humanity.

The doctrine of the development of the belief in spiritual beings is named by Dr Tylor "Animism," that is, the recognition of the presence of invisible existences either inhabiting human bodies or associated with other objects in Nature, and influential in affecting the destinies of men. The universal belief in a spirit-world was a product, in the lowest grade of human culture, of the experience of men that certain processes whose sum constitutes life cease to manifest themselves in the condition of death. As after their death the remembrance of persons known during life often returned to their surviving friends in the state of sleep, mankind, reasoning upon these memories was led to believe that dreams were due to the return of that part of their friends which had so departed from their bodies. In recalling in human language these visits it was natural to speak of them in terms of those processes which had ceased with life, and thus the names of this mysterious invisible part were derived from the names of the breath or of the motions of the body or

of the heart, the most obvious of the phenomena the cessation of which is characteristic of death. In this portion of the research, Dr Tylor, departing from his former position that the concepts of real phenomena are originally independent of their verbal analogies, bases his view of the origin of the primitive idea of the soul on the terminology of souls among different races. The progress of the development of the philosophy of the dream-soul is traced at some length through the immense series of dream-stories in patristic, mediæval, and modern literature, wherein it is often difficult to decide which are truth and which are fiction. "But along the course of these myriad narratives of human phantoms—the problem of dream-apparitions—may be traced a progress of gradual determination from the earlier conviction that a disembodied soul really comes into the presence of the sleeper, towards the later opinion that such a phantasm is produced in the dreamer's mind without the perception of any external objective figure."

In treating of the relation of funeral customs to psychological theory, Dr Tylor holds the view that the fundamental motive at the basis of funeral sacrifices, is the notion of benefiting the deceased, as against the hypothesis of Max Müller that they were merely the outcomes of a natural affection, or that of Robertson Smith that they were, in some cases at least, offerings to propitiate animal gods.

In summing up the progress of the history of opinion on the existence and nature of the soul, Dr Tylor seems, by implication (p. 501), to regard the Christian idea of the soul as a sublimated survival, continuous from the philosophy of the savage thinker to that of the modern professor of theology. Either this fundamental idea has an objective truth related to it, or it has not. If not, then man, like the beast, passes at death to utter personal annihilation and has no future to anticipate.

This bearing of the hypothesis of the conception of the soul must be carried through the whole argument, and when (II. 2) Dr Tylor in his fascinating survey rises into the poetic strain of considering the faith in a future existence as at once an inducement to goodness, a sustaining hope through suffering and across the fear of death, and an answer to the perplexing problem of the allotment of happiness and misery in this present world by the expectation of another world to set this right, we must still remember that in his view this inducement is based on a mistake, this hope has no objective reality, and the answer to the perplexing problem is the answer of a false prophet who says, "Peace, peace, when there is no peace."

That the forms into which all religious beliefs gravitate in the lower grades of culture are gross and corrupt is a matter of experience, even in western lands; but the hypothesis that there is no objective reality behind any of them is one of the gravest moment.

Christianity stands or falls, as a system, by the resurrection of Christ. Its psychology is based on a theory which Dr Tylor especially excludes from his view, that of a direct revelation of God to man. In assuming that the Christianity of whose ethical system he speaks in such approving terms is the direct descendant of the original animism, he seems to confound two things which may be quite separate—the growth of the mythic expression of the idea, and the evolution of the truth as a result of gradually infused illumination from without. While it may be true that man is incapable of originating new systems, yet, if we believe in the existence of a personal God, it is perfectly conceivable that He might have, in a by-past age, brought life and immortality to light by the Gospel.

There is no doubt that into the eschatology of the religions of the present day much has been absorbed from the lower culture, such as crude and gross ideas of a place of woe or of a purgatory. It is hard to say how far a doctrine of retribution was an original part of the primitive notion of a future life, but we have historic evidence that such ideas were known and elaborated in an early stage of human history. In the Egyptian religion, the belief in the judgment to come was an essential part of the system of belief currently held at least four thousand years ago, and a resurrection, a new life, like, but not identical with, that on earth, was the anticipation of all religious persons. The real problem of the origin of the belief in dualism of existence, in the existence of spirits separate from matter, and of a great central, guiding, unseen power in Nature is one which the dream theory of Spencer and Tylor is inefficient to account for, and is far more consistent with the Christian view of its being the result of a direct working of the Spirit of God in the heart of primitive man prepared by the processes of Providence, by divinely ordered evolution, for its reception.

There is an important fundamental difference between the study of human culture as shown in the progress of humanity, in language and art, and the development of scientific knowledge. In the one case, man fashions and improves instruments which are of his own invention; in the other, he is discovering that which is objectively true. Science would be equally true were there no man to discover its most elementary facts, and, in the case of religion, the existence of a personal God was in like manner as much a truth in the ages when the earth held no thinking inhabitants, as it is now.

The range of subordinate topics dealt with in Dr Tylor's work is so great that only a few can be touched on in the brief space at our disposal. He has an interesting chapter on tree-spirits, a subject which has been treated in a masterly manner by Mr Frazer, to whose work, however, Dr Tylor makes no reference. He also reviews the development of the idea of totemism, and shows that,



like the dawn myth, it has been strained as a key to unlock the mysteries of mythology beyond its legitimate powers. Animism modified by anthropomorphism, the progress of belief in spiritual existences from the many to the few, culminating in the belief in two contending powers, one good and one evil, a progress which has been named Kathenotheism is the hypothesis underlying his treatment of the entire subject.

Whether the author has conclusively proved that all tribes of mankind have moved in the same paths of progress from the earliest prehistoric days of dawning intelligence to the present or not, and that the existing savage and his life and notions give us our best guides in tracing these paths may, perhaps, after all, be yet open to question. That the diversity of religious belief in the world, even in a small section of it like our own country, has been largely brought about by the interaction of such forces as those to which collectively we give the name evolutionary, is a thesis which can be easily maintained; but here, as in the world of life, spontaneous generation of new principles is as yet unproved. It may not be straining this analogy between life and culture too far to infer that there had been a germinal religious idea communicated to man when he had, in his development, attained to such a stage as to be able to profit by it. Such a hypothesis would not be foreign to the spirit of the Neo-Darwinism which postulates that there must be a primitive germ plasma at the basis of the continuance of life.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

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### **Assyrien und Babylonien nach den neuesten Entdeckungen.**

*By Fr. Kaulen. Fourth Edition. Herder, Freiburg. Edinburgh:  
Williams & Norgate. Large 8vo, pp. xvii. 286. Price M. 4.*

THE value of Dr Kaulen's book is sufficiently indicated by the fact that it has reached a fourth edition. It supplies a want, and the public has recognised that it supplies it well. The literature of Assyriology is now very considerable. There are plenty of books which describe the discoveries made during recent years in Assyria and Babylonia, as well as the new world of facts which the decipherment of the ancient monuments has revealed to us. But they either deal with special departments of Assyriological research, or else are chiefly occupied with the history of the old kingdoms on the Euphrates and Tigris. The latter is the case even with the well-known works of Rawlinson and Hommel. The public has no difficulty in learning what has been done towards restoring the ancient history of Assyria and Babylonia; but it finds much greater difficulty in obtaining answers to questions of equal interest,—the

nature and decipherment of cuneiform writing, the extent and character of Babylonian literature, or the principles of Assyrian art and architecture.

For such questions Dr Kaulen's book provides an answer. History, in the technical sense of the term, occupies in it but a subordinate place, the main part of the volume being devoted to those sides of Assyriological research which have usually received but scant recognition. As Dr Kaulen knows how to select and arrange his materials so as to make what he writes at once clear and interesting, it is not surprising that his book has enjoyed a great success in Germany. The excellent illustrations which are scattered through its pages add greatly to its value.

In the new edition the author has endeavoured to bring his work up to the latest level of knowledge. In the description, for instance, of the excavations that have been carried on in Babylonia, notice is taken not only of the discoveries made there in 1887 by the German expedition, but also of those made still more recently at Niffer by the American expedition. In the chapter on Assyrian and Babylonian literature, again, the most recent attempts at translation have been consulted, and Dr Kaulen has done wisely in omitting altogether the fantastic versions of Mr Fox Talbot, which he had originally admitted into his work. It would have been better if, in all cases where he is quoting the translation of a cuneiform text, Dr Kaulen had given both the name of the translator and the date of the translation itself. Assyriology is a progressive science, and the translations of Assyrian texts are necessarily capable of improvement from time to time. It is improvement, however, and not substantial change. Except in the case of so-called "translations" like those of Mr Fox Talbot referred to above, in which the elementary principles of philology were set at defiance, the progress made in Assyrian translation is not so great as certain young German scholars assert, and as the public is sometimes induced to believe. It is rather in the more exact definition of individual words, and the determination of the sense of passages which had baffled the skill of earlier translators, than in any important change of meaning that a translation made to-day differs from one made by a competent scholar twenty years ago. If, for example, we compare the latest rendering of the great Chaldaean Epic of Gilgames with that made by George Smith in the hurry of departure for the East, and at a time when the class of documents to which the Epic belongs was wholly new, we shall find that in all important points the English Assyriologist had already grasped the signification of the cuneiform original. He was not only a pioneer, but a pioneer who also secured the ground which he was the first to traverse.

Where corrections of importance have been introduced into the translations of the inscriptions, it will usually be found that they are due rather to a correction of the reading of the cuneiform than to a more exact interpretation of it. Nothing is more difficult than to copy accurately the documents which have been bequeathed to us by the libraries of Assyria and Babylonia. The smallness of the characters, the carelessness with which they have often been written, the broken and otherwise injured condition of the clay tablets on which they are inscribed, render the accurate transcription of a cuneiform text one of the hardest tasks in the world. Even the Assyrian scribes were sometimes at fault when copying a tablet which had been brought from Babylonia; it is not wonderful, therefore, if the copies that we make to-day should need repeated revision.

I have already said that history in the ordinary sense of the word occupies a subordinate place in Dr Kaulen's work. It is doubtless on this account that it is the least satisfactory portion of his book. It has not been brought up to date. The Babylonian chronology given by George the Synkellos is followed, whereas we have long had in our hands a list of kings and dynasties drawn up by the native historians themselves, which differs materially from the scheme of the Byzantine compiler. The chronological position of Khammuragas or Khammurabi is entirely misconceived, as is also that of the "Kassite" king Agu-kak-rime. I may also note in passing, that the Accadian term *patesi*, applied to some of the princes whose memorials have come down to us, signifies "High-priest," and not "Vicegerent." Why, moreover, does Dr Kaulen say that the explanation of the name of Babylon as Bab-ilu, or "Gate of God," is a "later" and popular etymology? It is the only form known to the early inscriptions, and goes back not only to Accadian days but even to the age of the invention of cuneiform writing. The "later" popular etymology is naturally that which connected the name with the "confusion" of languages, and for which the book of Genesis is at present our sole authority. Indeed, it is doubtful whether a verb *babûlu*, "to confound," occurs at all in Assyrian. I at all events have never met with it.

If the historical chapter were revised and somewhat enlarged, I should be glad to see an English translation of Dr Kaulen's volume, with such alterations, of course, as would be necessary for its success among an English-speaking public. It contains in an eminently readable form a full and lucid account of those results of Assyriological research which have been too much neglected in popular works on the subject, and the author has consequently cultivated ground which has only partially been occupied by others.

A. H. SAYCE.

**Lectures Historiques.**

*By G. Maspero. Paris: Hachette & Cie. Price F. 2.50.*

THE charming little volume of ancient history which Professor Maspero has lately published bears a title of such general application as to conceal its real character. The book is really a new departure in the reconstruction of ancient Oriental history, and deals only with two countries, Egypt and Assyria. On all that relates to ancient Egypt, Professor Maspero is the highest of living authorities; as for Assyria, his *Histoire ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient* has shown that a scholar who is a thorough master of one subject can write with the pen of a master upon another subject which he has been forced to study at second-hand.

In his new volume, Professor Maspero depicts first of all the daily life of an Egyptian of rank in the stirring age of Ramses II., the Sesostris of Greek legend and the Pharaoh of the Oppression of the Old Testament, and next the life of an Assyrian in the reign of Assur-bani-pal, the Sardanapallos of the Greeks. The reader is thus made acquainted in a life-like way with the manners and customs, the beliefs and literature of the two great nations of the ancient world, as well as with the architecture of their towns and buildings, and the political events of the age to which the narrative relates. The value of the story is enhanced by the numerous illustrations scattered throughout the volume.

In the first chapter, Thebes and its people are brought before us with as much detail and distinctness as the inhabitants of some modern European capital. Then we are introduced to the market and the shops, to a "strike" of workmen, and the arrival of the Pharaoh himself upon the scene. From a description of the royal court and its deified head we pass to the temple of Amon, and the rites and ceremonies which were performed there. The ritual prescribed at the time of a declaration of war is skilfully introduced by means of a letter in cuneiform characters, modelled on those found at Tel el-Amarna, which the prince of Megiddo is supposed to send asking for assistance against the Hittites. War being declared, the Egyptian army and the method of recruiting it are next described; then come accounts of life in a country-house, of the sickness and death of one of the chief personages of the story, and finally of his burial. After this, we are transported to the camp of Ramses II. in Syria, and to the battle which was followed by the famous treaty of peace, defensive and offensive, concluded between the Pharaoh of Egypt and the "great king" of the Hittites.

Such is the skeleton of the tale into which Professor Maspero has interwoven all the abundant knowledge we now possess of

Egyptian life in the age of the Exodus. The interest of the story never flags, no detail of importance is omitted; and we rise with a feeling that we know as much about Egypt and its people in the time of Moses as if we had ourselves lived among them. The old Egyptians have once more become to us men of real flesh and blood, and we are surprised to find how intensely modern in many respects they were.

The second part of the *Lectures Historiques* is similar to the first, except that the scene is laid in Assyria and Babylonia instead of Egypt, and the date is some seven centuries later than the age of Ramses. We begin with a description of the palace built by Sargon and excavated by Botta at Khorsabad, we end with the triumph which attended the final victory of Assyria over Elam. The butchery of the prisoners which followed, the procession of the spoil, the reception of the ambassadors of Ararat, formed the closing scene of Assyrian power, and Professor Maspero fitly concludes with the prophecy of Nahum announcing the vengeance which was so soon to overtake the "bloody city."

As in his description of Egyptian life, so too in his description of Assyrian life, Professor Maspero writes with a lucidity and vividness which leaves nothing to be desired. For his Assyriological information he has gone to the best authorities, and has selected his materials with consummate skill. The story he has constructed is interesting not only to the general reader, but to the scholar as well; and even the specialist will find new points of view opened up to him, and fresh light thrown upon old facts.

I have but one criticism to pass on the book. I wish the Professor had adopted in all cases the spelling of proper names to which the Bible or the writers of Greece and Rome have accustomed us, instead of replacing it by a possibly more correct transliteration of the names as they appear on the native monuments. The volume is intended for popular use, and to the ordinary reader, while "Hethéens" or "Hittites," "Sargon" and "Ararat" are intelligible, "Khiti," or "Sharoukin" and "Ourarti" are not. Much is lost and little is gained by too strict an adherence to orthography in such matters. The scholar is too apt to forget that general intelligibility is of more consequence than a needless exactitude.

A. H. SAYCE.

### **The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church.**

*By Frederic Henry Chase, B.D., Principal of the Clergy Training School, Cambridge. (Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature. Edited by J. Armitage Robinson, B.D., Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. Vol. I., No. 3.) Cambridge: The University Press. 8vo, pp. xii. 179. Price 5s.*

THE title of this interesting little book hardly describes its contents. It is less an exposition of the use, fortunes, and forms of the Lord's Prayer in the early Church, than a study of the Lord's Prayer itself, its original wording and meaning. More than half of it is devoted to a very thorough discussion of the meaning of the much-discussed petition, "Deliver us from [the] evil [one]." This begins with a careful investigation of the usage of the prepositions *ἐκ* and *ἀπό* after verbs of delivering, the result of which has, however, only a negative value; continues with a valuable word-study of *ὁ πονηρός*; and closes with an extended statement of the evidence for the gender of *τοῦ πονηροῦ*. There is much very interesting material in this discussion which no one would willingly spare; and some things, especially in the way of exegesis, which seem overstrained. With Mr Chase's decision for the masculine understanding of the phrase, I personally, on the whole, accord. But is it not a mistake to attempt to demonstrate its correctness? The truth obviously is, that we have here an expression flexible to either interpretation; and this possibility of his own interpretation is all that results from the elaborate investigations of Canon Cook or Dr Lightfoot, of Mr Chase or Professor Potwin. Only contextual considerations in such a case can be decisive of the intended meaning, and these are so subtle that they must be felt rather than reasoned out. When the clause, "But deliver us from the Evil One," is read, as it ought to be, not as an independent petition, but in immediate connection with the preceding clause, "Lead us not into temptation," as forming with it a single petition, positively and negatively stated; it seems to me that most men will, at the worst, undergo an experience similar to that which Dr Vaughan speaks of as attending the presentation of some unfamiliar reading. "At first sight the suggestion is repelled as unintelligible, startling, almost shocking. By degrees, light dawns upon it—it finds its plea and its palliation. At last, in many instances, it is accepted as adding force and beauty to the context, and a conviction gradually forms itself, that thus and not otherwise was it written." (Preface to the Third Edition of his "St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, with Notes.")

Others of Mr Chase's conclusions are more difficult to follow. He considers *τὸν ἐπιούσιον* in the third petition no part of the original

Lord's Prayer at all, though it occurs in both Gospels, and in all copies, but a liturgical word, invented as the substitute of *σήμερον* and *τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν*. There seems no sufficient justification for so violent an hypothesis. Certainly no additional likelihood accrues to it from the equally unfounded general theory that the two Evangelists record the prayer, not as spoken by Christ, but as current in the liturgical use of their time, not in its first, but in its later form. Nor can I account successful the attempt to connect the variation in the first half of the second petition—"Thy Kingdom come"—which is found *inter alia* in Cod. 700, with liturgical offices. The palæographical explanation that it is a marginal gloss explanatory of the meaning of the petition, afterwards taken into the text, is both in itself more likely, and is supported by the fact that it has been taken into the text at different points. In like manner the addition of "upon me" to the first petition, seems a textual gloss.

Mr Chase's introductory remarks (pp. 1-21) have a very special interest of their own. His conception of the relation of the Church to the Synagogue is not only admirably stated and illustrated, but seems the one conception which will adequately explain the origin and development of the Church order, government, and worship which are made known to us by the early Christian records. It is a pleasure to observe in progress a pretty general return to this conception in the light of the fuller investigations of our day.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

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### Les Sources du Pentateuque.

*Étude de Critique et d'Histoire, par Alexandre Westphal. Paris: Fischbacher. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Tome I. Le Problème littéraire, 8vo, pp. xxx. 320. Price F. 5. Tome II. Le Problème historique, 8vo, pp. xxxvi. 412. Price F. 7.50.*

ACCORDING to some who "ought to know," there are, at the present time, manifest signs that the ascendancy so long enjoyed by Germany in the scientific world is beginning to pass from her to her great rival on this side the Rhine. However this may be in the domain of pure science, it is worth noting that of late French scholars, among whom I include those of "la Suisse romande," have been claiming, more and more, to be heard on questions of Old Testament criticism. I need only mention the names of Bruston and Westphal (both of Montauban), M. Vernes, Piepenbring, Montet, and Vuilleumier. Of the work of these French *savants*

the two substantial volumes under review are an excellent specimen. The writer is thoroughly informed as to the latest phases of the Pentateuch question, and, for that matter, of the earliest as well. He possesses the eminently French virtue of "lucidity," and is able to sketch the main lines of an argument without threatening to bury his readers under a mass of detail, as is often the manner of the Germans. There is originality in the book, as we shall see; but its aim is not primarily to contribute to the solution of the problems with which it deals, but to show to non-specialists where precisely we stand at the present moment with regard to these problems, and, in the first volume more particularly, to trace the devious paths by which critics of opposing schools have at length reached a basis of agreement. For, although it is as yet premature to say that "*les partis extrêmes se donnent la main*," it is none the less true that such a basis has been found in the all but universal acceptance of the results of Pentateuchal analysis. "*Sur le terrain de la critique littéraire la paix est signée*"—so ends the first volume, and so the second begins.

After an impartial statement of the traditional view of the authorship of our Pentateuch, M. Westphal sets himself to trace the gradual abandonment of this view, as first obscurely hinted by certain mediæval rabbis and hastened by the intellectual ferment of the Renaissance and the Reformation, which in its turn gave birth to such "pioneers of criticism" as Spinoza, Richard Simon, and Le Clerc. The third and main part of this volume is headed "*La Critique*" (pp. 101-230), and one has to read those clear, flowing pages to realise how pleasant and profitable a thing it is to follow the ever-broadening stream of literary criticism, as now practised at home and abroad, from its fountainhead in Jean Astruc's immortal *Conjectures* (Brussels 1753), by Eichhorn, Ilgen, Hupfeld, and many now but half-remembered names, to its *embouchure* in the now accepted results of the higher critics. A chapter is also devoted to the so-called "fragmentary" and "complementary" hypotheses, though these have now only an historical interest. As this part of M. Westphal's labours has now been for some time before the public, I shall only remark on two noteworthy features of his comprehensive and exceedingly luminous sketch. The one is the poor account which our countrymen give of themselves in these attempts to solve the "*problème littéraire*,"—four or five names in all, out of a total of some hundred and fifty authors whose views are either discussed or referred to. The other is the tardy justice that is here done to the genius of Carl David Ilgen, who in 1798 discovered the second Elohist—now generally designated E—and who in much of his analysis anticipated, by half a century and more, the results of more fortunate but not more brilliant successors.



In passing from the first to the second volume of M. Westphal's work, we pass, as he says, from peace to war, from the all but universally accepted separation of the sources to the still hotly debated question of their relative dates, a question which involves, I need hardly say, the still larger one of the course of Israel's religious history. Here, too, our author arranges his material under three main divisions—(1) General characteristics of the sources (pp. 3-113), (2) comparative study of the sources (pp. 115-247), and (3) the sources of the Pentateuch and the other books of the Old Testament (pp. 248-412). Comparing the whole with Canon Driver's too brief sketch, noticed in the January number of this magazine, one might truly say that, while M. Westphal's first volume forms an appropriate historical introduction to the English scholar's work, or to any other on similar lines, the second volume is an excellent supplement. Westphal has, of course, much more space at command, and altogether a freer hand than Driver. Having, besides, if one may so say, a more popular audience in view, he does not enter so minutely into the details of the analysis, and is thus able to do more justice to the constructive side of the investigation, the part in which Driver's sketch is undoubtedly weakest.

M. Westphal's "general idea" is worthy of all praise. "Dans le labyrinthe," he says in his preface (vol. II. p. xxiv.), "où nous introduit le problème historique du Pentateuque, nous prendrons le Deutéronome pour fil d'Ariane." Deuteronomy is undoubtedly the key to the final solution of the whole problem of the Pentateuch. All fruitful discussion as to the dates of the respective sources must begin with it, and the more thorough has been our study of its contents, and, in consequence, the more accurate our estimate of the social and religious ideas and customs underlying it, the better fitted we shall be to determine its relation to the prophetic narrative (JE) on the one hand, and to the priestly code (P) on the other. Accordingly, a large part (pp. 33-113), perhaps as we shall see too large a part, of volume II. is devoted to an exhaustive study of the critical problems of Deuteronomy. It is, however, in these pages that we find most of M. Westphal's original work. He accepts as the original law-book discovered in the eighteenth year of Josiah chaps. iv. 44.—xxvi., xxvii. 9, 10 and xxviii. But he differs from most recent critics in denying the unity of chaps. i.-iv. iv. 1-40, he thinks, originally stood at the end of the Deuteronomic code, not at the beginning. With chaps. xxix. and xxx. it forms part of a minor independent source, "Moses' farewell discourse," later than D and with special affinities to Jeremiah (§ 4, pp. 62-79). The remaining chapters i.-iii.,—and here our author's arguments seem deserving of careful examination,—appear to him to be part of another minor source, to which also chaps. xxxi. xxxiv., and

numerous passages in the book of Joshua belong (see p. 98), and which is here named "Annals of the Conquest." Its author was later than the writer of the primitive Deuteronomy, was acquainted with his work, and wrote in his spirit. The reader must decide how far this is an improvement on the theory of Hollenberg (*Die Deuteronomischen Bestandtheile des Buches Josua, Stud. u. Kritiken*, 1874). A synopsis of the portions of our present book of Deuteronomy—apart from the original law-book—derived from these and other sources, is given at the end of the investigation (pp. 112, 113).

Now, important as a correct analysis of Deuteronomy undoubtedly is, it must, I think, be admitted that for the author to devote to it nearly three times as much space as to all the other sources of the Pentateuch put together, is to court a charge of want of proportion in the arrangement of his material. The chief sin, however, with which M. Westphal may fairly be charged, is not one of commission but of omission. I allude to the too meagre treatment, or rather want of treatment, of the important body of laws, known as the Law of Holiness (*Lev. xvii.-xxvi.*). A couple of footnotes (pp. 28, 384, 385) is all that is given to the discussion of a point which is certainly of the first importance for a final solution of these problems—namely, the relation in which this originally independent collection of laws stands to the legislation of Ezekiel and the priestly code respectively.

M. Westphal, in the second of the notes above referred to, after rightly rejecting the theory that the prophet Ezekiel may have been the author of the collection in question, merely intimates his adherence to the view of Kuenen and others that it "marks the transition between the programme sketched by Ezekiel and the final text of the priestly code. We have thus three phases of one and the same elaboration" (p. 385).

In a question of such difficulty we must not dogmatise. Still, M. Westphal himself points out (p. 28, note) that H mentions but two kinds of sacrifice, as do JE and D, while Ezekiel "introduces in his legislation, alongside of the *Olah* and the *Zebach-Shelamim* two orders of sacrifice unknown to the ancient kingdom, the sin-offering and the guilt-offering" (pp. 359, 360), a fact which so far goes to show that Ezekiel is here a good step nearer the legislation of P than H is. And the same holds good, as Kuenen is obliged to admit, of the distinction between Priests and Levites, and of the date of the celebration of *Maḡgoth* and *Succoth*, where H agrees with JE and D, not with Ezekiel and the priestly code. May these not be fairly taken as indications that H is older than Ezekiel, though by how much it is impossible to say?

As a set-off to this fault-finding, I hasten to call attention to

what in my opinion is the most valuable part of this volume, that which deals with the comparative study of the various sources under the two heads of history and legislation (pp. 115-247). It is a lucid and careful presentation of the leading points in the position of the newer school of historical critics. The three great strata of the completed Pentateuchal legislation are compared and contrasted in respect of their civil and especially of their religious requirements, the laws of Deuteronomy being taken as the basis of the comparison. As regards the place of authorised worship, the sacrifice, the festivals, the relations of priest and Levite and the like, it is shown conclusively that D occupies an intermediate position between the legislation of JE and that of the priestly code.

M. Westphal thus proves himself an adherent of the now dominant critical school, although his affinity is much greater to Delitzsch and Riehm than to Kuenen and Wellhausen. This is especially evident in his treatment of the famous episode of the finding of the Deuteronomic law-book in the temple (722 B.C.). Indeed, his view of the relation of the author of that document to Moses and of the question of the *bona fides* of Hilkiah and his coadjutors is substantially that of the first-named scholar (pp. 278, 279), while he agrees with both in dating the book from the early part of the reign of Hezekiah, for whose reform D supplied the programme as it did later for the more effectual reform of Josiah. But does so early a date allow sufficient time to elapse between the composition of D and that of the sources of the prophetic narrative (JE), to account for the differences generally between these documents?

There are, scattered throughout the book, not a few beautiful passages such as one hardly expects in a work of this kind. Such, for example, is the description of the teaching of J, as given on pages 12-15. Alongside of this, as an example of neat and happy characterisation, may be placed the estimate of Ezekiel's place in Hebrew history (p. 350), which reminds one of Freeman's estimate of Rome ("Historical Essays," Second Series, p. 237).

There are naturally many minor points in which one may be allowed to differ from the author. Thus—to take the first that comes—on page 163 (vol. II.), I do not know on what authority the statement rests that *gorban* signifies "an offering as demanded by law," and so is distinguished from *minchah*, "a spontaneous gift." And on the following page, footnote (4), it is too hazardous to infer from the isolated occurrence (1 Samuel vii. 6) that on fast days the *nesekh*, or drink-offering, consisted of *water* only. The errata seem very few and easily corrected. Much more serious, in fact inexcusable, is the want of an index to the second volume. A book of

this kind without an index should at once be "slated" by the angry reviewer. M. Westphal's "Sources of the Pentateuch" may be allowed to be the exception that proves the rule.

ARCH. R. S. KENNEDY.

### **The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel.**

*With Notes and Introduction. By the Rev. A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D. Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges Series. Cambridge: At the University Press. 8vo, pp. lv. 368. Price 5s.*

WE have hitherto had no native work upon Ezekiel of original and satisfactory merit. That such a work should now have come to us in the course of a series of educational manuals "for schools and colleges" is like our practical British fashion of doing these things. That its originality and value to scholars should not have been lost by its appearance in such a series, is due to its author being Professor Davidson. His mastery of his subject, his sane judgment and sense of proportion, and his spiritual insight, enable him to produce what is equally lucid to beginners and suggestive to experts. He has already published two school or college manuals—on Job and on Hebrews—which are of the greatest use to the most advanced students. It goes without saying, that this new text-book on Ezekiel is of the same double kind of value—enhanced in degree by the fact that we have no other native commentary on the prophet of respectable rank. The limits of a manual have not allowed Dr Davidson to enter fully into textual questions, or the important historical problem of Ezekiel's place in the development of Old Testament ritual; but these subjects receive much elucidation, and the student will find an exhaustive treatment of almost all the other relevant points. There is the same lucid, faithful, continuous interpretation of the text—as in Dr Davidson's previous works—unmixed as so much exposition is with modern ideas and ingenious speculations of the expositor's own. There is the same rebuke of fantastic, the some completion of one-sided, theories. There is the same grasp of detail in the summary of the prophet's theology; the same ability to look at things from his historical position, the same sympathy with his temperament and circumstance. There is the same full memory of the rest of the Old Testament, out of which the various points in the book are illustrated, and set each in its proper place in the range of revelation. There is the same spiritual insight, which, if it must sometimes pass severe judgment upon the prophet's style and temper, rises to the most warm and infective appreciation of his evangelical passages.

The only points, on which one might have expected more of Dr Davidson's opinion, are the state of Israel in exile, and the influence of Babylonian atmosphere and circumstances upon especially the opening theophanies of the Book.

The most interesting features of the Introduction are these. Upon Ezekiel himself, Dr Davidson emphasises the influence of Jeremiah : Renan's "idea that the prophet's office was limited to the exiles ; among whom he was a sort of pastor, with a cure of souls, is supported by nothing in the Book." The Book is a written Book, "written as it is now," at a late period in the prophet's life. But it contains the "actual oral communications" made by the prophet at the times at which he dates them. "It is beyond belief that so many circumstances, all harmonious if real, should be nothing but elaborate fictions." Dr Davidson's discrimination of the human elements in the prophecy is as strong as his emphasis of the unmistakably divine. "The passage xxix. 17-20 possibly implies that the prophet felt his predictions against Tyre to have received a less literal fulfilment than was expected from them." "It cannot be assumed that the prophet's exercise of his office was just literally such as it is represented. Circumstances of actual occurrence are idealised by him." "The predictions may even have received in some parts a certain colour from the fulfilment." Yet "it may be assumed that the main contents of the oral addresses are faithfully reproduced ;" the prophet's anticipations were verified by history, and his visions of Israel's restoration were, as he felt them, "a revelation of God. And from whence else could his assurance of his people's restoration have come ? There was nothing in the state of the world and of the nations to suggest it, and everything in the past history of the people and their present condition to make it seem impossible." Again, to those, who like Kuenen say that Ezekiel's conception of Jehovah, "the rigidly just one," is a reflection of the prophet's "own scrupulous and precise character," Dr Davidson replies that this is to invert the true order : "the prophet's conception of his office is a reflection, if there be reflection in the case, of his idea of the divine method in dealing with men. It is because God will deal with each man individually that the prophet feels he must warn each separately."

We have no scholar in Britain who has devoted himself to the theology of the Old Testament as Dr Davidson has done, and in this volume he gives us two of his characteristic essays on the subject, "Jehovah, God of Israel," and "Israel, the People of the Lord." Preachers will find those essays of the greatest use. Ezekiel is a Book most preachers shun ; its views of God seem distant and repellent, its morality formal and austere, its symbols and images distasteful to the modern habits of imagination. But in his

essays on the theology of Ezekiel, Dr Davidson disperses these notions. He elucidates "the Gospel in Ezekiel." He shows how near the prophet felt God to be; how vividly he represents God "as endowed with all the attributes and emotions of moral being;" he discerns a tenderness, an urgency, a spirituality and inwardness that might be the second Isaiah's or Paul's own. He explains the austere features in God's presentation of Himself, and clears up the intricate questions of sin and judgment; he expounds the sources and principles of "what was perhaps the greatest contribution made by Ezekiel to the religious life and thought of his time," the emancipation of the individual soul. All this results in an amount of homiletic material and inspiration which ought to make our prophet such a power in the English pulpit as he has never yet been. I note that, on one point, in the exposition of Ezekiel's visions of God, Dr Davidson is not ready to impart so much meaning as others have found in it. That "God has a likeness as the appearance of a man," when taken with the other anthropomorphisms throughout the Book, is no more or less than the expression of the idea of a living personality possessing all the powers of personal being."

On questions of historical criticism Dr Davidson is, of course, less detailed; but his suggestions are many and luminous. On the cardinal question, whether the prophets are correct in their view of the past of Israel as a state of purity of faith and conduct from which the history has been a decline was a historical view, he is explicit. "The unanimous feeling of the prophets as to the past must have a historical ground." On the relation between Ezekiel and the ritual Law he would seem to suspend his judgment. "Inferences from comparison of Ezekiel with the Law have to be drawn with caution, for it is evident that the prophet handles with freedom institutions certainly older than his own time." "Of more interest than the question, What amount of Law was known to Ezekiel in writing? is the other, How much of it was familiar to him in practice? It is evident that the ritual, as it appears in his Book, had long been a matter of consuetudinary law. . . . Ezekiel is no more a 'legislator' than he is the founder of the temple."

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

**Lectures on the Origin and Growth of the Conception of God, as Illustrated by Anthropology and History.**

*By Count Goblet D'Alviella, Professor of the History of Religions at the University of Brussels. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xvi. 296. Price 10s. 6d.*

THIS work forms the Hibbert Lectures for 1891, and, in its scope and spirit, is well in keeping with its immediate predecessors. It is dedicated to the "University of Brussels, founded by private initiative on the principle of free inquiry." Whether in this concise and somewhat ambiguous sentence, the Hibbert Lecture or the University be founded by "private initiative," it is manifest that the author himself belongs to the modern school which, rightly or wrongly, claims to be more in love with truth, and more unprejudiced in search after it, than can be allowed to any other—a claim not quite free from philosophic cant. The position occupied by the author, as professor of the history of religions, implies that he possesses good qualifications for the efficient treatment of the subject in hand, and the contents of the present work will be found fully to justify the expectation so raised. We are glad to welcome another distinguished foreigner as one of our teachers. It is an interesting feature of the present age, suggestive of the broadening sympathies of mankind, that once more a representative of the highest culture of the continent has been selected to open out more fully important avenues of thought for the English speaking race. This is one of the signs that point on to some possible future cosmopolitan organisation for teaching purposes, or, at least, the permanent establishment of a more tangible bond of fellowship between the erudite minds of Europe and America. When, consequent on the social and international changes of the past four centuries, Latin ceased to be in Europe the vehicle of learned thought, it seemed probable that one result would be intellectual insularity with its inevitable narrowness and one-sidedness. To some extent this was the outcome of the change. The philosophy and theology of Great Britain of sixty or seventy years ago doubtless suffered much from our ignorance of continental thought: nor was Germany, on its side, free from the narrowing influence of isolation from the more practical character of English work and the lucidity of French thought and expression. But happily the more wide spread study of modern languages, together with greater facilities for intercourse, has of late done much to compensate for the loss of Latin in the higher departments of literature, while it certainly has developed a more generous sympathy with intellectual strivings wherever they exist.

The object which the distinguished author proposes to himself is to show how the sublimest idea of God hitherto attained by the cultured intellect is the outgrowth, by a process of pure naturalism, from the earliest ideas and feelings concerning supposed powers other than those in the living man, entertained by our pre-historic ancestors. As Evolution is said to have extended along the entire line of inorganic and organic existence up to the appearance of man, and was inclusive of him, so all that pertains to man's religious experience, and especially his conception of a supreme power, is covered by the same law. Judaism and Christianity are, in this respect, simply on a par with the crudest Fetishism and Polytheism. There is no more of the supernatural in the Christ than there is in the megalith to which men of the neolithic age bent their heads. The continuity of an exclusively natural process within the sphere of religion being thus assumed, the manifold researches of geologists and anthropologists are laid under tribute with considerable skill and ardent zeal, in order to trace, so far as may be, the line of evolution from the earliest signs of human thought up to the present day. Under the masterly hand of the author, dry and widely scattered facts of pre-historic archæology and comparative ethnology, and, some may think, items which are as yet scarcely established facts, are worked up by way of argument and illustration into a very readable form. The first task to which he applies himself is to indicate the methods of research into the manifestations of religion during the vast period that lies at the back of all history. Then comes a bit of philosophy in setting forth what is believed to be the genesis of the Idea of gods generically, as of a mysterious, super-human power, the names and characters of which vary as the evolutionary process moves on among the different races. This is followed by an interesting chapter on Polydemonism and Polytheism, — our author adopting the nomenclature of Tiele rather than that of Tylor in respect to Animism. The question of Dualism, as an advance on Polytheism, is next discussed, leading on, of course, to the highest form of Theism, namely, Monotheism. It might be supposed that here the lecturer would bring his work to an end, as in the idea of God there is no higher point to be reached in the evolutionary process than that. But all through the treatment of the subject the author has sought to show that the idea of God, as such, is inseparably connected with religious usages, and, indeed, is ascertainable almost entirely by the history of such usages. Consequently the fitting close of the discussion is found in an interesting chapter upon the future of worship, so far as it may be anticipated from the growing completeness in years to come of the idea of Divine Unity.

In dealing with a subject so intricate, and involving, indeed, the



mental and religious history of mankind from first to last, the question of method is most important. The thoroughgoing evolutionist has a difficult task before him ; for the latest developments are grounded on the earliest, and how to ascertain what these were is consequently essential to the validity of any scientific account of Monotheism. Count d'Alviella thinks that the entire difficulty is removed by first noticing what the pre-historic men did, in so far as we can learn from the relics of their existence now brought to light, and then by studying the savages of the historic period, in order to find out what religious ideas and feelings were associated with their doing of the same things. On the principle of evolution, the acts and the ideas of the savage of historic times are, where resemblance in the acts occur, survivals of the dim past. If relics of the mammoth age have been found which show that the men of that age were accustomed to bury their dead not without their arms and tools, that clearly points to their belief in another life after death ; because savages of the historic period, who do the same, are known to do it in order to express that belief. In like manner, if the caves of the mammoth age exhibit traces of funeral feasts, that also shows that the men were interested not merely in the memory of friends now dead, but in their continued welfare ; for such is the case with natives of the Red River. Nay, further, if, in the reindeer age, the bones of the dead were painted red with oligist or cinnabar, that would point to a revival, or renewal of existence ; for such is the case among the Mincopies of the Andaman Island and the Niams of Central Africa. Thus it can be shown that pre-historic men, thousands of years before the dim light of early history began to dawn, "believed in a future life, and possessed fetishes, and perhaps even idols."

Some whose opinions are worthy of consideration think that the early developed ideas of the Semites imply that the ancestors of such people started with the full possession of a Monotheistic belief, of which the prevailing Polytheism of subsequent times was only a degeneration. Count D'Alviella contests this view. A bare moral capacity, ignorance, and rude savagery characterised the beginnings of humanity. Among a race more pithecod than the men of the polished stone age there arose somehow thoughts of a life other than that in the body—of a force other than that in self ; and these became the germ out of which the highly developed religion of the Semites and other peoples grew. Equipped with the appliances furnished by philology, pre-historic archæology, folk-lore, psychology, and comparative ethnography, Count D'Alviella seeks to interpret the significance of the ever-accumulating relics of the pre-historic period, and thus lay a foundation for the entire religious thought of the human race.

The "corresponding elements" that may now be detected in historic forms of worship and in popular survivals are, in some measure, to be read into the bones, the caves, the tools, the rude carvings, the modes of interment of the naked, fireless savages of the later palæolithic and subsequent ages.

Perhaps any treatment of pre-historic data for the purpose of ascertaining the exact thought and feeling of the earliest men is open to criticism. We cannot see clearly in the dark, and our artificial lights can penetrate only a little way. Substantially the method here adopted is, no doubt, the right one—the only one—for an evolutionist to adopt. Only there is great risk of putting our ideas into acts which might have been quite innocent of them. Archæologists may admit that in the caves of Central France, occupied by men of the reindeer age, the body of the dead was buried folded up, so that the knees touched the chin. But Count D'Alviella credits those early savages with considerable knowledge of embryology, when he explains this as being intended to teach that the corpse was intentionally so set in order to represent the position of the infant in his mother's womb—i.e., as one just about to enter on another life. The same undue eagerness to read later ideas into common facts is seen in the case of the rude attempt at a human figure cut in reindeer-horn in the cave of Pont-à-Lesse. This, says our author, "was perhaps an idol." But surely man might learn to draw long before he used drawing for purely religious purposes! Also, one may raise a doubt concerning the beliefs and usages ascribed to the men of the mammoth age, whose relics were found in the cave of Spy. I am not sure, but I suppose that Count D'Alviella, is here referring to the ancient men described so carefully by Fraipont, who represents them as being more pithecoïd than any others known to us, seeing that our author also speaks of them as supplying a new link in the descending scale from man to animals. The intellectual development in this case seems to be in excess of the physical.

The ground traversed in the chapter on the genesis of the Idea of God has of late years been beaten rather hard. According to Count D'Alviella it is to be traced to the tendency to unwarrantably extend the notion of personality; the investing of living forces with mystery and superiority; the logical fallacy of confusing *post hoc* with *propter hoc*; the disposition to turn dreams into realities; and the creation of the idea of the "double" out of the notion of the soul going out of the body in dreams. Max Müller's prominence, in the genesis of the Idea of God, to the conception of cause behind all phenomena, is not brought out as fully as might have been.

We have next an interesting chapter on Polydemonism and Polytheism in which our author differentiates Spiritism, Fetishism, and

Idolatry. Unless we believe that some form of Monotheism was the primary heritage of man, it would seem to follow that the origination of the initial god, or germ of a god, was by each man for himself, so that from the first there would be laid the foundation of the more systematised polytheism of historic times. It is an error to suppose that a mere material object—a stone—as such, is the object of adoration. The ancient megalith and the small stone of the more modern savage are more than solid things. Some kind of agency, or power, or personality is associated with natural objects. Man having formed the idea of his own “double,” which can in thought be separated from the body, as when the mind in dreams goes off on the chase, it becomes easy by analogy to separate the personality or power from the natural object. In this way the distinction between body and soul is extended to all personified objects. Hence there is a spirit of the tree, the sea, the wind and the volcano. But many of the objects thus personified pass from view—they cease to be as truly as do men. The result is that the unseen becomes peopled with souls, spirits. In this account of spirits Count D'Alviella differs from Mr Herbert Spencer, who holds that spiritism arose from the worship of the dead; or, more strictly, that spirits are dead men, whose individuality, by lapse of time, has been effaced. The items of fact quoted from books of travel among savages sometimes point one way, sometimes another. Chinese traditions seem to favour Mr Spencer's view. Possibly wise men will be content to wait for further information.

The “spirit” is aloof from body; the *fetish* is represented as a thing appropriated in order to secure the services of the spirit supposed to have lodged within it. There is, however, a fetishism, as among the Ostiaks, which is only another name for physiolatry; and, again, another which is practically necrolatry. The differentia of the *idol* is that it is an elaborated fetish. The simplest origin of idolatry is that, when a worshipper believes in a spirit, he would feel himself in closer communication with it if the form of the object reproduced the likeness of the spirit. In that case all true idols are fashioned, or are selected, to conform to the ideal entertained of the invisible spirit which is the real object of worship. Other probable origins of idolatry are mentioned, but in every case the mind of the worshipper seems to be primarily intent on the spirit that is to be embodied; as may be seen by referring to the tendency to worship rocks or trees that recall by their outline the human figure, and also to the singular Chaldean custom of providing fantastic forms of animals in order to attract spirits of sickness from taking their abode in human bodies. In the course of time the human form became predominant; either because man began to feel that he was the most exalted being in nature, or because, by con-

stantly attributing human sentiments to the gods, he was instinctively led to lend to them also the corresponding figure.

To some readers the latter part of Chapter III. on the Divine Hierarchy will prove especially interesting. The human mind cannot rest in a chaos of thought. Even the deities must be classified. The idea of procedure which obtains in human affairs becomes transferred to the world of spirits. The superhuman powers which man suffers to exist around him are differentiated on the principle of importance to man, either as guardian, or helper, or enemy. As the result of study in detail on this subject, it is concluded that four categories of superhuman beings must have taken precedence of the common herd of spirits at an early stage, namely, the great deities of nature, the spirits that preside over the most important factors of human destiny, the genii of species and of social groups and the souls of the illustrious dead.

But this differentiation is only a step to a distinction between the spirits,—which practically cease to be gods as hitherto—and the gods. The invisible world is reduced to an order of subordination of the inferior to the superior after the model, in some degree, of what prevails among men. The social and political order of human beings is idealised and transferred to a higher region. Here some interesting matter is brought in to illustrate this principle—in the respective Polytheisms of the Indo-Europeans, the Egyptians, the Mesopotamians, the Western Semites, the aboriginal Americans and the Chinese. As one instance of this tendency to construct the celestial hierarchy after the model of the earthly state, mention is made of Greece (Indo-European) in the time of Homer; where the great gods “correspond to the local kings, whose assembly is presided over by the King of men, just as the Olympians gather under the presidency of Zeus; and the power of Zeus is no more absolute than is that of Agamemnon over his allies.” On the other hand, “the popular assembly of the Agora has its counterpart in the gathering of all the divine beings to learn the will of Zeus.” Neither Socrates nor Plato succeeded in raising the popular conception of the divine unity any higher. It is, however, not easy to see the application of the principle to the Hebrews. Count D’Alviella, following Renan, speaks of “the Jahveh Sebaoth, the god of the celestial armies, surrounded by a veritable *divan*.” But we should remember that the fundamental conception of the Hebrew Deity was held to be a sole and absolute monarchy, when under Moses the state was not a monarchy. If later on the qualification Sebaoth was used it was only in keeping with the most ancient statement that God was the Creator of the heavens and the earth, and, Gen. ii. 1, the finisher of “all the host of them,” to which, most probably, there is a reference in Isaiah xl. 26, where,

see v. 28, Jahveh is identified with Elohim and Creator. Students of comparative religions, constantly find the same difficulty of making the entire facts of Hebrew religion square with hypotheses that may perchance be applicable to other religions. May it not be well to accept this recurrent difficulty as a phenomenon demanding for its solution a broader philosophy? Modern philosophical thought is bound to eschew the old scholastic error of laying down a definite rule to which every fact that comes across our path is perforce made to conform itself.

The tendency of human thought is towards unity, but there are many stages before this is attained. So the tendency of thought in relation to the gods is in the same direction, but before unity can be reached there is a seeming rest in dualism. That dualism has figured prominently in some religions is obvious. The question examined in the fourth chapter is, how it arose? It is assumed that the gods of polytheism borrowed some of the characteristics of their worshippers and became selfish, and that this issued in an alliance for mutual advantage—the god would favour the nation, and the nation would suppress other rival gods. But mythology, springing from a natural tendency to give form to certain ideas, would accentuate whatever religion might suggest. The primal element of Dualism is to be found in important deities being regarded as presiding over beneficent phenomena, in contrast with other deities supposed to preside over maleficent phenomena. The advance of religion means the development into clearer form of this antagonism; and the more clear and assured the idea of cosmic order becomes, the more sharply defined is the antithesis of good and evil. It is in this broader conception of a regular order of phenomena, with a beneficent result, that the old conception of caprice in the gods is finally lost. In due course, the events that work out for good are regarded as under a supreme god, and those which work out otherwise are under an inferior god. The forms of Dualism assumed by different religions will be determined by the ideas prevalent where the religions exist. Egypt, Germany, India, and Persia became dualistic variously. Reference is made to the Hebrew conception of evil angels under Satan. But our author should have noted that this is not the Dualism of *gods*. Nowhere is there a representation of a rival to Jahveh, who has independent control even of the forces of Nature which bring suffering. If the dramatic form of teaching in Job be referred to, it is to be remembered that even there Satan can only do *as* he is allowed. Also, it would perhaps have been well, were it possible, to give a more complete genesis of the Zoroastrian Dualism. We sadly miss the chronological ascent from crude Polytheism to the peculiar Dualism of Persia. Evolution is shown best by the production of the actual links in the chain of progress.

The latter part of this chapter is devoted to an exposition of the "Struggle for Good," in which the gods and men are concerned ; and it is pointed out that the conception of the moral order is on the model of the cosmic order, and that out of the inequalities of this life and the often apparent injustice to the good, there arises a moral ground for belief in a future life in which the conflict between the dual powers will issue in triumph for the good. Thus Hesiod, in his *Works and Days*, is one in teaching with the book of Job. Bishop Butler, then, only developed an ancient doctrine. Naturally this leads to the representations of the future life as either one of bliss or of woe ; and here our author gives us references to Assyria, India, the South Seas, as well as to Mahomedan and Christian teaching.

The final stage in the conception of God is that covered by the term Monotheism. This is to be distinguished from Monolatry, which rests simply on the belief in the superiority of the national God. In some countries, at a comparatively early date in history, Polytheism co-existed with the idea of a supreme God—one who was over both gods and men, and the active minds of those ages framed divine genealogies of all who had a place in the national pantheons. The supreme God among more cultured peoples was regarded as the Father. The philological identity of *Dyaushpita* = *Ζεύς πατήρ* = Jupiter reveals a remarkable unity of belief among widely separated nations.

The place of metaphysics in the development of Monotheism deserves some attention. The original conception of the supreme God was rather that of greater power : thought advanced to the distinction between power and nature, so that ultimately the Supreme Deity was regarded as supreme by reason of his nature as well as in the exercise of power. But obviously pure monotheism is not reached as long as any distinction is made between superior and inferior gods. How then is the passage to be made from this qualified monotheism—which is really polytheism more elaborately graduated—to real monotheism ? The answer given by Count D'Alviella is substantially this : by a process of philosophising the deities below the Supreme God are at last regarded not as beings, but as forms or names. Without using the term disrespectfully, I may say that an ingenious use is made of the Egyptian names of deities to establish this crucial point. The nature of the process is indicated by the words, "All that was now needed was one more effort of abstraction to put above and behind this triad the being in which it was resumed, and into which, so to speak, it melted. That higher unity was sometimes found in the first person of the triad, regarded as reproducing itself by eternal generation ; sometimes in 'a spirit more spiritual than the gods ; the holy soul which clothes itself with forms, but itself remains unknown,' " p. 214.

The latter part of the chapter on Monotheism is devoted to an elaborate discussion of the more recent applications of philosophy to solve the problem of the Supreme Existence. The author does not commit himself to any dogmatic statement concerning the source of all things. He calls attention to the trend of thought being rather in the direction of a modification of the views of Spencer on the side of Theism; though one could have wished for a little more explicitness as to the position taken by the author himself. His apparent discouragement of the idea of a Divine Personality leaves much to be desired.

Our author's view of the Hebrew conception of God will scarcely commend itself to many of his readers. Following in the wake of Renan, Stade, and others, he holds that the God of Abrahamic times and the Jahveh of later times were tribal, local. Because the Hebrews spoke of the "God of Israel," and "the God of Abraham," it by no means follows that they thought of their God as the polytheistic nations around thought of theirs. In the midst of heathenism what better expression could be found for indicating their own faith? We sometime even now speak of the Christian's God. Do we mean that He is only one among other gods? Are we tolerant polytheists? It is significant that Christ, whose monotheism was unquestioned, used the expression "God of Abraham," as also did Peter in the remarkable assertion that it was the "God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob," who raised up Christ. The often quoted words of Jephthah, "Wilt thou not possess that which Chemosh thy God giveth thee," are adduced as being conclusive. But would it not be more reasonable to base our view of the Hebrew conception of God on the general drift and form of teaching rather than on a sentence which certainly may be taken as an *argumentum ad hominem*, seeing that Jephthah was supremely anxious to coax his enemy into friendliness? The Elohist writer of Gen. ii. 1, vi. 12, 13, and the Jehovistic writer who represents Abraham appealing to "the Judge of all the Earth," could hardly have been thinking of a local deity. Whether the command to destroy all idols of conquered peoples, and to abolish their gods, was in keeping with polytheistic practice, Count D'Alviella has practically settled by teaching that the gods of conquered people passed into the service of the conquerors, p. 207.

The closing chapter is devoted to the forecast of the worship of the future under the influence of the more philosophical conception of God, which it is thought will become more and more prevalent. The author does not commit himself to any definite view of the Ultimate Reality. His position is rather that of a watchful and waiting eclectic who is desirous of availing himself of the elements of truth in the more advanced systems of thought. Evidently he considers that worship is essential for the satisfaction of the inde-

tractible yearnings of human nature ; and in this respect he must feel that Spencer's position as a philosophical Agnostic requires some qualification. One would need to have more than a Power, or Energy, in order to restful, elevating worship. As of old, the "heart crieth out," 'even amidst the most strenuous philosophical strivings,' "for the living God."

CHARLES CHAPMAN.

### Das Hauptproblem der Evangelienfrage und der Weg zu seiner Lösung.

*Eine academische Vorlesung nebst Eckkursen von Dr Paul Ewald.*  
 Leipzig: Hinrichs. London and Edinburgh: Williams &  
 Norgate. 8vo, pp. 256. Price M 7.

THE title of this work arouses at once curiosity and hope. There are so many problems of great importance in connection with the study of the gospels, that one is curious to know which of them can fairly claim to be the "chief problem." And since so many theories on the subject have proved to be a *cul-de-sac*, and to lead *obscuræ ad obscurius*, it is refreshing to be assured that there is a path that leads to light ; and though many questions of minor importance may, and will, remain unsolved, yet the question of prime importance is on "the way to solution." What, then, is *the chief problem of the Gospel question?* Dr Ewald replies that it is to explain how it has arisen that we have two such diverse accounts of the life and work of the Lord Jesus as are presented to us in the Synoptists on the one hand, and the fourth Gospel on the other. Accepting both as equally historical and truthful, how comes it to pass that while the three Synoptists agree to such an extent in their choice of material (having, roughly-speaking, two-thirds of their matter in common), and agree in their delineation of the Christ, in their limitations as to the duration and locality of our Lord's ministry—not one of them mentioning a ministry in Judea until the last ; yet in the fourth Gospel, we have so much new material, a fresh kind of discourse, a more exalted delineation of the Christ and a new sphere of activity—Judea, almost to the exclusion of Galilee ? Granting that the Lord Jesus *did* at the very first spend a long time in Judea, and did there, before He preached at Nazareth (Luke iv.), make so many disciples that news was brought to the Pharisees "that He made and baptised more disciples than John" — granting that He did visit Jerusalem periodically at the feasts, and did there deliver the Johannean discourses, how has it arisen that three men in presenting to us a life of Jesus, are at one in their silence as to the successes in Judea



and are agreed in giving what Dr Ewald calls a one-sided account of the Saviour's life and ministry. This is rightly called "the chief problem" which the thoughtful believer has to solve. Cherishing these views, Dr Ewald has no words but those of wonder and censure, not only for scholars like Wittichen, who can compose a "Life of Jesus" without so much as mentioning the fourth Gospel, with the exception of the *pericope* about the woman taken in adultery; but also for all scholars who have devoted their attention to the Synoptic problem and the Johannean as two isolated studies, without recognising that the two are inter-related at every step. Every theory, therefore, designed to explain the phenomena of the three Synoptists, which is incompatible with the phenomena of the fourth as a genuine history, stands, in Dr Ewald's regard, as self-condemned.

The theories adverse to his own are by our author divided into two classes. (1) Those which explain the omissions, divergences, &c. of the Synoptic Gospels, by the assumption that each writer was influenced in the selection of his material by a preconceived literary plan (*Die planmässige Auswahl*). Dr Ewald passes under searching review (a) those who consider this alone to suffice for the elucidation of the problem, from Irenæus and Epiphanius to Delitzsch and Hengstenberg; and in reply says that it is "incredible that three different authors, with three different plans, should have produced so similar, and so one-sided a selection of materials, and so similar and one-sided a description of Christ's Person and Works" (page 101). (b) Those who modify the theory of "selection in accordance with a plan" by the theory that two of the evangelists were partially indebted for their materials to the work of one of the others, altering their copy in details under the influence of their own dominant idea. The radical error of one and all is that they offer no explanation as to why the equally historical events of Jchn's Gospel are entirely ignored. If it is asserted that the first Gospel has "a polemical tendency and was designed to exhibit the guilt of the heads of the house of Israel in view of the unexpected fulfilment of prophecy," would not the events which occurred amid the growing opposition of Judaism (John ii. iii.) have exhibited this, as well as those in Galilee? If it is affirmed that the second Gospel has for its aim to describe the beginning of Christ's mission, is there not some assignable reason why "the beginning of this beginning" in the Judean ministry, is passed over in silence? If Luke's design was to describe the way of salvation "from the Temple to the metropolis of the world," can any theory of the Gospels be deemed adequate, which attempts no explanation as to why, in accord with the other Synoptists, Luke leaps over some of the most significant parts in the Saviour's earthly history? (page 9.)

(2) There is another set of theories for the solution of the Synoptic problem, which Dr Ewald brings together under the heading of *the fixed tradition*. It is supposed by many scholars that we have in the Synoptic writings, a sort of "precipitate" of the history of Christ's earthly life, which had been "held in solution" in the consciousness of the primitive Church, but had been "thrown down" by means of an apostolic consensus followed by oral catechising, or by the influence of a written document which contained all the matter common to the three Synoptists. The theory of "oral tradition" started in Germany by Gieseler, and for many years all but supreme in this country, is discussed at length, and then announced to be fully exploded. Dr Ewald will not admit, as the above theory seems to require, that it formed any important part of the work of the Apostles to narrate the events of Christ's life in the course of their ministry. They were "witnesses of the Resurrection." He appeals to the Apostolic sermons given in the Acts, in which the details of Christ's life are not spoken of; especially to Acts x. 37, where Peter passes over these events as well known to the friends of Cornelius; and dwells at length on the fact that so few of the events of Christ's life, and so few of His sayings as recorded in the Synoptics, are recorded in the Epistles. Dr Ewald judiciously weeds out one by one many of the citations and references to the Synoptic tradition, which are adduced from the Epistles, by Dr Resch in the "Agrapha," and then asks if the scant residue allows us to believe that there was a canon of discourses selected by Apostolic consensus, as the basis of their instruction. Had this been so, would the Apostles, we are asked, have failed to embody *verbally* more of the sayings of the Lord Jesus in their Epistles? But the great argument against Oral Tradition as a valid solution of the whole Gospel question is, in our author's regard, that it attempts no explanation as to why so many of the most precious of the utterances of Christ are not found in the Synoptic Gospels. There are several ways in which the one-sidedness (*Einseitigkeit*) of the Synoptists has been explained. These receive attention from our author and are summarily dismissed. (1) There is the view of Weiss that the Johannine discourses "slumbered" in the minds of the disciples, until, connected as they were with the theological development of the one disciple John, they received from him their own peculiar stamp. (*Biblical Theology*, page 50 English Edition.) Dr Ewald maintains that it is psychologically impossible that these recollections should have "slumbered" in the mind, not merely of one witness, but of all. And if the *discourses* slumbered, what about the startling successes in Judea, when they baptised in Christ's name so many disciples as to vie in multitude with those of John! (2) Reference is then made to Ebrard's

theory that the Synoptists were well acquainted with the Judean ministry, but it did not fall within their literary plan to describe more than the Galilean ministry, with the exception of the events connected with Christ's Death and Resurrection. Chiefly on the ground that the distinction is not thorough-going, that John gives us some new Galilean events (as the marriage at Cana), and the Synoptists also give some of the Judean events of the Passion, Dr Ewald dismisses far too lightly a hypothesis which possesses much probability, and is needed to give cogency to his own theory. (3) It has been maintained by Eichhorn, Gieseler and Wetzel that the incompleteness of the Synoptic narratives is to be explained by the desire to present, first, a course of elementary instruction as to Christ's life; and afterwards the more profound of the Saviour's utterances—those of a more esoteric character. There is no doubt that on the whole there are more profound and mystical utterances in the fourth Gospel than in the other three, but Dr Ewald has no difficulty in showing that this remark does not apply to *all* the new matter in the fourth Gospel. "Was the first miracle," he asks, "through which Jesus revealed His glory to His disciples not suitable for the first instruction of the disciples of those disciples? (John ii. 11). Were the precious words of the Baptist as to the bridegroom who has the bride, and as to Him who must increase while the Baptist decreases, less instructive than say Jesus' words as to the difference between His followers and those of the Baptist? (Matt. ix. 14; xi. 7). Was the temple cleansing at the beginning of His ministry more mysterious than at the end?" &c. &c. (page 133).

And now it is high time that we raised the question as to what is in Dr Ewald's esteem, "the way to the solution" of the "chief problem." As we have said, Dr Ewald considers the fourth Gospel just as historical as the Synoptics, or, as he prefers to say, the Synoptics as historical as the fourth Gospel. He firmly believes, also, that the utterances of Christ as recorded by John, though not committed to memory, had a very profound effect upon the thinking of the primitive Church: and his endeavour to prove this, constitutes the most interesting and original part of his work. There was then, at first, one broad stream of Reminiscences in the early Church. The first to divert part of this stream into a distinct channel is Peter, who, as narrated by Papias, handed over to Mark a series of incidents which most deeply impressed his mind, and these were, by Mark, transmitted to writing. As to the extent of this original work, Dr Ewald examines at length the theories that it was longer, and that it was shorter than the canonical Mark; and decides that it was almost identical with it. The only portions of our present Gospel, not found in the Ur-Marcus are

Mark i. 1-3 ; vii. 24 to viii. 26 ; xvi. 9-20. The reasons given for the omission of the introduction are purely subjective. Against the originality of the *middle* section, the chief reasons assigned are (1) that Luke, who up to this point rigorously follows Mark as to the course of events, omits entirely the incidents here recorded. (2) the vocabulary and the style of composition are in many respects unlike the rest of the Gospel.

The second great channel, diverting another part of the original stream, is the collection of the Saviour's discourses by Matthew. Dr Ewald is of the opinion that the *Logia* consisted exclusively of discourses, with the exception perhaps of very brief introductory remarks noting the circumstances in which they were spoken. The *Logia* contained, he maintains, all the discourses of Matthew, with the exception of those in chap. xviii., which, for various reasons, our author excludes from the Ur-Matthæus.

A third smaller selection is to be found in the middle of Luke's Gospel, ix. 51-xviii. 14. This deeply interesting portion contains several discourses which are also found in Matthew, and thus are borrowed from the *Logia*: and there have been those who have also ascribed to the *Logia* the discourses found *only* in this section. Our author examines the subject at length (pp. 213-237), and from considerations of style and language comes to the conclusion that the linguistic features differ from those of Matthew and of Luke himself, and present such agreement among themselves, that one is obliged to infer that those sections in "the great interpolation" which are peculiar to Luke were written by one author, and formed one small document, which Ewald designates R. On this point the reasons assigned seem conclusive.

The one-sidedness of the Synoptics is explained, then, by personal considerations. Peter did not attempt to write a complete history. He gave to Mark, from time to time, a string of incidents in which he was interested, and Mark wrote them down. Matthew collected some of the discourses. On what ground his selection was based, I cannot find that our author ventures an assertion; though we should have expected him to hazard some reason why the *Logia* did not include the Johannean discourses. From these two sources our present first Gospel was in the main composed. From these, with the addition of R. and an occasional reference to the canonical Matthew, Luke compiled his Gospel, and the second Gospel is almost identical with the Ur-Marcus.

After giving off these side channels, to keep up our author's simile, there still remains the Johannean matter. This had entered deeply into the Church's life, had richly influenced its thinking, but had not been committed to writing until the beloved disciple undertook the pleasant task. Dr Ewald is at his best in the elaborate

argumentation, by which he shows (1) that the historic setting of the fourth Gospel is presupposed in the Synoptic Gospels; and (2) that the Johannean discourses are embodied in the theology of the first century. On the first point, it is well known that the Synoptists do not expressly state that Jesus visited Jerusalem as a Teacher until just before his Passion: and yet, the Judean ministry is *implied* and *demand*ed by the Synoptic account. English scholars are familiar with the able way in which this is demonstrated by Bishop Westcott, in his "Introduction to the Study of the Gospels" (pp. 281-6), and the German scholar has not much to add. But on the second point he is much more original. He takes up numerous expressions which occur more or less frequently in the fourth Gospel, and which many scholars have regarded as Johannean, and endeavours to show that, since they occur here and there in the Epistles, and in sub-apostolic literature, they cannot be ascribed to the individuality of the one apostle, but are the veritable utterances of the Lord Jesus cherished in the memories of the Apostles, the germs of their theological thought. The coincidences between the fourth Gospel and the Epistles are used by Dr Ewald as proof of the historicity of the Johannean discourses. Of course, our author is aware that there is another hypothesis by which the resemblance *might* be explained. Since John's Gospel was confessedly written after the Epistles, it might be alleged that possibly John was the borrower; and Dr Ewald would have strengthened his position, if he had bestowed more pains on showing the improbability of this, instead of dismissing the idea once and again as "inconceivable."

Space will not permit me to deploy our author's arguments as fully as I could wish. I can do little more than furnish references, and leave the reader to verify them.

In Luke xxii. 24-37, in the account of the Last Supper, there are two sections not found elsewhere; one on the dispute as to precedence, the other as to the need for buying a sword: and Dr Ewald ingeniously points out the resemblance between these and (1) the exemplification of humility shown on the same occasion, in washing the disciples' feet, and the subsequent exhortation on the subject (John xiii. 1-20); and (2) the warnings as to anticipated tribulation in John xvi.

Then he appeals to the *Epistle of James*. Dr Plumptre has done good service in showing the coincidences of thought between this Epistle and the Synoptic Gospels. Dr Ewald deserves equal commendation for disclosing affinities with the fourth Gospel. Compare James i. 18: "Of His own free will begat He us, by the word of truth," with, "the wind bloweth where it listeth, &c.," "born from above" (John iii. 7, 8). "Sanctify them by *Thy truth*, *Thy word* is

truth" (John xvii. 7). Compare "The perfect law of liberty," James i. 25, with John viii. 31, "If ye abide in My word, ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." Compare the phrase, "The Lord of Glory," James ii. 1, with passages in John xvii.: the antithesis between "God" and "The world" in Jas. iv. 4, with John iii. 16-21: and the passage, "Do not hold the faith . . . with respect of persons" (James ii. 1) with John v. 44, "How can ye believe who receive honour from one another"—and as the result of our comparisons, must we not say that Dr Ewald is justified in the exclamation, "It is neither James nor John who has coined these phrases," the originality lies with the Lord Jesus.

Even more striking is the comparison which Ewald institutes between John viii. 31*ff.*, and James i. 22*ff.*, where we have parallel phrases occurring in the same order.

John viii. 31, *sqq.*

If ye abide in my word

Ye shall *abide*

Ye are *truly* my disciples

And ye *shall know* the truth

And the truth shall *liberate* you

Every one that doeth sin, &c.

James i. 22, *sqq.*

If any man be a hearer of the  
*word*

And *abideth* therein

*Not . . . deluding* yourselves

He that looketh into the law  
*shall be blessed* in his doing.

The perfect law of *liberty*

Being not a forgetful hearer.

After this, Dr Ewald examines the first Epistle of Peter. He first compares "The Lamb without spot," i. 19, with John i. 29: "Feed the flock of God," v. 2, with John xxi. 15: and "The chief shepherd," v. 4, with John x. 11. Then he shows how every phrase in 1 Peter v. 2-4 finds its parallel in John x. "Shepherdise the flock, not of constraint but willingly," recalls the words of Jesus: "No one taketh My life from Me, I lay it down of Myself." "Not for filthy lucre" = "The hireling careth not for the sheep." "Not lording it, &c." = "The good Shepherd giveth his life for the sheep." "Ensamples to the flock" = "The shepherd goeth before them." "The chief shepherd" = "I am the good Shepherd." Then other passages are adduced, and the combined effect of the whole is certainly favourable to our author's contention, that the Apostle's language was moulded by reminiscences of the sayings of the Lord Jesus.

Then our author passes on to the *Epistles of Paul*, and here we feel that he is on less secure ground. Paul did not hear the Saviour speak. His mind was not saturated with Christ's discourses, and though many striking coincidences are adduced, we feel that sufficient allowance has not been made for the influence of the Spirit of Christ in the Apostle, guiding him into all truth. Dr

Ewald takes up the chapters of Paul *seriatim*, and finds in almost every chapter, striking affinities with utterances of our Lord in John's Gospel. The most remarkable is the comparison between Romans viii. and John iii. Both contain the antithesis between "flesh" and "spirit." Both speak of God's "sending His own Son," and both adduce this as a *proof* of the love of God. Further, in Rom. vi. 17, we read of "The type of teaching whereunto" the Romans "were delivered:" and the immediate context, about being "The servants of sin," abounds with Johannean parallels, as viii. 34, v. 36. Interesting, too, are the affinities between John x. 17, and Phil. ii. 8, 9; John xv. 12, and Eph. v. 2; John xvi. 11, and 1 Cor. ii. 10; and especially between the first few verses of 1 Corinthians, and the high-priestly prayer. Though the case does not seem so strong for the Pauline Epistles as for the others just named, the evidence is strong enough to make it very probable that the Saviour's discourses, as recorded by John, had in Paul's day largely influenced the thought of the entire Christian Church.

And now a few words by way of criticism. As to the Johannean problem, Dr Ewald's studies, in the wake of those of Dr H. J. Holtzmann (*Einleitung* 452) and others, open up an interesting field for investigation; but even if in this sphere, diverse inferences are drawn from the same phenomena. As to the original "Sources" of the Synoptics, Dr Ewald certainly does not give us "the last word." The touchstone which he applies to other theories is—Can they explain the "one-sidedness" of the Synoptic narratives? Does his theory stand this test much better than those he condemns? Why did Peter omit the startling events of the Judean ministry in the "Notes" he gave to Mark? Why did Matthew, in his collection of "Utterances" omit the touching discourses preserved in John's Gospel? I am not aware that Dr Ewald attempts a reply. Ebrard's answer that they intentionally confined themselves almost exclusively to Galilee, he will not accept, though this seems the best reply he could have given.

Is it not high time that some different method of investigation was attempted? There must be a fault in the method that leads every investigator to a separate goal. We never arrive at certainty. The multitudinous theories all hover between greater or less plausibility. In the pages of the *Expositor*, I have recently advocated the employment of a Linguistic method. I must not presume to occupy space here with a repetition of what is accessible to all readers of the *Critical Review*. If substantiated, my theory will, at all events, give us a basis of *facts*. The results thus far arrived at are deeply interesting, as they lead one to believe that a record of most of the events of the Galilean ministry was at one time extant in Aramaic; and that in these portions, the Synoptists translated

from an Aramaic exemplar. The events of the Judean ministry, on the other hand, give no evidence of having existed other than in Greek. We wish, however, to proceed with caution, and if we can only lay a substratum of facts which will stand the test of scientific investigation, it will be preferable to the building of a gigantic structure, so attenuated, that it only endures till the next investigator assails it.

J. T. MARSHALL.

### **The Canon of the Old Testament.**

*An Essay on the Gradual Growth and Formation of the Hebrew Canon of Scripture. By Herbert E. Ryle, B.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Cambridge: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. 304. Price 6s. 1892.*

THE work here undertaken by Professor Ryle is one which has been for some time greatly needed. No book on the subject in this country—if we except that of Dr Samuel Davidson, which is little more than an expanded *Encyclopædia* article—and few in Germany could be named as giving a clear and succinct account of current scholarly opinion on the Canon of the Old Testament. The obscurity that has surrounded the subject, and permitted traditional beliefs of little critical value to hold the field, has not been cleared away till very recently. Indeed, even yet much of the work done can only be considered as tentative, and the results reached little more than provisional. But an account of this work in easily accessible form was a desideratum, and the gap could hardly have been better filled than by the volume before us. The work of Dr Frantz Buhl of Leipzig, a translation of which appeared almost simultaneously with Mr Ryle's book, by no means covers the same ground. Hardly a third of it is devoted to the subject of the Canon, and but a few pages in all are concerned with the problems which Professor Ryle sets himself to solve.

The Introduction to the work points out the obscurity in which the subject of the formation of the Old Testament Canon is involved through the absence of trustworthy external evidence, and shows how popular assumptions or learned speculations have thus far taken the place of sober and accurate enquiry. The method now to be pursued consists of a critical examination of the books themselves. An account is then given of "The Preparation for a Canon" made in comparatively early times, so far as the documents before us enable us to trace it out. The Songs, the Laws, the History, the Prophecies which went to form Hebrew literature before there was any thought of forming them into a collection of



sacred books, are described in brief outline. This forms the first of three stages which Professor Ryle distinguishes in the history of Hebrew literature. These are, "Firstly, the 'elemental' stage, or that of the formation of the literary antecedent of the Books of the Old Testament ; secondly, the 'medial,' or that of their reduction to their present literary form ; thirdly, the 'final,' or that of their selection for the position of honour and sanctity in the national Canon of Holy Scripture." (p. 17.)

There are also, however, according to Professor Ryle, who here only represents the views of all the most competent scholars, three stages in the process proper of forming the Canon ; or, as he phrases it, there are three canons discernible in the history. The beginnings of the first Canon are traced to the discovery of the Book of the Law in the time of Josiah, 621 B.C. The importance of this event, and of what we should call the publication of Deuteronomy—a people's not a priest's book—is pointed out. The first Canon was completed, we are told, soon after the Exile, when Ezra's "book of the law," our Pentateuch, was completed and accepted as sacred and authoritative Scripture. This was found to be insufficient, inasmuch as the element of prophecy was absent, and the process of selection of the earlier prophetic, or, as we call them, historical books, and of the later or distinctively prophetic writings, was proceeded with. The circumstances under which this was carried on and brought to a close, are obscure. Mr Ryle, in common with Buhl and other modern writers, fixes the century 300-200 B.C. as the time in which this work was done. The *termini a quo* and *ad quem* can be fixed with tolerable ease, though the exact dates and circumstances are hidden from us. The third Canon is that of the *Cethubhim* or "Writings." Here we have some external evidence to guide us. By means of the Greek Prologue to Ecclesiasticus on the one hand, and the evidence of the New Testament, 4 Esdras and Josephus on the other, we can fix the limits within which this last stage of the process was reached. The Canon was practically closed, according to Professor Ryle, about 105 B.C., while the formal or official closing did not take place till about 100 A.D. The significance in Jewish religious and literary history of the two periods, 160-105 B.C., and 90-110 A.D., is well shown by the author.

The latter chapters of the book are occupied with an account of the later Jewish testimony, the history of the Hebrew Canon in the Christian Church, and a minute and somewhat technical discussion of the arrangement of the books. Several valuable excursus give an account of traditional beliefs in the Jewish Church, which are traced as far as possible to their sources, together with a list of important quotations, and a table showing the arrangement of the Hebrew Scriptures in the chief documentary authorities.

As to the way in which Professor Ryle's work has been carried out, it must be said first, that there is a clear distinction between the history of Old Testament literature and the history of the Canon. One who undertakes the task here essayed must not trespass on the province of Professor Driver's "Introduction." Nevertheless, it would be perhaps impossible at any time, and it would be particularly undesirable just now, that a writer on the Canon should eschew altogether the problems raised in the history of the literature. Buhl rules these out almost entirely, and the earlier part of his book loses in value and interest accordingly. Professor Ryle appears to us to have chosen his course most judiciously, and to have sketched the history of Jewish literature as he conceives it with sufficient precision in its outlines, without allowing himself to be drawn into the discussion of details which do not concern him. This manifest advantage has, however, the corresponding disadvantage, that the writer cannot always make clear the evidence on which he relies for the positions taken up. But such limitations are necessary in almost every work.

The next point which calls for comment is the spirit in which the investigation is undertaken. In these transition days this feature is of cardinal importance. Professor Ryle's motto, *nec temere, nec timide*, sufficiently shows his aim, and in that aim he has been abundantly successful. We cannot recall any publication of modern times which combines so completely the twin essential qualifications of fearlessness and caution as does this essay. Canon Driver is, if we may say so, at the same time more cautious and less safe. He more frequently suspends judgment upon questions of detail, yet, at the same time, more frequently commits himself to principles the practical results of which are questionable. But it is invidious to compare two excellent works similar in spirit, method, and aim, and worthy of the best traditions of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

We greatly value the additional testimony afforded by Prof. Ryle's work that fearless enquiry into the literary history of Scripture need not be rationalistic, and that the clinging to traditional beliefs does not by any means necessarily imply a religious spirit. As he well says, "Voluntary humility is linked so closely to the indolent desire for interposition within the laws of our nature, that rather than acknowledge in Scripture the presence of the limitations of the human intellect, or patiently unravel the gradual unfolding of the Divine will by the instrumentality of human weakness, it prefers to assume that human powers were made Divine, and raised above the liability to error and imperfection." (p. 13.) It is far too often assumed that there is something essentially pious in the maintenance of the highest theory of inspiration, and something essentially irreverent in the enquiry into the

structure of Scripture which reveals a gradual process of composition and "canonisation" carried on under human limitations, instead of a sudden and complete illumination or a continuous miracle of Divine intervention. Now, the present writer at least is by no means prepared to accept all the conclusions even of the moderate critical school to which Prof. Ryle belongs. When external evidence is discarded or not forthcoming, the conclusions adopted on internal evidence alone, and that often very scanty, must possess an element of subjectivity and uncertainty which renders it exceedingly hazardous to rest much weight upon them. Some of the positions of the Oxford and Cambridge Professors are, in the writer's opinion, very doubtful. But the spirit in which Prof. Ryle pursues his enquiry is so essentially reverent, that the publication of this book should help rapidly forward the much-to-be-desired reconciliation between the spirit of free critical enquiry, and the spirit of devout recognition of the Divine Hand in Scripture.

Amongst the marks of Prof. Ryle's healthy conservatism we might specify, as examples, his mode of dealing with the text of 2 Kings xi. 12 (p. 43), his rejection of the idea of collusion in the discovery of Deuteronomy, and his general treatment of the subject of vocabulary as an evidence of date (p. 79). Chiefly, however, we note his repeated insistence upon the distinction clearly marked by Canon Driver, between the time of the final compilation of a document in the form in which we possess it, and the actual age of its contents or subject-matter. Whether we are dealing with laws, with history, or with psalms, this distinction is one of vital importance, and one which has not received sufficient recognition from the more advanced critics. Wellhausen, in his treatment of the Pentateuch, and Canon Cheyne, in his treatment of the Psalter, alike fail to give to it sufficient weight. Doubtless it is mainly a question of degree, for neither of the distinguished critics just mentioned fails to recognise the principle. Whether Prof. Ryle allows sufficiently for the antiquity of the material embedded in the Priests' Code, or the considerations which point to an early date for a large portion of the Psalter, despite the lateness of its admission into the Canon, may be questioned. That is not his main theme. But it is a question which his readers cannot help often asking themselves; it is one on which everything depends for the construction of a history of Hebrew religion, and the connection between the history of the religion and the history of a sacred Canon is very close.

We should be disposed to say, for example, that Prof. Ryle, like many other critics, presses at times the argument from silence too far. On p. 72, for example, he speaks of Jeremiah "being unaffected by the Law of Holiness" (Lev. xvii.-xxvi.), in order to show that the priestly regulations were collected and codified be-

tween the time of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, whereas Jeremiah's whole plane of thought hardly allows of our saying what his relation to those particular chapters really was. Again, the inferences drawn from the passage, Nehem. viii. 13-18 (misprinted "Ezra" on p. 76), concerning the people's ignorance of the way in which to celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles, seem too sweeping. Again, the often-repeated argument based on the use of the term *Mazzebah* in Isaiah xix. 19, that the writer could not have been acquainted with the prohibition of Deut. xvi. 22, assumes that these "pillars" were always associated with idolatrous worship, which usage does not warrant. Again, we should be inclined to lay more stress upon the passages which refer to the practice of storing the archives in the sanctuary (see p. 41) than Prof. Ryle seems disposed to do, and less upon the evidence of date afforded by the prevalence of Deuteronomic style and thought (p. 64). Other points on which it would be very possible to break a friendly lance with the author, are the evidence of date afforded by a comparison of the Hebrew and Greek texts of the Torah (p. 87), and the history of the formation of the Psalter (p. 127).

But it is obvious that the number of detailed questions upon which individual students may differ in pursuing an enquiry so long and complex as that here undertaken, is exceedingly great. Many of them, too, can never be definitively determined, and room for variation of opinion must be left. It is important, however, at present that there should be a clear understanding as to the *measure* of inference concerning the early religion of Israel legitimately deducible from the documentary evidence before us. A writer upon the Jewish Canon, who glances also at the history of Jewish sacred literature, must be careful as to the tone in which he speaks of the earlier stages of Jewish religion. The value of the literature, both for the purposes of history and religion, depends very largely upon the age of its contents. Prof. Ryle is by no means extreme in the positions he takes up, but he (perhaps necessarily) assumes much which he does not stay to prove, and draws many inferences in harmony with current critical conclusions which may not improbably have to be modified. A long history of Christian thought and life lay behind the processes which led to the completion of the Canon of the New Testament. A similar history preceded the completion of the Canon of the Jewish *Torah*. It is no fault of Prof. Ryle that he does not describe or dwell upon this, for that was not his immediate subject. But a clearer recognition of the fact would have given a different, and to our mind a more satisfactory tone, to some of his pages.

Once more, however, we would emphasise the indubitable excellence of a work which deserves to be, and probably will be, a

standard one in its own department. Its scholarship, complete but never obtrusive, its candour, its clearness, its devout and reverent tone, its fearless and yet careful presentation of evidence and the inferences legitimately following, its lucid style and compact form, all combine to make it an admirable guide for the English student. Prof. Ryle has produced a work which, improved as it probably will be in successive editions, is worthy of the Cambridge historical theological school to which it genetically belongs. The traditions of a Lightfoot and a Westcott at the University of Cambridge are thus happily preserved. The conditions of our knowledge as regards the books of the Old Testament make it altogether impossible to reach the measure of certainty attainable in the case of the New. But in spirit and method this work may worthily stand side by side with Bishop Westcott's on the Canon of the New Testament: higher praise than this it would be difficult to give.

W. T. DAVISON.

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### **The Fourth Gospel; Evidences External and Internal of its Johannean Authorship.**

*By Ezra Abbot, D.D.; A. P. Peabody, D.D.; and J. B. Lightfoot, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 8vo, pp. 171. Price 7s. 6d.*

THE form of this book is somewhat unusual. It consists of an Essay by the late Ezra Abbot, a composition of the editor himself, and a lecture by the late Bishop Lightfoot, all on the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. It is a good idea to bring together different compositions bearing on the one subject, and in these days, when so much useful matter is scattered abroad in reviews and elsewhere, the plan of this book may be worth imitating in other cases where no impediment is offered by copyright or other difficulties.

Dr Abbot's essay on the external evidence of authorship has been published in several forms already, and will be well known by name at least to all students of the Johannean problem. It is especially notable for its treatment of the question as to the use of the Gospel by Justin Martyr. Dr Peabody writes on the internal evidence, and puts in a new and striking, though perhaps somewhat imaginative way, some of the arguments that are taken to show that the author must have been an eye-witness of the events which he relates. He sees, for example, in the Gospel "unmistakable tokens of senility, which accord with the tradition that John wrote it in his late old age" (p. 117). He says that he never knew in actual life "a more real genuine character" than the man born blind. He asks, "What sort of a person would a blind beggar be in one of

our quiet, stationary, not over-crowded towns or cities? He would be treated good-naturedly, but not respectfully. The street *gamins* would chaff him, and make fun of him; and many older persons, especially when they put their small coins into his wallet, would discharge at him their harmless volleys of coarse wit. His own wit would be sharpened by theirs. He would give as he received. He would in every such encounter be quick in appropriate rejoinder. He would be no respecter of persons, but would have a ready answer, and that almost always a smart repartee, for whatever was said to him, by gentle or simple."

"Now, this blind man," he adds of the man depicted in the Gospel, "is just such a person. He has not had the use of his eyes long enough to stand in awe of the Pharisees. They cannot get round him. He chaffs them unmercifully. . . . This man is painted to the life. He must have told the story himself, what the Pharisees said to him, and what he said to them; and it is manifestly rehearsed in the Fourth Gospel by one who enjoyed it, and was greatly amused by it at the time, and took pleasure in recalling it years and years afterward" (pp. 119, 120).

Bishop Lightfoot's lecture originally formed one of a series connected with Christian Evidences, and delivered in St George's Hall in 1871. It was not printed at the time; but he prepared it for publication during his last illness, and it appeared after his death in the *Expositor* for January, February, and March 1890. In some prefatory remarks he explains that the delay in publication was not due to any change of mind on his part as to the value of the argument, but to a sense of the injustice which would be done to the subject by such imperfect treatment as alone time and opportunity allowed. A rumour had got abroad, he says, that he did not allow the lecture to be published because he was dissatisfied with it. But the present publication was his answer to that rumour. It is a great change to pass from Dr Peabody to Dr Lightfoot. The calm, clear style, and the wide knowledge and accurate scholarship, make this essay easy and attractive reading. There are some points, however, in which we venture to think that it is open to criticism. Let us take one example to which, as far as we know, attention has not been called elsewhere.

The most striking passage in the departed scholar's lecture is that in which he depicts the situation of Shechem and the scene around Jacob's Well, and connects the picture with the narrative in the fourth chapter of the Gospel. It would be impossible to do justice to this passage by any summary of its contents. We must therefore transcribe the whole of it.

"The country of the Samaritans lay between Judæa and Galilee, so that a person journeying from the one country to the other, unless

he were prepared to make a *détour*, must necessarily pass through it. This was the case with our Lord and His apostles, as related in the fourth chapter. The high-road from Jerusalem passes through some very remarkable scenery. The mountain ridges of Ebal and Gerizim run parallel to each other from east to west, not many hundred feet apart, thus enclosing a narrow valley between them. Eastward this little valley opens out into a plain, a rare phenomenon in this country,—‘one mass of corn unbroken by a boundary or hedge,’ as it is described by one who has seen it. Up the valley westward, shut in between these mountain barriers, lies the modern town of Nablus, the ancient Shechem. The road does not enter the valley, but traverses the plain, running at right angles to the gorge, and thus touching the eastern bases of the mountain ridges as they fall down into the level ground. Here, at the mouth of the valley, is a deep well, even now descending ‘to a depth of seventy feet or more,’ and formerly, before it had been partially filled with accumulated rubbish, we may well believe deeper still. In the words of Dean Stanley—

“‘Of all the special localities of our Lord’s life in Palestine, this is almost the only one absolutely undisputed. By the edge of this well, in the touching language of the ancient hymn, “*quærens me sedisti lassus*.” Here, on the great road through which “He must needs go,” when “He left Judæa, and departed into Galilee,” He halted, as travellers still halt, in the noon or evening of the spring day, by the side of the well. Up that passage through the valley His disciples “went away into the city,” which He did not enter. Down the same gorge came the woman to draw water, according to the unchanged custom of the East. . . . Above them, as they talked, rose “this mountain” of Gerizim, crowned by the temple, of which vestiges still remain, where the fathers of the Samaritan sect “said men ought to worship.” . . . And round about them, as He and she thus sate or stood by the well, spread far and wide the noble plain of waving corn. It was still winter, or early spring, “four months yet to the harvest,” and the bright golden ears of those fields had not yet “whitened” their unbroken expanse of verdure. But, as He gazed upon them, they served to suggest the glorious vision of the distant harvest of the Gentile world, which with each successive turn of the conversation unfolded itself more and more distinctly before Him, as He sate (so we gather from the narrative) absorbed in the opening prospect, silent amid His silent and astonished disciples” (pp. 160, 161).

It would be pleasanter to put all thoughts of criticism aside, and yield one’s mind to the influence of the charming picture that is here delineated. But we must not forget that this picture is part of an argument. It is like a pillar supporting the stone roof of a

cathedral, which may be very beautiful to look at, but must conform to the laws of statics as well as of æsthetics. And the picture has its points of difficulty. The principal of these is the old one, which appears to have been felt since the earliest times, of the distance of Nablus from the well, nearly two miles.<sup>1</sup> This is a twofold difficulty, (1) because the Gospel speaks of arriving at the well as arriving at Sychar, and (2) "notwithstanding all that has been said of the predilection of Orientals for the water of certain springs or wells (Porter, *Handbook*, 342), it does appear remarkable, when the very large number of sources in Nablus itself is remembered, that a woman should have left them and come out a distance of more than a mile" (G. in Smith's *Dict.*, Art. "Sychar"). "Dr Rosen says that the inhabitants of Nablus boast of the existence of not less than eighty springs of water in and around the city" (H. B. H., *ibid.* Art. "Shechem"). And in ancient as well as in modern times the valley has been famous for the fertility that depends upon its water supply. This difficulty of the distance of the well from the town would of course be aggravated if, as now seems most probable, we are compelled to suppose that the sixth hour means noon, for such a journey would be the less likely to be undertaken at that hour of the day.

There appears to me to be another point open to question in the exposition of this passage which I have not seen noticed elsewhere. Both Bishop Lightfoot and Dean Stanley speak of the road which passes the entrance of the valley as the main road to Galilee. But the ordinary road to Galilee is that which enters the glen, and turns north after passing Shechem. It is true that Robinson says that he was told that the other road led to Jenin, where it would have joined the Shechem road, and so would have also led to Galilee. But he adds that the more usual route at the present day is that through the Shechem valley. In the survey map this Shechem road is the only one that leads to Galilee. The other is shown as a Roman road leading down to Beisan (Bethshan), which would be a roundabout way to Galilee, and there is no road connecting it with Jenin or any western route. It appears from several passages in "Early Travels in Palestine" that the Shechem road has long been the ordinary route,<sup>2</sup> and it would seem likely that the road which led by Shechem and Samaria would be very ancient.

<sup>1</sup> "We were thirty-five minutes in coming to it from the city" (Robinson, *Bib. Researches*).

"I rode with Rashid to the mouth of the valley, to visit Jacob's Well. The distance was just half an hour" (Robinson, *Later Researches*, p. 132).

<sup>2</sup> It was the road by which Saewulf travelled in A.D. 1102. "The city of Nazareth of Galilee," he says, "is about four days' journey from Jerusalem, the road lying through Sichem, a city of Samaria, which is now called"



Another criticism that might be made is that the supposed allusion to the surrounding corn-land in the words "lift up your eyes, and look upon the fields," &c., pre-supposes an interpretation of those words which is not by any means universally accepted. Indeed, the weight of scholarship seems to incline the other way. Alford is but following in the wake of some of the ablest scholars of former times when he says "of these much controverted words," "*I do not believe there was any allusion to the actual state of the fields at that time.*" He takes the view that the words were proverbial and general.<sup>1</sup> And even if we take for granted that there was an allusion to the actual state of the country at the time, is it certain that the appearance of the fields of Palestine, when it is yet four months to the harvest, is correctly described in the words "one mass of corn," or "the noble plain of waving corn," or "the bright golden ears,"<sup>2</sup> upon which so much of the effect of this descriptive passage depends?

These criticisms may show that the local allusions in the fourth chapter are not without difficulty. And, strange though it may appear, we can claim Bishop Lightfoot himself as having been of that opinion. For in the *Contemporary Review* for May 1875, he writes of the supposed discovery that Sychar was not Shechem, but the village now called Askar, near the foot of Mount Ebal, as "a fact of real importance in its bearing on the historical character of the fourth Gospel" (p. 860).

But it is impossible to be satisfied with this modern identification of Sychar with Askar. The evidence of Jerome alone is conclusive against it. Jerome passed through Sychem or Neapolis on his tour

Neapolis," &c. ("Early Travels in Palestine," p. 46). In the year 1163, Benjamin of Tudela travelled from Accho to Jerusalem by the same route (*Ib.* p. 81); "Sir John Maundeville" from Jerusalem to Galilee in 1322 (*Ib.* 181-3); Henry Maundrell, in 1697, from Acra to Jerusalem (*Ib.* 432, 435, 436); Conder, in 1875, from Jerusalem to Galilee ("Tent Work," ii. p. 176, 177), &c., &c.

<sup>1</sup> See especially the note of Maldonatus on this "sub-obscurus locus." He compares the Latin proverb "adhuc seges in herba est" (? "Sed nimium properas, et adhuc tua messis in herba est," Ovid, *H.* 17, 263). Archdeacon Farrar says that if the words be taken as a proverb, "there are parallels both in Hebrew and in classic literature," "Life of Christ," Vol. i. p. 207, Note 1.

<sup>2</sup> The date of the Jewish harvest was fixed by the calendar. Barley harvest began at Whitsuntide, and wheat harvest at Easter (Levit. xxiii. 4-21. Compare Jos. "Antt." iii. x. 5, 6). Four months before either of these dates there would be very little appearance of the promised crop. J. Lightfoot thinks that the crops could not have been yet sown, and that it was in reference to the approaching crowds of Samaritans that Jesus said, "Lift up your eyes, and look upon the fields," &c.

through Palestine with Paula in the year 385, and visited the church which was built over Jacob's Well. After this he settled in Bethlehem, where he remained till his death in 420. At Bethlehem he would have been in communication with all sorts of travellers and students, and would hear all that was to be said about the controversy as to the site of Sychar. In 388 he translated the treatise of Eusebius (about A.D. 264-340) on the names and position of places in Palestine, in which Eusebius says that Sychar lay by the side of Louza, which was nine miles from Neapolis. Jerome corrected this nine to three. But in the same year Jerome published his own notes on Genesis, in which he said that Sychar was a copyist's error for Shechem. Paula died in 405. In her *epitaphium* Jerome again says that Sychar was a copyist's error for Shechem. Is it conceivable that all this time the real city of Sychar was in existence within a few hundred yards of the church which Jerome visited from Neapolis in the year 385, that it was visible from the church,<sup>1</sup> and that it still exists, retaining even a recognisable semblance of its ancient name? If the name is recognisable now, it ought to have been recognisable by Eusebius and Jerome and the other inquirers of those early days. But Eusebius, a native of Palestine, looked for Sychar near Louza nine miles away, and Jerome did not find it though he visited the spot. There were other inquirers then, and before and after, but none of them discovered 'Askar. Jerome's opinion became the accepted one. "Omnes docti consentiunt, auctore Hieronymo," writes Maldonatus in 1596 (on S. John iv. 5). Sychar et Sichem aut Sichimam eandem fuisse urbem." Our own John Lightfoot gives good reasons for being of the same opinion. "Be it read whether way it will, Sychar or Sichar (as such changes are not strange) the place and city apparently was the same with Sichem, so famous in the Old Testament. And that appeareth plain by this, that it is said there was the portion of land which Jacob gave to his son Joseph, which plainly was Sichem (Gen. xxxiii. 18, 19; and xlviii. 22)." <sup>2</sup>

It does not lessen the force of this reasoning that there were a few like the Bourdeaux pilgrim, Eusebius, and Quaresimus (see B. Smith's *Dict.*, Artt. "Shechem" and "Sychar") who held that Sychar was distinct from Shechem. It only shows that they felt the difficulty of the identification with Shechem. If Askar was the right place, why did they not discover it and establish its claim?

<sup>1</sup> "Little more than a third of a mile north-east is the tomb of Joseph, and from this a path gradually ascending leads to the village of 'Askar, which is visible from Jacob's Well."—CONDER.

<sup>2</sup> "Harmony of the Four Evangelists," John iv., Vol. i. p. 593. Compare also Joshua xxiv. 32, and Acts vii. 16. And see also the whole of Alford's note on John iv. 5.

The late learned Canon Williams, we are told, was one of the earliest to advocate the view that 'Askar was Sychar (Edersheim, Jesus the Messiah, App. xv.). As to the likelihood of the name Sychar having changed to 'Askar, it may be mentioned that Dr Robinson is supported by other scholars when he says that "the name 'Askar, in its present form, begins with the letter 'Ain; and this circumstance at once excludes all idea of affinity with the name Sychar" (*Later Res.* p. 133). If this be so, it is a heavy addition to the weight of evidence against the 'Askar theory.

JOHN A. CROSS.

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### Essays on Literature and Philosophy.

*By Edward Caird. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. Cr. 8vo, Vol. i. pp. xi. 267; Vol. ii. pp. x. 268-553. Price 8s. 6d. nett.*

WRITING an essay is like painting a small picture; each artist has his own method of overcoming the difficulty imposed by limitation of space. There are those who, like Sainte Beuve, prefer to "work in a corner;" they do not look beyond the one thing they are at: others, again, and Mr Caird is of the number, must give the one thing its place in the wide world; they put a suggestion of the solar system into a few square inches of line and colour. When Mr Caird takes up Rousseau or Wordsworth he gives us, not an individual portrait, but an estimate of the man and his work, viewed in relation to the general movement of human thought and experience.

In the writings of Dante Mr Caird finds the best expression of the dualism of the mediæval Catholic mind. Even the greatest teachers of the thirteenth century were not free to form their own ideals; they were in bondage to the letter of the texts on which authority was based; they attempted to reconcile religion with science and law by drawing a boundary line between faith and reason, Church and State, the present world of probation and the future world of fruition. The attempt was mistaken, for, if truth be one, there can be no antagonism between reason and faith. Church and State must be "brought to a unity as complementary manifestations of one principle of life, which at once reveals itself in their difference, and overcomes it." This world is not merely a place of preparation for another world; the kingdom of God must be set up here and now, so that those who see it may say, Behold the tabernacle of God is with men! The truths which Mr Caird here expounds bear not only on the criticism of Dante, but on the politics of our own time; the mistake of the schoolmen is repeated by all who leave religion out of account in forecasting the future of political society

whether they be of those who think that putting off the old man means putting off the good citizen, or of those who regard the State as a machine put together for merely utilitarian ends.

The papers on Goethe and Rousseau are good examples of Mr Caird's method. He sets the two writers before us as expressing the true mind of the eighteenth century, its denial of received beliefs, its desire to make all things new. Men turned from authority to nature, but, as Voltaire observed, they did not make it quite clear to their own minds what "Nature" meant. "Nature," says Mr Caird, "is the obvious rallying cry of a new generation striving to free itself from the ideas and institutions of an earlier time. Such a cry may often be the expression of a very artificial and sophistical state of mind, which, beginning in the desire to throw off that which is really oppressive, ends in a fretful revolt against the most necessary conditions of human life." From this revolt Goethe was saved by his artistic sense, and also, it must be confessed, by the cool self-regard which carried him safely through a period of struggle and revolution. Rousseau was not a whole-hearted rebel; he preached the necessity of returning to Nature, but he was not the dupe of his own eloquence; the dangerous half-truth of his political theory is always checked and qualified by occasional passages of common sense. But the strain of madness in his blood sharpened his accent, and made him the prophet of political fanatics whom he would have disliked and distrusted if he had been brought into personal contact with them. The doctrine which he preached with a qualification was accepted by the extreme democrats of Europe and America without any qualification at all. Here, again, Mr Caird is dealing with topics of living interest. The *incivisme* of Goethe is reproduced in those of our own contemporaries who stand aloof from popular government, disliking the noise and worry of it, lending no help to make it more rational. Rousseau is the spiritual father of all such as believe that we can bring about a "return to nature" by destroying established institutions and conventions.

Wordsworth, whose poetry furnishes the subject of another essay, was in no sense a disciple of Rousseau; he was, before all things, an Englishman, and his slight attack of humanitarian exaltation had no more permanent effect on his mind than his one excess at a Cambridge wine party had on his habits. Shelley and Byron, as Mr Caird expresses it, belong to the Revolution; Wordsworth belongs to the Reconstruction; "his poetry carries us into a new intellectual region, in which the ideas of the Revolution have not perished, but have, as it were, risen again in a better form." With Rousseau, the return to Nature had ended in a claim of unbounded liberty for the individual man; Wordsworth sees that the individual is worthy

of regard only by virtue of the family, the country, the faith, which have made him what he is.

In his essay on the "Genius of Carlyle," Mr Caird has another opportunity of combating the error of individualism. Carlyle, he says, "had no firm grasp of the organic unity or *solidarity* of human life, or of the creative powers of those social forces which arise, not from the individuals taken separately, but from the way in which they act and re-act upon each other in society." Hence it is that he looks at history and politics from the heroic point of view, and denounces mankind at large because they will not give free scope to the power of the "man who can," forgetting that absolute submission on the part of the people is not compatible with a truly heroic virtue on the part of the king.

I have not left myself space for an adequate description of the three philosophical essays which make up the larger part of Mr Caird's book. In the first of the three we are invited to face the Problem of Philosophy; and the problem is, "to rise to such a general view of things as shall reconcile us, or enable us to reconcile ourselves, to the world and to ourselves." And philosophy is to begin its work of synthesis by a vindication of the religious consciousness, by showing how the consciousness of the infinite is presupposed in that very consciousness of the finite, which sometimes claims to exclude it altogether. If the lectures which Mr Caird is to deliver from the Gifford Chair at St Andrews present us with this vindication in a systematic form, they will go far to justify the existence of that remarkable foundation. In the meantime we turn to the essay on Cartesianism to learn how the problem of philosophy was answered in the seventeenth century. Des Cartes, a man full of the modern spirit, but finding "within human experience, among the matters nearest to man, the consciousness of God," sets himself to account for our consciousness of God and for our consciousness of the world. The starting point is the consciousness of self: *cogito, ergo sum*, but I cannot know myself as finite unless in relation to the infinite. "To be conscious of a limit is to transcend it. . . . We could not be conscious of our existence as individual selves, unless we were conscious of that which is not ourselves, and of a unity in which both self and not-self are included." There is, therefore, an assertion of universality and unity in the system of Des Cartes, but it is a one-sided assertion, and neither Malebranche nor Spinoza succeeded in working himself clear from the imperfections of a mistaken method. It was only "when the individualistic tendency of the eighteenth century had exhausted itself and produced its own refutation in the works of Kant," that men turned again to Des Cartes and Spinoza and discovered the true value of their writings.

Of the long essay on "Metaphysic," which occupies the larger half of Mr Caird's second volume, there is only one complaint to make: the pages are so closely packed with meaning that we find ourselves dealing with a compressed book, not with an essay in the ordinary sense of the word. The reader who has read and thought less than Mr Caird (and this is certainly my own case) has many occasions to regret that he cannot put the author to the question, and obtain a fuller explanation of these pregnant sentences. Perhaps the most significant passage, that which best explains the aim and scope of these volumes, is the account given at p. 534 of the relation between the Hegelian idealism and Christianity. "It was the study of Christian ideas which first produced the Hegelian philosophy. What delivered Hegel from the mysticism in which the late philosophies of Fichte and Schelling tended to lose themselves . . . was his thorough appreciation of the ethical and religious meaning of Christianity. In the great Christian aphorism that "he who loseth his life alone can save it," he found a key to the difficulties of ethics, a reconciliation of hedonism and asceticism. For what this saying implies is that a spiritual or self-conscious being is one who is in contradiction with himself when he makes his individual self his end." These sentences seem to me to sum up the essential meaning of what is best in the philosophic movement of our time.

T. RALEIGH.

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### Untersuchungen zum Ersten Klemensbriefe.

*Von Lic. theol. W. Wrede. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht's Verlag. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 112. Price M. 2.50.*

It is sometimes assumed that after the work of a Lightfoot upon a epistle like *Clement* there remains little or nothing yet to be done. This is far from true. Apart from Lightfoot's studious self-limitation to certain aspects of his author, much light thrown by his and other men's labours upon incidental points yet requires focussing upon large questions of intrinsic interest for the age of the "Apostolic Fathers." This excellent monograph takes in hand two such topics,—to wit, "The Situation of the Corinthian Community presupposed in *Clement*," and "*Clement* and the Old Testament."

Its author begins by stating the peculiar relation subsisting between the main object of the epistle and the actual line of treatment pursued. The aim—the re-establishment of harmony and order in the distracted Church—is patent, and emerges frequently. But the writer beats about the bush a good deal, going off at

incidental points, and treating them with less direct reference to the special circumstances than might be expected. After signaling this mingling of the general and specific, which is most marked in the first half (especially chs. 28-36), Wrede postpones speculation thereon until he has discussed two vital features of the case. These are introduced by an enumeration of the "fixed points" upheld by a general consensus—viz. (1) the strife at Corinth turns on the rightful authority of Presbyters, certain of whom had been deposed, and that by the Church itself (47, 6; 44, 6); (2) the source of the uprising was a small knot of persons (ὀλίγα πρόσωπα), who also remained its soul (14, 1; 51, 1; 57, 1); (3) the Roman epistle identifies itself out and out with the deposed officials over against the Church. Indeed, Wrede regards its tone as that of a partisan, probably not much concerned to learn all the facts, and accordingly not presenting a purely objective diagnosis of the case. This much said, he proceeds to establish, after a fair and convincing review of other hypotheses, the following positions relative to the present Epistle at least:—The term *πρεσβύτεροι* has a wider *natural* use (indicated by antithesis to *νέοι*, 1, 3; 3, 3; 21, 6; cf. 1 Peter v. 1, 5; 1 Tim. v. 1 *seq.*; Tit. ii. 1, 6; &c.) equivalent to our "seniors," as well as a narrower *official* sense, specifically applicable to the *ἐπίσκοποι* as a class (*τῶν καθεσταμένων πρεσβυτέρων*, 54, 2; cf. 44, 4, 5); yet so as to include rather than exclude the closely related *διάκονοι* (42, 4, 5), it being perhaps more than an accident that Clement never writes *πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι*. The parallel use of *ἡγούμενοι*, in passages which are exhaustive enumerations of the community (1, 3; 21, 6 *seq.*), confirms this inclusive meaning, apart from which it would be hard to see why *ἐπίσκοποι* is not habitually used of the officers rather than the vaguer *πρεσβύτεροι*.

Both of these conclusions are entirely in keeping with the Jewish associations of the term "elder," and in the very fluidity or ambiguity of its use we can recognize the period of naïve transition, when a title of "honour" (*τιμὴ*) is hardening, though only gradually, into one of official status (*τόπος*, 44, 5). This is how things grow to-day in the mission-field, as of old, when as yet the analytic categories of the critic are undreamt of.

As to the functions of the Presbyters or Bishops (Deacons being subsumed as their assistants), Wrede infers from the Epistle that *λειτουργία* is in general used vaguely—like our "function"—to cover not only discipline, but also *cultus*, such as the offering of the people's gifts, the outward expressions, especially in kind, of their inward sacrifice of praise (44, 4, *προσενεγκόντας τὰ δῶρα*, cf. 35, 12,—36, 1; see Lightfoot *ad loc.*). As yet the Old Testament analogies, though big with danger for the future in the sweeping way in which they are invoked as normative, are simply used, as are also

those from Nature and the body politic, to enforce the principle of order and respect for those legitimately installed in office and found blameless therein (*cf.* Lightfoot, i. 392). Next, as to the obscure question of the exact competence of the Church as such, our author maintains (1) that the point of the reference to the "consent of the whole Church" (44, 3) in the appointment of the now deposed officers, is the *self-contradiction* implied in their present action, whatever may have been the exact part played by them in the election itself; (2) Clement regards the officers, in view of the quality of those who, in keeping with apostolic order,<sup>1</sup> instituted them the legitimate overseers, as possessing a life-tenure of office dependent only on a worthy walk; (3) in normal times the administrative or disciplinary functions are in the hands of the Presbyter-college rather than the Church directly (*pace* 52, 2). But to speak as yet of fixed "rights," as between Officers and Society, would be an anachronism.

These preliminaries clear the way for the main problem of "the authors of the dissension" (*ἀρχηγοὶ τῆς στάσεως*). Broadly speaking, we may say the community adopted their case, not *vice versâ*: as Clement says, they "laid the foundation" of the trouble. The effort throughout is to discredit these men; to separate (57, 1) them from the sympathy of the Church, which is assumed to be otherwise ready to return to its wonted peace (*cf.* 54). How then are the mischief-makers painted? As headstrong (1, 1), arrogant, unruly, jealous (14, 1), hypocritical in their professed desire for peace (15, 1), exalting themselves over the flock (16, 1), boasting in arrogance of speech (*τοῦ λόγου*, 21, 5; *cf.* 57, 2), self-complacent as to gifts both moral and intellectual (32, 4; 48, 6). To what does all this point? To men claiming special recognition for exceptional qualities, to which the common path of "humility" amid the flock at large seemed to give too little scope. The support, moreover, which such "men of repute" (*ἐλλόγιοι*, 57, 2), obtain from the Church, even in their attempt to get official status (*cf.* *Hermas*, *Vis.* iii. 9, 7 *seq.*), shows that there was a real basis for a special claim, and not, as Clement seems to hint, one only in their own conceits. We may reasonably connect their powers of edification with those of the "prophets and teachers" of the *Didaché*; the more so that even Clement hints that, if public-spirited enough to retire, they will find a welcome in any other church (54, *cf.* *Did.*, 13, 1). Such gifts at least would be likely to win the admiration of the "juniors" (*νέοι*),

<sup>1</sup> Surely the best analogue to the mode of appointing to the "Episcopate," after the Apostles' death (44, 2, 3), is that given in the basis of the *Apostolische Kirchenordnung* (c. 16, *Ap. Texte u. Unters.* ii. 5), where *ἐκλεκτοὶ τρεῖς ἄνδρες* are invited from sister churches to help a very small church in appointing its bishop. This they do *δοκιμῇ δοκιμασάντες τὸν ἄξιον ὄντα*.



to whom there are pointed references, to whom also the recognition of "gift" rather than "age" would present larger prospects. But they would bring their possessors into collision with "the Presbyters" in the sphere of Cultus, and to judge from ch. 44 (where ἐπισκοπή and προσφέρειν τὰ δῶρα stand side by side: cf. also 43, 2, ξήλου ἐμπεσόντος περὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης—the case of Aaron), particularly as regards the "thanksgiving" of consecration, where-with the people's free-will offerings were presented to the Giver of all good (see *Didaché*, ix. f. ; cf. ἀρχιερεῖς ὑμῶν as title of προφήται in virtue of such a function).

As to the actual occasion of the dissension, which seems to have crept on gradually (3, 2), it is possible that the Church may have been predisposed to look with special favour upon the challenge of exclusive privileges enjoyed by its officers, if smarting from the effects of the latter's vigorous discipline—a view which finds some countenance in certain references to the morals of the community (cf. 28-36). Wrede at least believes that prior to this crisis the Roman view of the divine nature of order had been tacitly recognised at Corinth, as we may perhaps infer that it soon again came to be. But this only serves to show how powerful was the latent sense of the claims of those spiritual gifts, whose place in the Church we have re-discovered by the aid of the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*.

Enough has been said under the above heads to indicate the importance of Wrede's work, although its value lies largely in the richness of the material collected in the footnotes, of which no idea can here be given. The second part, devoted to Clement's use of the Old Testament, deals with the Old Testament in relation to the aim of the epistle, reminiscences, and *memoriter* citations, Hagio-grapha, Biblical examples, mode of citation ; and then passes on to discuss the Christian element in the Old Testament, its parænetic and prophetic aspects, the law, Christ and the Old Testament, its significance for the general line pursued by the epistle. Finally as to the author's nationality, he is practically at one with Lightfoot, who held him to be to all intents a Hellenist. The whole monograph, especially in its first part, will richly repay a careful perusal.

VERNON BARTLET.

**The History of the Popes, from the close of the Middle Ages. Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and other Original Sources.**

*From the German of Dr Ludwig Pastor, Professor of History in the University of Innsbrück. Edited by F. A. Antrobus of the Oratory. London: John Hodges. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. lii. 419 ; xxxii. 580. Price 24s. net.*

THIS, the first instalment of a new history of the Popes in an English translation, appears with considerable claims to importance, and raises considerable expectations. In a brief of His Holiness Pope Leo XIII., which is twice printed on successive pages of the introductory matter, the present Pope acknowledges the receipt of this portion of the work, and testifies to the pontifical satisfaction with the labours of the author, and especially with his use of the Vatican Archives. A preface by the English editor draws attention to the "great success" which has attended the publication of the work in "the literary circles of Germany, Catholic and non-Catholic alike;" and, while referring to the advantage enjoyed by present writers of Papal history in comparison with their predecessors, through the liberality with which the present Pope has thrown open the "Secret Archives" of the Vatican to historical students, hints not obscurely that the distinguishing excellence of this work will be found in its combining the political and the ecclesiastical points of view. The second volume is introduced by a note from the lamented Archbishop of Westminster, in which the work is heralded as "the first-fruits of this action of the Holy Father, which, a little time ago, so surprised the writers of anti-Catholic history." Leo XIII. had addressed a letter to the five Cardinals, whom he had appointed a commission to revise the publication of historical matters contained in the Vatican Archives. "The Holy Father charged them to see that the history of the Holy See and of the Church should be written with absolute truth on the only just and imperishable principle that the *historica veritas* ought to be supreme, of which we have a divine example in holy writ, where the sins even of saints are as openly recorded as the wickedness of sinners." "No author," says the Cardinal, "as yet has written the history of the Popes with such copious evidence, drawn not only from the Vatican Archives, but from a multitude of other sources hitherto never examined," and he comes to the somewhat startling conclusion: "All histories of this period, from Ranke to Creighton, will need extensive correction, and in a large measure to be re-written." The same claims are put forward somewhat more modestly by the author himself in his preface: "When his Holiness

Pope Leo XIII. generously opened the Secret Archives of the Vatican to students, it became evident that the history of the Popes during the last four centuries would have to be re-written. Ranke, Burckhardt, Voigt, Gregorovius, and Creighton all wrote on the Renaissance Age before these Archives became accessible."

All this is rather imposing and not a little alarming. The task of re-writing Dr Creighton's History of the Papacy would be a serious one, even for himself; and the student who has learned to rejoice in the profound analysis of Ranke, and to fall into step with the firm march of Creighton, trembles lest after all these guides be leading him on uncertain ground. The proposal to re-write the History of the Papacy on the ground of new documents newly accessible in the Vatican has much plausibility. It suggests a history at once truthful and sensational. The promise of "revelations" always serves to quicken curiosity; and the popular association of the Vatican with mystery and well-kept secrets of underground policy, is sufficiently well founded for the announcement of the new liberty of investigation to raise the hope of scholars, as well of as a larger and less critical public. Both classes, we fear, will lay down these volumes with disappointment. Of "revelation," in the journalistic sense, the ordinary reader will find none here. And the student, whom these prefatic warnings have caused to tremble for the value of his Ranke, his Höfler, or his Creighton, may breathe freely. So far as these two volumes go, it may be said at once, that Dr Pastor has neither added nor corrected a single fact of material importance.

But what about the "Secret Archives of the Vatican"? They exist. They have undoubtedly been thrown open to the researches of certain scholars, among whom Dr Pastor may be reckoned. But either they contain nothing material to the period, or they have not been fully applied to this work. If these be the "first-fruits," a basket will bring home the harvest.

It will be convenient, in view of the claims advanced by and on behalf of the work, to examine first what Dr Pastor adduces as new material, and then the manner in which he has handled the history. It is not difficult to identify and appraise the new documents, whose use is claimed as giving a special value and importance to these volumes. Every reference to such MSS. as the author believes to be unpublished is distinguished by an asterisk, and in the appendices at the end of each volume all the more important of these are printed in full. An analysis of the sources from which these "unpublished documents" are drawn, gives the following results:—Out of the twenty-seven which appear in the appendix to Vol. I., eight are found in the *Chigi* library at Rome (they are short letters all relating to the illness and death of Eugenius IV.), three are from

Aix (Provence), one from Vienna, and twelve from collections in various parts of Italy. The remaining *three* are from the "Secret Archives of the Vatican," two of them letters from Gregory XI., asking his correspondents to procure him copies of the classics, and the third of about equal importance. In the appendix to the second volume, the Vatican sources are somewhat better represented. Sixteen out of fifty-four "unpublished documents" are credited to the Secret Archives, while of the remainder twenty-one are drawn from Milan, one from Treves, and the rest from eight or nine different collections.

It would not be difficult to show from a further analysis that even the documents thus extracted from the Vatican contain exceedingly little of value to supplement or correct our previous information, and so justify the peculiar claims set forth in the title-page and preface. Our perplexity is further increased by finding a contradiction between these claims and not a few passages in the text. *E.g.* (i. 385), "The Roman collections of manuscripts, *which are rich in documents concerning the great Schism of 1378*, have been far less thoroughly investigated than those of Paris. The accomplishment of such an investigation does not fall within the scope of my present work." And yet a history of the great Schism forms a part, and a very important part, of the "present work." And it is difficult to understand how a scholar engaged on this period, and having these collections, as we are informed, at his disposal, could pass them by with "a few notices not unwelcome to future students." Dr Pastor tells us exactly "where by far the most important documents are to be found." He intends, "by-and-bye," to publish one of them "in its entirety;" the fragment which he quotes here certainly indicates its importance. Elsewhere (i. 387), the author tells us of another collection of archives still unexamined, and of a projected publication of collected documents (i. 391).

Surely Dr Pastor has reversed the true and desirable order of procedure, and before publishing a new History of the Popes with appendices to corroborate and complete the text, should have completed his investigation of the sources, and published his documents, on which he could afterwards have founded his history. Our complaint is not that our author has filled his text with new matter which does not find due corroboration in his appendices, but that neither in his text nor in his appendices is there new matter to justify the claims of the work. The new matter is still in the Vatican.

We have given the results of this preliminary examination with some fulness, because there has been a disposition in certain quarters somewhat hastily to acknowledge the claims thus put forward, and to treat this work as marking a new departure in the history of

the Papacy, and likely to give such a new rendering as to make at least partially obsolete the labours of previous scholars. It remains now to examine whether there is anything in the point of view or in the treatment of the material to justify the expectation set up. It may be said at once that Professor Pastor possesses many qualifications for writing a history of the Papacy from the Roman side which should command the respect of both its friends and its foes. He displays a very intimate and detailed acquaintance with many events of his period, with the documentary evidence and the works of previous writers, Papal and Protestant. The copious notes on almost every page contain the fruit of laborious and successful research in numberless collections of MSS. and State papers throughout Western Europe, and the results of this knowledge and research are put together clearly and impartially with a perfect willingness to chronicle, where necessary, weakness, worldliness, or even wickedness in ecclesiastical characters or Papal policy. Of course, Dr Pastor writes from the Papal point of view, and does not conceal his sympathies. He reserves his scorn and indignation for Anti-Popes and the enemies of the Church. He finds ground for satisfaction and even for enthusiasm in the character and policy of each of his heroes, and gives, for example, an altogether too favourable estimate of Martin V. and Eugenius IV. He allows the splendour and success of the Pontificate of Nicholas V. to disguise the essential worldliness and religious incapacity of that Pontiff, and palliates the shameless alliance of the Curia and the Church with the frankly Pagan side of the Renaissance. But he is not a reckless partisan, and succeeds to a remarkable degree in giving an honest picture of his period.

There is no period of the Papal history which deserves or repays more thorough investigation, or on which it would be more gratifying to receive new light. The two volumes now before us cover the space from 1305 to the death of Calixtus III., and the accession of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (1458). They include, therefore, episodes of such vital importance to the true understanding of the Papacy and the Reformation as the seventy years' "Captivity" at Avignon, the "Great Schism" closed by the reign of Martin V., the Pontificates of Eugenius IV. and Nicholas V., the Councils of Constance and Basel, the capture of Constantinople, and the rise of the Borgia. It will be observed that the present English work leaves off approximately where Ranke's "Lives of the Popes" begins, but moves parallel throughout its course with that great monument of English historical scholarship, Dr Creighton's History of the Papacy.

While displaying the qualifications we have described for dealing successfully with this important period, Dr Pastor gives us cause to regret the absence of others not less essential. His work is lacking

in that main quality of a classic history, a sense of proportion and due subordination. We wonder sometimes whether we are reading a history of the Papacy, of the Church, or of Europe, or again, a gossiping chronicle of a single Pontificate. External events are described at such inordinate length that space is not left for the disentangling of policy, or the tracing of the undercurrents of history. The entry of Martin into Rome, the coronation of Frederick III., the mission of Nicholas of Cusa, occupy, with details of ceremonies, vestments, stopping-places, and so forth, attention which is sorely needed in other directions. The treatment of the Councils, for instance, is very inadequate and almost wholly superficial. It is hardly surprising, perhaps, that a Roman theologian fails to present fairly the case of the Reforming Councils of Constance and Basel. And yet the former was the true agent in the termination of the Schism, and it is scarcely reasonable to treat it as an authoritative Council so long as it was laboriously preparing for the election of Martin, and then to support him in ignoring its recommendations for reform. But a like inadequacy in the treatment of the Council of Ferrara-Florence is without excuse in a Roman historian. The attempt, serious on the part of some of the leaders, to find a basis of re-union between the Greek and Latin branches of the Catholic Church, the long debates on the Procession of the Spirit, Purgatory, the Primacy of the Pope, the doctrinal concessions and conclusions, the pathetic situation of the Greeks, require much more than the brief allusion vouchsafed in the text. The same want of proportion, due to want of penetration to the real issues at stake, appears throughout the work. The siege and capture of Constantinople is described with unnecessary prolixity; the struggle in Bohemia is hardly glanced at. In fact, Dr Pastor displays no interest in theology or in religion apart from its external trappings. The obscure beginning of great movements, popular conceptions of religion, the growing ferment of thought in Europe, pass unnoticed in his pages. He refers to heretics and heretical movements only to chronicle their destruction; so that at the end of his volumes we find ourselves on the threshold of the Reformation as unprepared for that catastrophe as Nicholas or Calixtus.

There are, however, two matters of minor importance on which the researches of Dr Pastor do throw some light. A judicial murder more or less would hardly affect the reputation of any of the Popes who figure in these pages. But in the capture and death of Cardinal Vitelleschi there is something so treacherous and so cruel, that all parties would rejoice to see the blame of connivance removed from the character of Eugenius IV. In the appendix to Vol. I., Dr Pastor publishes a document which, if its evidence could be trusted, would go far to clear the Pope. Antonio da

Rido, the castellan of St Angelo, who had waylaid and imprisoned Vitelleschi, writes on the day of his capture to the Florentines, taking on himself the whole responsibility of his action: "Le magnificentie vostre havere intexe chiaramente, chomo vedo et intendo io, bene che senza lizentia de N. S. lo habia fato per non haver habuto tempo de notificarlo. . . ." This is followed by an "unpublished" letter from Eugenius, dated from Florence the day after the death of Vitelleschi at St Angelo, which, assuming its sincerity, would tend still further to exculpate the Pope. Another document of considerable interest is the "Deposition" of Stephen Porcaro, from a MS. in the Town Library at Treves, which throws considerable light on the conspiracy planned by Porcaro against Nicholas V. A letter also from Cardinal Calantrini hints at something wider and deeper than personal hatred or personal ambition as the motive of the conspiracy: "Non hic de pecuniis acquirendis non de libertate urbis agebatur: religio Christi et Christianorum nomen penitus ex Italia delebatur." It is obvious, however, that these and other documents require thorough sifting and testing before they can be freely used.

These are minor matters; but in their comparative insignificance they are no unfair criterion of Dr Pastor's contribution to history. Either the Secret Archives of the Vatican contain nothing likely to modify seriously the results established for this period, or it is too soon by many years to begin to "re-write" history on the strength of their discovery. Enough has been said to show that neither on the ground of wealth of new material, nor on the ground of thorough and philosophic treatment of the old, does this work deserve the attention which has been claimed for it.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

### Das Problem der Ethik in der Gegenwart.

By *Hans Gallwitz*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 272. Price M. 5.

THIS book begins with maintaining the necessity of a permanent conflict between Christian Faith and Philosophy; for it is only through the opposition of faith and philosophy that the former can be kept from hardening into dogma, and the latter from degenerating either into a self-satisfied Optimism or into a despairing Pessimism, either of which would extinguish the impulse to know.

The Christian faith which is thus opposed to philosophy, is "the conviction that God has revealed Himself in a perfect and unique manner in the person of Jesus Christ;" and philosophy is an attempt,

always and necessarily unsuccessful, to erect an all-inclusive system of related truths. Christianity is based upon an event in the history of a person, or upon a historical person, and is inalienably attached to Him. But philosophy is incapable of dealing with particular events. It is occupied only with universal laws, it cannot penetrate into the particular, and therefore cannot give to any events the certainty of the necessary truths of reason.

On this view it is clear that faith and philosophy cannot be reconciled. But it is not made clear how they can come into conflict—unless the one or the other of them succeeds in breaking through its own proper limits and occupying the field of the other. Philosophy cannot do this. The object of Christian faith is supposed to stand outside of every possible system of thought. It cannot be placed within the stream of the historical progress of mankind. Christianity, if there is no other alternative, must, therefore, be regarded as based upon the unintelligible; for man explains and proves only by relating fact to fact. But there is another alternative. The object of faith, the divine personality of Christ, may itself comprehend all truth and all reality. Nature and man may find the principle of their being, and their ultimate explanation in Him. We may not only say that all are Christ's, but that Christ is all. To prove this on the side of ethics is the author's task; to show "*how* the Universal can be present in the particular, the Absolute in the historically concrete, the Divine in the human." (Pref. v.) The problem which the author has set himself falls into two parts, the first critical, the second constructive. He first endeavours to trace morality and its inner and outer conditions backwards, so as to connect them immediately with the personality of man and of Christ. Then, having shown that personality, and ultimately the personality of Christ, is the only source of the moral life he has to derive it and all its conditions from that source. But all the success that the author achieves is confined to the first, or critical endeavour.

The greater part of the book is occupied with breaking down the ordinary distinctions set up by philosophical and ethical writers. It is found that they are artificial, and inconsistent with the intense and exclusive unity of personality. The maxim on which the author proceeds is, that "in judging the quality of an action, the individuality of the subject must be steadily kept in view" (p. 3). There are no actions which are in themselves good or bad; they must be judged from their context; we must know who and what manner of man committed them. "Good" and "bad" are not predicative but appellative terms; they are not names of general qualities, but adjectival marks attached to individuals, which derive a new meaning from every new application to a new agent.

Nor is it possible to apply a common standard to different *per-*



sons. The individuality of different moral subjects is in every instance unique. To understand an individual we must comprehend that in which he differs from others. Every moral subject must be regarded as through and through an individual and particular subject, destined to evolve his *own* moral character in an environment to which he alone gives all the significance it has ; and not as bound to act according to the pattern of a universal law (p. 63). A common standard or general law has only proximate validity even when it is applied to things ; for, as a matter of fact, every real thing is unique—"there is given to us in perception only individual single things, each of which stands under its own particular law" (p. 12). And as we ascend from things to animals, from animals to men, and from savages to developed men, the singleness and exclusiveness of the individual deepens, and a general law becomes more and more untrue. Development, and especially the development of human character, moves away from the common type ; while the idea of a common genus becomes more and more inapplicable, reveals itself more and more as an hypostasised abstraction invented by the philosophical imagination, and corresponding to nothing that actually exists.

This view of the nature of the universal and the individual, and of the law of development determines the author's whole method of procedure. He sets the unity of personality against the abstract universal and the abstract particular, and shows that he is guided in this matter by a true instinct. Unfortunately, it is mere instinct that guides him ; and he indicates no path by which the universal may be conceived as differentiating itself into particulars while maintaining its unity with itself, nor any way in which the particular, or, more strictly, the individual, may be conceived as involving the universal.

The most valuable portions of his book are those in which, by the help of his conception of the unity of personality, he attacks the partial and one-sided views held by various authors, and particularly by Kant. From this point of view he sees that no special faculty, to the exclusion of the others, can be regarded as the organ of the moral life. It is the person as a whole that expresses itself in every action ; and, on the other hand, every action bears the impress of the whole personality. Hence the distinction of actions by Kähler into technical and moral is artificial ; the former are included in, and in a sense transcended by the latter.

Equally artificial, but far more mischievous are the abstract distinctions set up by Kant and others between the cognitive faculties, volition, and feeling ; between the universal law of duty and all its particular content ; between goodness and happiness ; and between spirit and nature. Even the distinction between the

higher and lower elements of human nature, and between the flesh and the spirit, is untenable. Man is a "sensuous-spiritual," or "spiritual-sensuous" being; in him flesh and spirit are inextricably intertwined. And all man's actions bear the same character. They cannot even be regarded as composite. "An ethical theory which sets itself the task of determining what paths human activity must follow will not admit the superiority of the so-called higher spiritual functions over the sensuous" (51). In consequence, both of the usually accepted forms of moral philosophy—viz., that which proceeds from the assumption of universal and innate laws of conduct, and that which proceeds from the consideration of the worth of ends, must be considered as invalid. Each of them starts from a false hypothesis—the one from that of an innate moral endowment in man, the other from an innate moral quality in outward phenomena. Such universal qualities can be applied to neither; nor can either be regarded as the source of universal moral imperatives. Indeed, there are no universal moral imperatives. "Every absolute command to do or to refrain contains a one-sidedness which may lead to absurd and immoral consequences" (p. 80). It makes no difference whence the moral imperatives are derived, whether from a supposed moral law within, or from the so-called universal laws of Nature. Nothing has supreme value and authority in morals except personalities. "Personalities are the only universal ideas whose existence in the world can be proved to us to exist" (p. 225). And all personalities are, according to Gallwitz, unique. Each interacts with his environment in its own specific way, and from that mysterious interaction character is generated and developed (p. 74). What parts the subjective and objective factors respectively take in the creation of character we cannot determine. But, inasmuch as a holy God, for the Christian, guides nature, we may say that all events are good; for they are opportunities for the evolution of morality. God gives special inspiration through special events in every special difficulty; so that significant moral resolutions are never taken freely by the leaders of mankind, but under the compulsion of divinely-guided events. And this divine interference is universal, were we only able to detect it. The moral history of men, if we loyally accept the teaching of facts, will reveal itself as a chain of miracles.

Now, this reference of the phenomena of the moral life of man to divine interposition may be regarded as equivalent to the confession that a moral *science* is impossible. But, even in that case, it is better than the theoretical attempts hitherto made to explain man by a kind of spiritual chemistry, with its analysis and synthesis, which breaks character up and fails to put it together again. It at least recognises facts, and acknowledges the conditions under which

alone moral life can be conceived to exist. It shows us "that our first duty is to recognise the moral equipment of each individual man, and recognise it only in relation to the world of natural events from which it ultimately derives its origin, direction and goal" (p. 124). Herr Gallwitz sees that this view of the origin, direction, and goal of character, implies that Nature must itself be regarded as a moral power. But this consequence gives him no pause; he even declares that Nature must be represented by us as "personal Spirit" (p. 125). The further consequence, that divine inspiration within man, and divine interposition without him by means of natural events, seems to threaten personal freedom and to swamp morality, does not appear to have occurred to the author.

There is, perhaps, no need to follow our author any further along this path. Amidst inconsistencies which are perhaps only just less numerous than his repetitions, I think it may be justly said that in recoiling against the absolute distinctions of moralists, he has succeeded in abolishing all distinctions whatsoever, and that in opposing abstract universal laws he has, however unwillingly, endeavoured to establish a kind of Spiritual Atomism. There is to him nothing but spirits, and no spirit is like its neighbour, except in so far as it is untrue to itself.

How men communicate with each other, how human society is possible, we are not told definitely by Herr Gallwitz. If we might venture to make any deduction from his premisses, we should say that social life is an accident in the history of man, which he will gradually throw off as he develops; for development, as we have seen, makes away from every common law. The principle whereby the organic unity of society is usually explained, namely, that of dying to self in order to live for man, that of sacrificing what is personal in the sense of that which is exclusive, in order thereby to attain ends which are universal, cannot be admitted by one who makes the essence of a person consist in that which is peculiar to him. He admits, indeed, that Christ came to save sinners; and he also admits that the identification of ourselves with Christ is the supreme principle of the moral life of mankind. From Him the life came, and only by communion with Him can it be sustained. But, notwithstanding this, the supreme duty of man is to "save his own soul," and to that end all else must be subordinated. "Jesus indeed has said of Himself that He came not to be served but to serve; He also emphasised universally the command to love our neighbours; '*aber die wichtigste Gebot, von welcher er gesprochen hat, ist doch die Sorge um die eigene Seele.*' For the sake of eternal salvation it may be our duty to 'hate' father and mother, brother and sister, nay, our own people, and to separate ourselves from them" (p. 89.) Our author does not say that *normally* the welfare of the individual

and that of the community are incapable of being reconciled. But he leaves us no room to doubt that in a system of moral ends the latter must always be subordinated to the former. So supreme is worth of the individual, and—what is much more important—the worth of that which is special and particular in each individual.

The author's treatment of the problem of evil is perhaps the most unsatisfactory thing in the book. He seems to regard it as incomprehensible, if not absolute. It is, he is certain, not explicable as means, by antagonism to which the good may be realised, even although Christ was victorious over it. Nor is it in any way bound with the good. Human development might have been secured without it. But he does not say how—perhaps because the revelation would now be too late to be of any practical use. Nor does he give us any hint as to the way in which it could arise in a world which is conceived as "personal spirit," or in a kingdom of God which is all-inclusive. It is possible that in the moral movement, every step of which is taken only by direct divine inspiration, some men have not been inspired. But this would seem to imply that, while all Nature is good some men are radically evil, and therefore, also, I presume, that God did not make them.

It is rather difficult to give a just estimate of the book as a whole. But, although the author seems to me to have entirely failed in his reconstructive effort, the book can be read with much profit. It illustrates, even if it does not prove, that personalities are unique, or, at least, books. It is as rich in suggestions as it is poor in solutions. It shows that the author has a wide and intelligent acquaintance with German philosophical and ethical literature; and although his authorities have not been able to make him drink, they have led him to the water.

But the chief value of this work lies in its naïve betrayal of the secrets of a school of thinkers which has achieved some popularity in Germany, and which has disciples in this country. In the former country there is now active a double revolt against what has been called the *Panlogismus* of its great Idealists. That revolt derives its impetus in both cases alike from the suspicion that thought neither is, nor adequately expresses, the ultimate reality. Thought must, therefore, occupy in philosophy a more subordinate position. It must be regarded as evolved by a blind will, or as picked up by the ultimate unconscious reality in the course of its development, as the pessimists tell us; or else it must be viewed merely as the imperfect representation of reality which is elaborated for its own behoof by human thought. "The shadow of antiquity, its mischievous over-estimation of reason, still lies upon us," says Lotze, "and prevents our seeing, either in the real or in the ideal, what it is that makes both *something more than reason*." But Lotze, whom our author always quotes with approval,

is himself able, either with or without reason, to see that something more ! "Nothing seems less justifiable than the assertion that this Thinking is identical with Being, and that Being can be resolved into it without a residuum ; on the contrary, everywhere in the flux of thought there remain quite insoluble those individual nuclei which represent the several aspects of that important content which we designate by the name of Being " (Mikrokosmus, Vol. II. p. 354). It is these individual nuclei—of which the last word that we can say is that they exclude each other—that alone constitute reality. Everything hides its own real being within itself, and *Selves*, or persons, most of all. "Each self is an unique existence," we are told by an English writer of this school. "The very characteristic of a self is this exclusiveness."

It is against the invasion of the privacy of the real by universal laws that these writers raise their cry. We do actual things injustice when we endeavour to explain them by general laws; and this injustice reaches its highest point when we try to apply universal laws to man's history. "The universal Idea of humanity is the great and awful and tragic altar on which all individual life and joy are sacrificed." So repulsive is the idea of universal unchanging law to these writers, that they endure with some impatience the ascription of constancy even to the divine activity. "To make all subsequent resolves only the necessary results of one primal resolve, and all subsequent activity only the inevitable result of an original creative volition, involves a denial of freedom of action which seems to us incompatible with the idea of a living personal God " (Mikrokosmus, Vol. II. p. 133). "We prefer the thought of an uncertain and disconnected divine activity " (Mikrokosmus, Vol. II. p. 134). God, apparently, must change His purposes if He is to be a person, or if man is to be free. So deep are the vicious effects of universals, that there must be no intelligible continuity either in nature or in the events of history.

It would be easy to trace more of the "philosophy" of Gallwitz to Lotze ; and to do so would assist us to comprehend both master and disciple, although it would be obviously unjust to charge the crudities of the latter upon the former. There is in both the same faith in the particular, the same fear of the universal, the same distrust of human thought, and the same appeal to final mystery and to "faith." We are assured that Lotze is the new star in the horizon of philosophy in whose light rather than in that of the earlier idealists, we are to rejoice at least for a time. Even those who are not able to esteem his efforts so highly are prepared to admit that in his insistence upon the individual, there lies a demand which Idealism has no right to ignore. And it is mainly in its relation to this "new force" in philosophy that the work of

Herr Gallwitz attains its significance and value ; a force which has not lacked its recognition in Germany, least of all by those who ultimately base their religious and ethical faith, not upon its inward rational coherence, but upon a historical event.

HENRY JONES.

### Spinoza's Erkenntnisslehre in ihrer Beziehung zur modernen Naturwissenschaft und Philosophie.

*Allgemein verständlich dargestellt von Dr Martin Berendt und Dr med. Julius Friedländer. Berlin: Mayer & Müller. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 8vo, pp. xix. 315. Price M. 5.*

ONE of the most interesting things in the history of Philosophy is the way in which Spinoza continues to attract, and even to fascinate, the speculative mind. Within recent years many volumes expressly devoted to his system have been published in Holland, in Germany, and in France, as well as in England. The subject, however, is by no means exhausted. The book before us is apparently the first of a series of three, which are to treat successively of Spinoza's doctrine of Knowledge, his Metaphysical system, and his Ethics. It is written with the view of showing the harmony between the Theory of Knowledge held by the chief philosopher of Holland, and the teachings of modern Science—especially as these are embodied in the works of Helmholtz.

In the second part of the *Ethica*, "De Mente," Spinoza distinguishes between *Imaginatio*, *Ratio*, and *Scientia intuitiva*. The first of these he describes as proceeding either "from individual things, represented to us by the senses in a mutilated and confused manner, and without order to the intellect,"—*experientia vaga*—or "from signs, as for example, when we hear or read certain words, and form ideas similar to them, and so imagine things." It is for the latter reason that he applies to this first kind of Knowledge the term *Imaginatio*, but it must not be confounded with what passes current in modern psychology as "Imagination." It rather resembles the chance-gathered knowledge, which Plato called *δόξα*, as distinguished from *ἐπιστήμη*; while the latter corresponds with Spinoza's second kind of knowledge—i.e., his *Ratio*. Thus the "*experientia vaga*" of our ordinary consciousness,—which we pick up from the impressions of the senses, or from reading words or listening to them,—gives us only a mass of chaotic ideas, which is not true knowledge, but rather a source of illusion or falsity. On the other hand, the knowledge we obtain through *Ratio*, and through *Scientia intuitiva* is "necessarily true." The *Ratio* gives us "an adequate idea of the formal attributes" of real existence ;

the *Scientia intuitiva* conducts us to the essence of things itself. We have thus three stages of knowledge; and it is the aim of Messrs Berendt and Friedländer to prove that this arrangement or classification is justified by the progress of research, both philosophical and scientific. Ordinary unsifted experience being set aside, the *Ratio* of Spinoza may be taken as equivalent to a scientific knowledge of the laws of Nature; while the *Scientia intuitiva* may be held to be the same as the second-sight, or intuition which transcends the processes of science.

The authors are much more successful in what they say about the *Ratio* of Spinoza, than about his *Scientia intuitiva*. In reference, however, to the *Imaginatio*, or the inadequate and illusory knowledge of the senses, they quote from the *Ethica*, Part II. 16,—“*Idea cujuscunque modi, quo corpus humanum e corporibus externis afficitur involvere debet naturam corporis externi.*” They argue that this, and their succeeding propositions, are justified in the light of modern research. For instance, the burning sensation in the hand caused by the sting of a nettle is as much a consequence of the sensitive nervous system of the hand, as it is of the nature of the nettle; the perception of lightning by the eye is a consequence of the excitation of the retina, as well as of the electric spark; and so on with each sense. From this they proceed to expound Spinoza's corollary that the ideas we have of external bodies express more nearly the constitution of our own body than the nature of those external things; quoting a parallel passage from Helmholtz to the effect that the nature and manner of sense-perception depends less on the characteristics of the object perceived than on those of the organs of sense through which the perception reaches us.\* This is proved in subjective sense-perception—*e.g.*, the perception of light through pressure of blood to the eyes, through the action of narcotics, of alcohol, or in the abnormal condition of the blood during fever, when objectively there is not the smallest amount of light existing. Even though the eye itself be lost through an injury or a surgical operation, an irritation of the nerve might produce a fantastic sensation of light (p. 5).

After many examples of the application of this law, as laid down both by Spinoza and Helmholtz, to the physical world, the authors state their opinion of its equal value in the spiritual realm. In the appendix to the *Ethica*, Spinoza says that every one “judges things by the constitution of his brain; or, rather, accepts the affections of his imagination in the place of things.” All preconceived opinions,

\* Die Art und Weise der sinnlichen Wahrnehmung weniger von den Eigenthümlichkeiten des wahrgenommenen Gegenstandes, als von denen des Sinnesorganes abhängt, durch welches wir die Nachricht bekommen.”—*Vorträge und Reden*, Bd. I. s. 19.

and all superstition, may be explained as the subjective aspect of things, but our ideas thus formed are inadequate to disclose the reality of Nature. An illustration from the natural world, used also by Schopenhauer—who was probably influenced by Spinoza—is given. It is this—The sun is at a certain apparent distance from us; when, by astronomical calculation, we discover its real distance from the earth, the apparent distance, nevertheless, remains the same. Similarly, the red of the rose-leaf remains an objective attribute of the leaf, the heat of molten iron remains a true property of the iron; although we afterwards learn that the one is caused by vibrations of light, and the other by the invisible movement of the smallest molecules. The explanation of the *objective* nature of our sense-perceptions Spinoza could not give. This is a discovery of our own century, and of its later decades. We may here compare Helmholtz, when he asserts that sense-perceptions are to us only symbols of the outer world, and correspond to it as the written or spoken word whereby things are denoted. They give us, it is true, some intelligence of the outer world; but it is not much better than the idea of colour, which we convey to a blind man by a mere description of it. What then is truth to us? In what sense do our ideas guarantee to us reality or certainty? To this the speculative philosopher and the physicist reply in the same words.

In what is common to our bodies and the external world, and what arises out of their inter-communication, Spinoza finds the basis of adequate knowledge. "Those things only can be adequately conceived by us which are common to everything, and which are equally in the whole and in its parts."<sup>1</sup> Again, "All bodies agree in this that they involve the conception of one and the same attribute. They have, moreover, this in common, that they are capable of motion and of rest."<sup>2</sup> S. E. Loewenhardt<sup>3</sup> comments on Spinoza's recognition of this important physical fact. Even if—as is possible—the idea was borrowed from Descartes, it must be admitted that Spinoza accepted it, not only in its entirety, but also in its consequences, with uncompromising candour. In his work on Spinoza, Sir Frederick Pollock says, "If it had been in the nature of things that the conservation of energy, or anything equivalent to it, should be either discovered or proved *a priori*, Descartes would in all probability have done it. Spinoza, full of the Hebrew conviction of the perfect unity of the divine Nature, and of its manifestations in the sensible world, and determined to carry that principle to its utmost consequences, found in Descartes a seeming

<sup>1</sup> "Ethica" II., props. 38, 39.

<sup>2</sup> "Ethica" II., prop. xix., lemma 2.

<sup>3</sup> In his "Spinoza in seinem Verhältniss zur Philosophie und Naturforschung der neueren Zeit." (Berlin, 1872.)



demonstration, on grounds of scientific evidence, of that unity and uniformity in the physical world which speculation had already led him to expect."<sup>1</sup> Whether Spinoza's "dark saying" was, or was not, a kind of "prophetic vision" of the modern conception of the Conservation of energy, is discussed by Pollock, and the conclusion at which he arrives is the opposite of that to which Messrs Berendt and Friedländer have come. Mathematics being the basis of true knowledge, on it, according to our authors, the method of experimental research is built; but this research extends only to the properties, not to the essence of things. It is the *Ratio* of Spinoza, which is applicable to the whole realm of physical science, and to the universe of things.

In the Scholium to the twenty-ninth proposition of the second book of the *Ethica*, Spinoza expressly affirms that the "mind has no adequate knowledge of itself, nor of external bodies," but only a confused knowledge of them, while "it is determined to the contemplation of this or that *externally*;" but when it is "determined *internally*, it contemplates several things at once, with a view to find out in what they differ, agree, or oppose one another; for whenever it is internally disposed, in this or in any other way, it contemplates things clearly and distinctly." But the interest which Spinoza felt in experimental research is perhaps most fully shown in his *De intellectus emendatione*, cap. 14. The ideas which are common to all men, "*notiones omnibus hominibus communes*," are the axioms of mathematics and the fundamental postulates of science. Here he certainly anticipates modern science, more especially the results arrived at by Helmholtz. Messrs Berendt and Friedländer think, however, that Spinoza was opposed to the idea of these postulates of physical science having an *a priori* character. Referring to the corollary to the twenty-second proposition of the second book of the *Ethica* (already mentioned), they say that this passage, taken along with many others, shows that Spinoza regarded both the axioms of mathematics and the elementary propositions of science as drawn from experience; and that here he has anticipated modern thought. They refer to Helmholtz in particular, who, in his treatise on the "Origin and Signification of Geometrical Axioms," has shown, in opposition to Kant, that they cannot be even imagined apart from the conceptions we derive from experience—such as solidity—and that, besides, if we add to the geometrical axioms, and propositions on the mechanical properties of bodies, those of inertia, of action and reaction, &c., a system is built up of which there can be no other foundation than experience.

But what is to bridge the chasm between the rational (the second) kind of knowledge and the intuitive (or third) kind? "The effort

<sup>1</sup> "Spinoza : his Life and Philosophy," p. 113.

or the desire to know things by the third kind of knowledge cannot arise from the first kind—the inadequate—but it may arise from the second kind.”<sup>1</sup> The object of intuitive knowledge being the essence of things, and not only the mechanical movements of the material world, the thought of Spinoza may, on this point, be linked with that of Faraday and Clerk Maxwell, who—as Helmholtz points out—used the method of intuitive perception, in addition to mathematical analysis and methodical proof.

The link which connects the idealistic and the mechanical view of nature is to be found in the will, which takes its origin in the desire to exist, *cupiditas*, or the self-developing impulse. Here Spinoza is supposed to anticipate the Darwinian principle of the “struggle for existence,” but without its limitations, as Hartmann has pointed out.<sup>2</sup>

In succeeding chapters, Spinoza’s doctrine of Attribute and Mode is scrutinised in the light of modern metaphysic. Reverting to the first book of the *Ethica*, proposition fifteen, that “whatever is, is in God, and that nothing can either be, or be conceived without God,” and proposition twenty-five, that “God is not only the efficient cause of the existence of things, but also of their essence,” the authors expound the theory that this ever-flowing essence proceeding from God may manifest itself at one time in one form, and again in another; and that thus a kind of metempsychosis or re-incarnation may take place (p. 157).

Mommsen<sup>3</sup> drew a parallel between Cæsar and Cromwell. “In actualis corporis existentia,” these men were different, yet in their “essentia” their character, the tendency of their minds and wills, in their statescraft and its fruits, they were similar. A parallel case of essential similarity the authors find in Dante and Michael Angelo, men both sad and gloomy in character, and in their artistic work preferring the gloomy and the sublime; also in Luther and Lessing, in Plato and Beethoven, in Hannibal and Napoleon I., in Caius Gracchus and Ferdinand Lassalle. A somewhat fanciful disquisition follows.

Berendt and Friedländer conclude that the everlasting essence of things is unalterable, while the phenomena constantly change. At p. 154 they say that, as *Ratio* embodies itself in science, intuition embodies itself in art, and the artistic contemplation of things. Intuitive knowledge was the foundation of Shakespeare’s power in presenting what was innermost and most essential in all his characters; and thus we now view them “sub specie aeternitatis.” This “scientia intuitiva” of Spinoza, they find in all our modern

<sup>1</sup> “*Ethica*” V., prop. 28.

<sup>2</sup> In his “*Wahrheit und Irrthum in Darwinismus.*”

<sup>3</sup> “*Römische Geschichte*,” ii. 45.

art,—in music, painting, and especially in the drama,—as well as in politics, philosophy, and natural science. A curious but interesting chapter on examples of the three kinds of knowledge in practical life will be found at p. 187.

It is unnecessary to follow our authors farther, or to point out where their enthusiasm becomes uncritical, and ends in a somewhat slavish deference. It is enough to have indicated the line they take. Its difference from that followed out by our British critics of Spinoza, Mr Froude, Sir F. Pollock, Dr Martineau, and Principal Caird,—and from the estimates of Ernest Renan, Eduard Zeller, Van Vloten, and Land, will be apparent to all who have followed recent discussions of the subject. It is limited to the *Erkenntnisslehre*, what is known in Britain under the barbarous term “epistemology,” but, as it is to be followed by two volumes devoted to a discussion of Spinoza’s metaphysical and ethical system, a few remarks on his philosophy in general may be of use to the readers of this *Review*.

In order to a clear apprehension of Spinoza’s doctrine, it must be remembered that Descartes had taught that there were two realms of substance, a spiritual and a material, and that his philosophy was dualistic; although he also held that the one supreme substance included within it two subsidiary ones. The thinking substance and the extended were united by the one supreme Substance, God. Malebranche followed him, and tried to remove the dualism, which remained in the doctrine of Descartes, by proclaiming a higher Unity, in which the antithesis between these two was overcome or transcended. So far at least as the spiritual realm was concerned, “*Dieu est le lieu des esprits*”—we see all things in God. The two Cartesian substances were thus merged in one. Spinoza developed this much farther: the two realms were substantially one, because God included both within Himself. Were there any single thing apart from God, it would be independent of Him. Therefore, God is the sole substance. *Quiquid est in Deo est.*

The following may be given as the briefest summary of Spinoza’s system. There is but one Substance in the universe, underlying all the phenomena of mind and matter, infinite, self-existent, eternal, necessary. The Being whose essence is mere existence is necessarily one; there is no other being. But this one Substance has an infinity of attributes, two of which only are known to us—viz., thought and extension; which again manifest themselves to our apprehension under an infinity of separate phases or modes; and these three—Substance, Attribute, and Mode—exhaust the possibilities of existence. This one Substance is the sole cause of all that happens. It is God, and there is no other substance underneath phenomena except God. From him, or it—for there is no distinction—all things issue by fixed necessity. God is the cause

of all existence, the life of all that lives, but He is not personal. Nature is different from him, simply as product is different from process, but they are not really separable. Thus Nature, Substance, and God,—although we happen to differentiate them by the phrases we make use of,—are all at root the same. God, as the infinite substance, with infinite attributes, is in Spinoza's terminology the *natura naturans*; the universe, with all its infinite modes of manifestation is the *natura naturata*. But all the phenomena of the universe are the necessary modes in which the attributes of the one Substance are manifested. It is one and infinite, *they* are manifold and finite. It is self-existent; they are produced or evolved. God can be realised as manifesting himself now in this, and again in that phenomenal made of activity; but He remains for ever one and unchanged, the *causa mundi immanens non transiens*. Creation, in the sense of a start of energy out of previous repose, is impossible, because the one substance exhausts reality, and of it all that exists is a manifestation. The one substance being also the sole cause, all that exists reveals the substance, all that comes to pass manifests the cause; and thus the entire structure of the universe disclosed in space, its complete story revealed in time, are the necessary unfolding of the one supreme Substance and the one sole Cause. Nothing in the universe is free, except in the sense that it acts according to the laws of its own nature. No ends are discoverable in Nature. Intention is a notion gathered from human actions or designs, which we illusively throw out into Nature; but it has no real existence there. All things being necessitated, no antagonism to the will of God is possible. Resistance to him is a mere figure of speech, derived from our human struggles. Actions differ to us in their quality, as respectively good or bad, when we regard them in their results; but in their essence all are necessitated, and, therefore, all on one level. Thus, according to this system, all the acts of the generation that now is are a mere evolution out of the acts of past generations, and all the acts of the unborn to the end of time are now as fixed as is the rise of the sun to-morrow morning.

The initial flaw in this system is the application of the deductive method to Philosophy, the method which tries to carry us over by the help of mathematical axioms from the sphere of abstract thought to the realm of real existence. It is unnecessary to enlarge on this, as there are other more serious faults within it.

It is a theory of universal existence; but it cannot explain the simplest act of self-consciousness, or our ordinary perception of external things. Thus, when we perceive any truth of reason—when we are conscious of our own existence, or of an external object before us—according to this theory it is the Infinite Being that is perceiving it in us and through us. Our act of knowledge or per-

ception is merely a mode through which the Infinite Being realises itself. But how can the one Infinite Being thus break itself up into detail, into an infinite series of acts of consciousness? How, at all events, can this self-sundering of the Infinite *be known*? The theory attempts to reconcile Infinity and Unity with the individuality and manifoldness of the finite; but it is neither contained within any known facts of consciousness, nor is it a valid deduction from any of them. These acts of our finite consciousness are known. *They* at least exist within us, and they attest existence beyond us. They also, to a certain extent, interpret existence both within and beyond the knower; but what speculative right have we to affirm that they are the phases through which the one infinite substance manifests itself, or becomes conscious of itself? In other words, what right have we to override the psychological truth which these facts assert, by an ontological theory of being, founded upon an abstract mathematical premise? No deduction from that premise can explain how the abstract essence, substance, or cause, which works blindly and unconsciously in Nature, blossoms into consciousness in man. If we merge all individual causes in one supreme causality, the acts of each individual are merely phases of that causality; but, if all the phenomenal aspects of the universe are the evolution of a single primordial essence—aspects of that which always is, but is always changing its disclosures—the distinction between them is a matter of complete indifference. The differences which emerge remerge again, in the unity that is self-existent, self-identical, and self-caused.

It comes to this, that the difference between the Infinite Substance and Cause of all, and each individual thing which manifests them, is but the difference between the whole and its parts. The one substance which evolves itself everlastingly under the attributes of extension and thought, or matter and mind, is to the human eye broken up into sectional detail; but there is no real break in the continuity of the process at work. We isolate a portion of the series from the rest—certain atoms grouped together, a few thoughts and feelings aggregated somehow—and we have what we choose to call *individua*, or separate things. But on this theory there is no real individuality in any one of them, because all are in a “process of becoming.” Thus there is the closest speculative affinity between the theory of Heraclitus and a system of evolution that dispenses with an Evolver, and the Spinozist doctrine of substance, attribute, and mode.

The primary assumption of the unity of all being—such a unity as abolishes difference, instead of making room for it—has no speculative warrant. Why should Substance, Nature, and God be one, and Substance be *causa sui* (its own cause)? There is no *a*

*priori* reason, and no *a posteriori* evidence. And, as Dr Martineau has well put it—"The conception of Nature is scientific, expressive of a certain unity amongst phenomena ; that of God is religious, revealing a living unity of cause ; that of Substance is metaphysical, indicating a unity of ground ; and Spinoza's preference for the last evinces the ultimate ascendance in his mind of the idea of reality over that of totality, and of power. Thus overshadowed, the two subordinated terms dropped a part of their received meaning."<sup>1</sup>

Now, if God, Nature, and Substance be thus identified, God and reality are one. The actual is the necessary, the contingent does not exist, freedom is an illusion of the fancy. But to take these terms, which had borne a fundamental difference of meaning heretofore, both in popular usage and in scientific discussion, to blend them into one, and use them interchangeably, is manifestly not to solve a problem of philosophy, but to evade it. If, when I say that "God exists," I am also at the same time saying that "entity is,"—and if that is really all that I am saying,—surely the very terms of which I make use are emptied of all philosophical meaning.

Then a critic of Spinoza's system may further object that he gives us no clear exposition of the relation in which substance stands to attribute. His definition of Substance does not carry with it a definition of its attributes, which it ought to have done in a purely deductive system. The attributes of the one substance are set down as infinite, but how is this infinity known? Two only, he goes on to say, are known to us—viz., those of extension and thought, which again assume an infinity of modes. But if only two attributes be known, how can we affirm that an infinity exist? Then the two that are known have no organic connection with each other. They are simply predicated of Substance, that is all. How, we may validly ask, does this infinite plurality of attributes inhere in the one Substance or essence? How can we speak of the Essence as one and homogeneous, while its attributes through which we know it are many and heterogeneous? Spinoza began with dualism, with the doctrines of Descartes, two *summa genera* differentiated fundamentally; and he subsequently took up these two Cartesian substances into a single principle. But he merely succeeded in bracketing them together under a common name. Their fundamental difference—nay, the radical difference of their respective attributes—prevents their being ever legitimately spoken of as the divers phases of a single substance.

There is, however, a unity within which all Substance may be included, and that is the realm of thought. We can think them together. The material cannot include the mental within itself, but the mental can (so far) include the material within it: and while

<sup>1</sup> "A Study of Spinoza," p. 171.

preserving a dualism like that of Descartes, we may be warranted in analogically interpreting the fountainhead of Being, whence all derivative existence has flowed, as an intellectual source.

In the moral teaching of Spinoza, there is much to attract and even to fascinate; although its root-principle is erroneous, because it applies the doctrine of necessity to the sphere of the will. It has been the aim of more than one philosopher to recover his speculative loss within the moral sphere. But this can only be done, in Spinoza's case, by first making a concession which is fatal to his theory. The end he sought was a practical one. As with the Stoics his philosophy culminated in the quest for the chief good. It was a search for "the way to the blessed life." Spinoza saw that men were always missing the mark in their search for happiness, because they placed their regard on the perishable and the transient. He sought the imperishable and the changeless. Therefore he directs us to the Infinite and the Eternal. By the ladder of the intellect, by pure contemplation, he invites us to ascend into a region in which the passions will be lulled to rest, beyond the illusions of the terrestrial, and the changefulness of experience. So far he takes a path common to him, and to all the great idealistic thinkers of the world. But he does not help us to rise to that "unity where no division is," by interpreting the realities that surround us in the light of their underlying essence. On the contrary, he takes us straight away to a speculative height, where the air is too rarified for us to breathe, and he deduces everything from the assumption with which he starts; while he leaves us at the end intellectually prostrate, hemmed in by the laws of the universe, and powerless to act, except as automata that are moved by an all-dominating necessity.

We may go with him, and for a time gaze from that speculative height, whence the universe beneath us seems an ordered hierarchy, closely knit, in which all things from the lowest to the highest automatically fulfil the law of their being. We may even feel that it makes one side of the great mystery more intelligible to us. But when we descend from the height, we find that we also live and move in another world—viz., that of moral freedom; and we find that the consequence of the denial of moral freedom—which is not only explicitly made, but is an essential part of Spinoza's doctrine—is that the resulting system is unable to lift us above the tyranny of Nature. We thus feel that Spinoza is conducting us by a false path, and by an erroneous method. He does not begin with experience, and rise from it to the eternal ground of things, to the substance within the phenomena. He tells us that phenomena are shadows, but he does not enable us to construe them as symbols, to interpret them by that which they mirror or disclose. He begins with abstract Substance,

Essence, and Cause, and reasons down from them—or from it, for they are all one—to derivative existence, but his philosophy constructed *more geometrico* is outside experience. It is a piece of formal logic, and is neither truly metaphysical nor truly ethical.

A knowledge of the consequences of action is all that Spinoza gives us to enable the individual to choose his path in life. Intellectual discernment of the issues of conduct is our sole directory. But if the consequences of all kinds of conduct are equally fixed, do not their moral differences disappear under the wave of this ontological similarity. If my own individuality be abolished, and if all my personal action is but a mode of the action of the infinite Being—or his action as modified in me—and if I am but a wave of the sea of being, what matters it whether the surface be rough or calm? Nay, may not the variety be fair to contemplate, and the change desirable for health?

No doubt the philosophy of Spinoza inculcates the loftiest morality. It is a mathematical philosophy, which culminates in the purest and most disinterested love of God, a love which asks for nothing in return. But if everything be hopelessly necessitated, if man is an automaton—if we are not persons, but things—then whatever is, is right; and whatsoever comes to pass is, in its relation to the universe at large, equally and absolutely perfect. It is thus that a necessitarian theory of conduct may be redargued from its consequences; and every fatalistic scheme, however clear its intellectual form, is met as it cuts across the instincts of the heart by the belief in the moral freedom and the instinct of personality. We are both free and not free, both free and determined. Such is the testimony borne by experience. Usually, however, the angular-minded necessitarian says, "Take one of the two alternatives, either that we are free, or that we are not free; but don't let your theory face both ways, or include both the facts or sets of facts; for there is no middle way between them, and no combination of the facts is possible." On the contrary, I affirm with confidence that there *is* a middle way, which shuns the falsehood of the two extremes.

But not only is moral freedom attested by consciousness, all social order, and all public law, are built upon its postulate. If it is the suppressed premiss of individual morality, it is also the only justification of society in punishing the wrong-doer. Why should society punish any one, if he can't help doing what he does? Most men feel that they ought to act in one way and not in another. Is that simply because society compels them, or their acquired habits urge them on? Is it not because certain things are regarded as intrinsically right, and others as intrinsically wrong? And if so, may we not warrantably say that the doctrine of determinism is but a half-truth, which, wrenched from its context, or



divorced from its better-half of freedom, very easily becomes a total falsehood?

In his doctrine of freedom, Spinoza affirms that there is a distinction between the freedom of God and the freedom of the creature—that the former is free, and the latter is not—because the former acts solely according to the laws of his own nature, while the latter has to act also according to the laws of other existences around it. But, as the relation of the infinite cause to the individual things which reveal it is merely that of the whole to its parts, or of the one to the many, it follows that the universe as a whole is free, but that each part of it is not free. The whole acts from the laws of its own nature, while each part acts from the laws of the other parts. That surely is a moral contradiction in the system.

It is true that the philosophy of Spinoza may guide and nourish a noble nature, given a noble nature (like his own) to start with. In answer to the charge of irreligion, he said, "Is it to cast off religion to acknowledge God as the supreme good, and to love him with singleness of soul, which love must constitute our highest felicity and most perfect freedom, to believe that the reward of virtue is virtue, and that the punishment of ignorance is ignorance, and that everyone should serve his neighbour, and obey the laws?" That is well and nobly put. It is true, but it is only one half of the truth. Spinoza did not believe in God less than the majority of us do, but *more*: only, his expansion and enlargement of the notion, led by inevitable reaction to its abolition altogether. The bare category of "existence" was all that ultimately remained. But if we include *everything* within our category, if we get our logical rope thrown round existence in the abstract, it will not be difficult to understand the paradox "everything = nothing." In other words, the infinite and the finite, God and the world, will be *lost in each other*.

Spinoza said he could attach no idea to the word "personality" as applied to God, and yet he added his "firm belief that in the blessed vision of God, which is promised to the faithful, it will be known." This is one of the most curious, and even pathetic statements in his writings. The Hebrew monotheism of his boyhood had vanished. It had been lost in the monism of Parmenides, Plotinus, and Erigena. Nevertheless, a fragment of it clung to him in his intellectual manhood, despite the requirements of his logic. Was it that he had an occasional doubt of the moral power of his own symmetrical system? that he felt he could not love an impersonal Being, an abstract entity, or existence in the neuter gender? In any case, the impossibility of such devotion has been abundantly proved by history.

WILLIAM KNIGHT.

**"The Elements of Ethics."***By J. H. Muirhead, M.A. London: John Murray.**Cr. 8vo. pp. xi. 239. Price 3s.*

MR MUIRHEAD'S work must rank among the best of the University Extension Manuals. It is characterised by perspicacity of thought and lucidity of style. There is almost a dramatic vividness in the rise of point after point upon the reader's view, till the summit is reached, from which the whole course of thought may be comprehended, and its detailed discussions estimated in their full value. It is apparent, too, that Mr Muirhead's interest in his subject is not that of a mere cool observer of the phenomena of a life in which he takes no further part. His words glow with the interest of one who finds in life the sphere of noblest personal endeavour, and in the Ideal of which he speaks the aim of enduring personal quest. This feature, unexpected, and it might be said, even superfluous, in a Text-book, is fitted to awaken the reader's enthusiasm, and to make his perusal of these "elements of ethics" a means of moral discipline. When we have said this, it may be permitted to us, to remonstrate respectfully with Mr Muirhead on his custom of introducing controversial matter upon religious and moral subjects, and giving off-hand decisions thereon, in the shape of tasteless, irritating footnotes; see pp. 66, 70, 74, 92.

The plan of the book is exceedingly simple. It begins (Book I.) with defining the subject of Ethics, and exhibiting the relation of Ethics to other sciences and to philosophy. Ethical science is concerned with judgments upon conduct, and is the attempt, required by the growth of reflection, to explain these judgments by reference to the social relationships of which they are the necessary pre-suppositions. The Moral Judgment (Book II.) is now discussed. Its object is declared to be voluntary action; and this leads to a most interesting and enlightening treatment of Will, Self, Character, Motive. Mr Muirhead, it is perhaps needless to state of one who looks to Professor Edward Caird as his philosophical progenitor, does not hold to the old view of man as possessed of a faculty called Will, acting as it were *in vacuo*. He identifies Will with the Self, the very personality of a man. Character is the product of the operation of this Will, which is the man, upon what may popularly, and with permissible inaccuracy, be spoken of as the raw material of passion, instinct, and inclination. We see, accordingly, how character at one and the same time is produced by the will in action, and determines the will to action. Similarly, the old distinction of motive and consequent is abandoned, and the difficulty connected

with it disappears. "Thus we may say that an act is good because the motive is good, but we shall be careful to note that by motive we mean, not a mere feeling, but the end with which the will identifies itself in the action, and by so doing reveals its character. On the other hand, we may say that it is the consequences which give moral character to the act; but again we shall be careful to note that this is true only if by consequences we mean, first, consequences as preconceived—i.e., as intended, and, secondly, those of the intended consequences for the sake of which the act is done—i.e., the idea of which is the final cause of the act," p. 59. The central section of the whole book is now reached in considering the standard of Moral Judgment. This is defined to be not external law, not law conceived as internal, viz., conscience, but end. Rightly interpreted, indeed, the language which makes conscience supreme expresses the fact. For conscience is not a separate faculty, but "the whole or true self claiming to legislate for the parts," p. 78. In this sense morality may be described as obeying the voice of conscience; but it is plain that for bare law or decree of an abstract power, we have now the conception of end.

Morality is not obedience to a law, but realisation of an end, the end, namely, which man seeks and must seek to achieve. "The end is an ideal of Self. . . . The *summum bonum* is the *summus ego*," p. 151. How then (Book III.) is this end to be conceived? This leads to a clear and convincing estimate of various ethical theories. The doctrines which define the end as pleasure, and as sacrifice are reviewed and rejected; while a rise to a higher point of view is obtained in the treatment of evolutionary hedonism. One quotation may be permitted as being an eloquent and conclusive reply to the Spencerian conception of a painless equilibrium between highly differentiated functions in society and the individual. "Of an absolute and final equilibrium of the kind demanded, from which pain and conflict will be excluded, Evolution knows nothing. The only analogue to it in nature is death. Where there is life there is progress. In regard to social progress, we have no warrant for believing that individual aspiration after a higher form of life than the environment admits of, will not keep pace with the progress already attained, and that struggle and sacrifice, with the pain that they involve, will not be the permanent portion of the more highly developed—i.e., the more moral—individuals," p. 140.

Under the guidance of the criticism of these theories, we now (Book IV.) arrive at the true conception of the end. The end which forms the standard of morality is social: The good which is the aim of moral endeavour is common good. The individual is what he is through his place in society. He exists to fill that place and adequately discharge its functions. Through fidelity to this vocation

he becomes what he ought to be. "He realises himself by enabling society, through him, to perform the particular function which is represented by his station and its duties," p. 162. In the fulfilment of these duties, from point to point, full satisfaction is attained. The author vigorously repudiates any outlook to a possible future as essential to the satisfactoriness of life. "The end or ideal in morals is not to be conceived of as 'some far-off divine event' which is some day to come to pass. It is daily and hourly realised in the good act itself. Such an act is not a means to a further end; it is itself the end," p. 174.

In the light of this conception of morality as self-realisation, Mr Muirhead does a bold thing, and actually produces a classification of virtues. In our opinion, he might have been better advised to have left this attempt unmade. The self to be realised is, as Mr Bradley would say, a whole and an infinite whole, to be studied in the relations in which it actually appears, not to be analysed into any mere bundle of virtues. The Table of Virtues presented in p. 186 does not, of course, pretend to be exhaustive; and it is not on this ground we object to it. It is rather because it seems to us to be a descent from the standpoint already reached. Character cannot be articulated like a skeleton; and any character modelled on a scheme of virtues, however carefully arranged, would be intolerably mechanical, self-righteous, and disagreeable. There remains (Book V.) the crowning difficulty of all, to combine this view of morality, as the attainment of a social end, with the fact of historic movement in the forms of Social life. Here our author makes a bold plunge into that sea of metaphysics whose mighty waters have been calling to him, even when he was engaged in matters the most experimental. History is the realisation of a moral ideal of which conscience is the source. New circumstances as they arise form the occasion for further realisations of the ideal; and the ideal as thus realised forms the impulse to a further modification of the social environment. In order that this historic movement may proceed, the Ideal requires to be continually interpreted afresh, and served with ever-renewed devotion. This is the work pre-eminently of social reformers, who may often become the martyrs of the cause they serve with such complete self-sacrifice. To such a life of service, whose fullness is reached through death, the closing pages of this treatise are an eloquent invitation.

So far, we have characterised this treatise as what it professes to be, a manual of ethical science, and have had almost nothing but praise to give it. If, however, we take it in a higher sense as an exposition of worthy and satisfactory living, we must be allowed to express our profound dissatisfaction with it. Granting the lofty ideal of the writer, his noble view of self-sacrifice, and his strong

sympathy with social reform, we have still to ask how this life is possible for man, and have to complain that large elements of character have been omitted from this estimate of the ideal life of man. To enter into detail would be to expound a system of Christian ethic in distinction from the idealist ethic, which, borrowing its contents from Christianity, repudiates the Christian faith as the necessary source of man's higher life. At the risk of seeming barely dogmatic, let us close with these assertions of our view of the moral problem. (1) The ideal of life, which is being progressively realised in history, is personal. To Mr Muirhead and his school self-consciousness, or conscience, which is simply self-consciousness viewed ethically, is the source of this ideal, and finds in the social environment the occasion and sphere of its realisation. Self-consciousness is thus sufficient to itself, and builds up by its own creative energy the world of knowledge and the world of moral action. The Christian teaching is that this identification of self-consciousness, as it appears in the individual, with the absolute self-consciousness, mind or will, which manifests itself in the universe, is morally untrue. In individual self-consciousness we do, indeed, meet with a self-revealing Spirit—*i.e.*, a person who is in himself the truth of Nature and the ideal of life. This ideal, as Mr Muirhead well remarks, needs an interpreter, and, we add, a revealer and verifier; but this cannot be found in a mere series of teachers or reformers, but in one who is the ideal, living and breathing amid the conditions of human life. Hence we ascribe to the person of Christ absolute moral value. Morality finds its basis in religion. The ideal it seeks is presented as realised already; and only because that ideal is realised can it be sought with passionate devotion and deathless energy. (2) The end of moral life for the individual is personal likewise. To define the end by reference to any form of social life is inadequate, for, by the very term employed, a form cannot afford adequate realisation for an infinite Self—*i.e.*, a Self whose satisfaction is found only in communion with the infinite. Widen the form as you will, till it be a cosmopolitan state inclusive of all mankind, it is formal, and therefore, inadequate still. “‘Realise yourself as an infinite whole,’ means,” says Mr Bradley, “‘Realise yourself as the self-conscious member of an infinite whole, by realising that whole in yourself.’ When that whole is truly infinite, and when your personal will is wholly made one with it, then you also have reached the extreme of homogeneity and specification in one, and have attained a perfect self-realisation.” Mr Muirhead makes a curious mistake, when, having in view, apparently, ordinary Christian teaching, he says the end cannot be “mere obedience to the will of God.” Christian teaching does not assert obedience as the end, but as the means.

The end is the will of God, appropriated by the individual as his will, the aim and end of his individual effort, so that he becomes in growing measure the organ of a Will with which he is one. The good, which is defined by reference to social institutions, the Family, and the State, is simply a partial revelation and attainment of the good which consists in fellowship with God, and moral assimilation to Him. (3) It is true, as Mr Muirhead remarks in passages already quoted, that there is satisfaction in each moment of good conduct. But it is not true that that satisfaction is complete. There is failure on two sides. In reference to the individual, as long as the perfect harmony of the whole self is not attained, any expression of moral activity must be imperfect, a shortcoming, if not a transgression. In reference to others, we have to wait for them, our own satisfaction being bound up with their attainment, so that we without them cannot be made perfect. From a moral point of view, therefore, the Christian belief in a Parousia vindicates itself. The good is attained in the good life, but under such limitations as contain the presage of an ampler realisation, when other conditions are provided, these being, subjectively, the vision of God, objectively, the Restitution of all things.

We close with these very bare statements, of whose inherent rationality, however, we are profoundly persuaded, being convinced that the very ethic in which Mr Muirhead has so noble an interest, must rest upon faith in Christ as the ground of its truth, and the source of its power, as well for the individual as for society.

T. B. KILPATRICK.

**Acta et Decreta sacrosancti œcumenici Concilii Vaticani  
cum permultis aliis Documentis ad Concilium ejus-  
que Historiam spectantibus.**

*Auctoribus Presbyteris S. J. e Domo B. V. M. sine Labe conceptæ ad Lacum. Cum Approbatione Revm̃i Archiepiscopi Friburgensis. Friburgi Brisgoviae. Sumptibus Herder. MDCCCXCII. 4to, pp. xx. 1942 cols. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Price M. 26.*

THIS stately volume was first published in 1890 as the seventh in the series which it completes. It is now issued separately as an independent volume, for the benefit of those who wish to furnish themselves with the documents of the Vatican Council alone; and for those who in future wish to study the history of the Council it will be indispensable. The series, as a whole, comprises the Acts

of the provincial councils held since the Council of Trent: and to very many persons it will have been a surprise that the councils since that time have been so numerous, and their Acts so voluminous, as to furnish material of so imposing a row of closely-printed quartos. It was the late Father G. Schneemann, at that time Professor of Canon Law in the Jesuit College of Maria Laach, who, in conjunction with some of his colleagues in that seminary, projected, and to a large extent accomplished, the bold scheme of forming a collection of conciliar documents on this large scale. Hence the series is known as the *Collectio Lacensis*, its full title being *Acta et Decreta sacrorum Conciliorum recentiorum*; and at six pounds for the seven volumes it is certainly not dear. Not all the volumes can be had singly; and of those which can be bought singly this last on the Vatican Council is the largest.

Father Schneemann did not live to see it published. Only the first volume of the series had made its appearance when the May Laws drove him and his assistants out of Germany; and the next five volumes were issued from Holland. And while the concluding volume, which now lies before us, was being prepared, Schneemann died; broken down, it is said, by overwork. Father Granderath, at one time Theological Professor at Ditton Hall in England, succeeded him as editor; and with the help of Aymans and Esseiva, who had been Schneemann's chief assistants, he completed the volume and the series. Granderath took back to Rome the documents which had been collected by Schneemann; and there Mgr. Cani, the keeper of the Pontifical Archives, allowed him to collate them afresh with the originals, and also to make considerable additions to them. Granderath was also allowed to make use of the official reports of the deliberations of the *Deputatio de Fide*, which did so much towards shaping the material for the Council. Apparently it was Granderath who discovered these reports in the Archives. Yet, for some reason or other, he was not allowed to make a verbatim copy of them, but to transcribe just so much as would be necessary for explaining the two dogmatic constitutions which were passed by the Council. He also had the use of a *commentarius diurnus* made by a bishop who was a member of the *Deputatio de Fide*.

Only about one quarter of the volume is occupied by the Acts of the Council, and these are printed in large type. This first and more official part contains the Bull of Indiction and other Encyclicals of Pius IX., the two dogmatic constitutions which were finally decreed by the Council, the Schemata out of which they grew, the amendments which were proposed by various prelates during the sessions, and the propositions which the *Deputatio de Fide* allowed to be submitted for nominal discussion in the Council

Hall. For nothing could be brought forward in the mock debate which had not previously been scrutinised and approved by the *Deputatio de Fide*; and whatever did pass the close meshes of that jealous committee was proposed to the Council by a member of the *Deputatio*. Nearly all these documents are copied from the originals in the Archives, and the exactness is guaranteed by the *concordat cum originali* of Mgr. Antonio Cani, the Prefect of the Archives. One wonders at the singular verb and noun. Why not *concordant cum originalibus*? The singular might be limited to the last document.

But most of this first part is well-known history. It is in the Appendix, which constitutes three-fourths of the volume, that those interested in the working of the Vatican Council will find the material that is likely to be of most service to them. Here there is a great deal that has never been published before; and the editors deserve the highest praise for the clear, orderly, and (on the whole) complete way in which they have presented these abundant sources of information to the student. We are specially grateful to them for having left the documents to tell their own tale in the language in which they were originally written, and have not thought it necessary to translate French, German, Spanish, and Italian into ecclesiastical Latin. They have furnished the documents with Latin headings, and sometimes with a Latin analysis of the contents; but the documents themselves, whether letters, or speeches, or pamphlets, or what not, are given intact. Very many of these refer to the interior working of the Council, and express the proposals and requests, or protests and complaints of some of those who took part in it. But a still larger number illustrate the external history of the Synod, by showing the attitude which some of the Governments in Europe adopted towards it, the views which independent theologians of the Roman Church took of it, and the utterances of various Protestant bodies respecting it. Among official State documents, those of France, as represented by Count Daru and Ollivier, have the first place. Before the opening of the Council, France had for long been supporting the Papacy with a garrison in Rome, and therefore claimed a special right to the attention of the Curia. Then follow Bavaria, Italy, and Prussia, the documents in the last case being far the most numerous after those of France. In a letter to Bismarck, May 14th, 1869, Count Arnim, who was then Prussian Ambassador at Rome, suggests that the circular addressed by Prince Hohenlohe on behalf of Bavaria to other European Governments, urging a firm attitude against Papal encroachments, was inspired by Döllinger; and January 8th, 1870, he writes to Döllinger himself, suggesting that the Council should be attacked as null and void because of its lack of freedom. Some:



of the prelates are beginning to find out that they are the Pope's prisoners : two more months of confinement in Rome, and they will be ready to agree to anything. A fortnight later Döllinger's famous article on the episcopal petition for the definition of the infallibility appeared in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. Other articles by him in the same journal are given also.

Among utterances of other theologians, only a portion of one of Gratry's four letters to the Archbishop of Malines is admitted, followed a few pages further on by his touching letter of submission to the Archbishop of Paris, November 25th, 1871. Before he had written it, but when he had almost made up his mind to submit, the present writer was with him. Gratry received him like an old friend, although they had never met before, and parted from him as from a brother ; and he stated clearly and positively in what sense he accepted the dogma—viz., that the Pope's infallibility is neither absolute, nor personal, nor independent. This is a flat contradiction of the Vatican decree. But what was wanted was Gratry's submission : his reservations were his own affair. Dr Newman's letter to Bishop Ullathorne about the "aggressive, insolent faction" who are urging on the definition of the infallibility, as if a definition *de fide* were "a luxury of devotion and not a stern painful necessity," is given almost in full ; and with it the correspondence which followed in the *Standard*, as to whether the words "aggressive, insolent faction" had actually been used or not (March 1870). There is also a letter from Dr Cumming to the Pope, in which he declares on behalf of himself and his Presbyterian brethren—*toto corde in Concilio a Te indicto adesse desideramus* : but he wants to know how much liberty of discussion will be allowed. The letters between Hyacinthe and the superior of the Carmelites, and between Hyacinthe and Bishop Dupanloup are mentioned, but are not quoted. Bishop Dupanloup's letter to the Archbishop of Malines, March 1st, 1870, urging strongly the inexpediency of defining the dogma, seems to be given in full. But, in the documents to illustrate *animorum motus tempore Concilii in Gallia*, one looks in vain for any portion of *Ce qui se passe au Concile*, or of *La dernière heure du Concile*. The latter, though published in Munich, was written in French, and was believed to be at least inspired by Archbishop Darboy of Paris. But of course the letter, in which the Archbishop expresses his adhesion to the decree of July 18th, is given in full, March 2nd, 1871. On the other hand, Lord Acton's letter to a German Bishop of the minority, exhorting to steadfastness and courage, September 1870, is not even mentioned.

The activity of Cardinal Manning before and during the Council is duly chronicled. Notice is taken of the pastoral in which he stated that "it is not by criticism on past history, but by acts of

faith in the living voice of the Church at this hour, that we can know the faith:" but the words are not given. The speech, however, in which Bishop Pie of Poitiers opened the debate on the *Schema de Romano Pontifice* appears to be given in full. He was a member of the *Deputatio de Fide*, and there had had much to do with the preparation of the *Schema*; and he concluded his speech with two notable arguments, which he modestly confesses are not original. Paul was beheaded, Peter was not; which proves that Peter and his successors are to be the head of the Church throughout all ages. Again, Peter was crucified with his head downwards; which proves that the head of the Church is the foundation of the Church and bears the whole weight of it, by his inflexible neck raising all the members of Christ's body to heaven! But a line must be drawn somewhere. The fact that Natoli, Archbishop of Messina, spoke on May 14th, is recorded; but not even a summary of his speech is given. In it he told the Council that when Peter preached in Sicily he found many who were already Christians; but they were surprised when he told them that he was infallible, for they had not been taught this as an article of faith. To make certain about it, they sent an embassy to the Virgin Mary, who told them that it was quite correct: she remembered being present when her Son conferred the gift of infallibility upon Peter. The Sicilians have preserved their belief in the infallibility of the Pope ever since.

From what has been pointed out as to the omissions which any one at all acquainted with the literature of the subject can easily detect in this volume, it will be seen that it by no means banishes to a top shelf the works on which we have hitherto relied for the history of the Vatican Council. Least of all can Friedrich's *Documenta ad illustrandum Concilium Vaticanum* (Nördlingen, 1871) be dispensed with. That collection contains a large mass of material of which Granderath and his assistants have made no use. One understands well enough why they have omitted Archbishop Kenricks's speech against the dogma, which was handed in to the secretaries, but never delivered, because the presidents applied the closure, and thereby prevented some forty members of the Council who had sent in their names as intending to address the assembly from expressing their opinions. But there is other important material in Friedrich, the reason for omitting which it is not so easy to guess.

Nevertheless, the value of this collection is very great indeed, and that for three reasons. *Firstly*, It contains documents which have never been printed before. None of these perhaps are of quite first-rate importance. One of the most interesting is a letter from thirteen Bishops and one Bishop-elect in Germany, September 4th, 1869, in which they point out to the Pope that the mere talk of

defining the infallibility as a dogma has caused excitement and dismay among both clergy and laity, and that so far as Germany is concerned they regard the time as *minus opportunum ad definiendam Summi Pontificis infallibilitatem*. The list of those who sign is headed by the Archbishops of Cologne and Munich, and closed by Hefele as Bishop-elect of Rottenburg. *Secondly*, In this volume we have collected together an immense mass of material which hitherto has been scattered in small collections, periodicals, pamphlets, and newspapers, not a few of which have become scarcely accessible. The possession of this collection will save future students of the subject an immense amount of time and trouble and no little expense. *Lastly*, The masterly way in which the whole has been edited adds enormously to its usefulness. The arrangement is good, type and paper are good; and the full and manifold summaries and indices render the finding of what is wanted a matter of ease. At the beginning of the volume there is an *Index documentorum*, and at the end an *Index personarum* and an *Index rerum*. These are followed by indices of various kinds to the contents of the whole seven volumes of the *Collectio Lacensis*. The pains bestowed upon the preparation of the volume must have been immense, and deserve very grateful recognition.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

### **Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.**

1892. *Erstes Heft und Zweites Heft.*

THESE numbers are full of interesting articles. The two of most importance are those on "The Relations of Christianity and Buddhism," and "The Ethic of Paul." For want of space the others can be simply mentioned.

In Part I., R. Gandmann begins his discussion of Buddhism by noticing the new significance it has gained in our time, due to certain anti-Christian influences which seek religious satisfaction in a pure philosophical form of this ancient faith. Those who are disturbed by a rationalistic criticism of historical Christianity are finding refuge in Pessimism and Pantheism, and on the shoulders of these a revived Buddhism is coming into vogue, so that a proposal is on foot to form the religion of the future by a combination of the best elements in Christianity and Buddhism. The present article takes its start from this, shewing how impossible such a thing is in view of the fundamental differences in the two faiths.

1. The ground thought in both religions is the same—Salvation; but salvation has a very different content in each. For Christianity it is an act of God in Christ, whereby forgiveness is won and offered to all, and a spiritual power is promised to cleanse men from con-

scious sin and give a present experience of life in God. It brings new worth to life here, and new hope for life hereafter. In Buddhism, on the contrary, salvation rests not on a sense of sin against God, but on a view of the world as evil derived from philosophical Pessimism, which can only look for relief from misery in relief from life. Individual existence is a misfortune; salvation is to be sought in deliverance from it. The person of Buddha occupies a small place in his religion; men are to find salvation as he found it; he simply shews the way. There is a moral element in Buddhism supplied by the "New Birth" and "Karma," but this is rendered nugatory by the ground view of life,—even a succession of births is only a succession of evils. The worth of individuality is given up. "God" is impersonal, "sin" is practically non-existent, "life" is an evil—therefore let us seek *escape*.

As to the *How?* that is by a loss of self-consciousness in the "all." Buddha found it in profound concentration of thought, in which he became passive, without will or feeling, one with the life of nature and "God." Hence salvation is an art, to be learned even by rules. It is a kind of self-hypnotising, in which individuality is lost by full concentration on a single point. This is the beginning of a salvation which comes nearer in successive re-births. The final goal is complete absorption in the All.

2. In ethics, Buddhism is as different as in theology. Love is here the central point indeed, but its motive is only a disguised egotism, the destruction of one's *own* needs in view of the happiness which follows. It is not Christian love. Buddhism teaches self-repression simply because self-love is the cause of the errors which lead to a new birth in a lower grade. Its love is really self-satisfaction. The wise man knows neither love nor hate, as both are part of a remaining ego. The warmth of Christian love is to Buddhism something to be got rid of.

In a closing summary the writer contrasts Buddha and Christ, the history of Buddhism and the history of Christianity, and describes the system of Buddha as eternal death, without God; in contrast with the Christianity of eternal life whose fount is God the Father.

H. von Soden begins his treatment of the ethic of Paul by shewing that Christianity appeared as a moral power, and that Paul (like Christ) preached a religion having its life in morality. The new Gospel was to issue in a new moral life. All Paul's religious ideas rest on moral pre-suppositions—sin, law, works, righteousness are his favourite words.

1. *The Chief Features of Paul's Ethic.* His moral ideal had its motive and power in religion, (1) The *motive* to morality is self-surrender to God, based on God's loving call to us. Here the transference of the term "holy" (a purely religious idea, chosen and

called of God), to the moral sphere is significant. (2) The *power* to realise moral life Paul finds in a spiritual change—the “new creation.” The new man is filled with the Spirit, *i. e.*, Christ Himself, and this is the power of the moral life. Yet not so as to destroy man’s freedom. Paul states both sides of the antinomy, the divine and the human, without attempt to reconcile them. Freedom is a fundamental idea of Paul’s Ethic. The Christian is free *from* the old Law and free *in* the power of the new Spirit. The moral ideal is the man who does good out of this new life freely and not from external compulsion. This is related in an interesting manner to modern perfectionist extravagances. (3) The *norm* of morality is the will of God, exhibited in various forms—the Law, the words and the example of Christ—which yet does not determine the Christian from without, but has come into him and is one with him.

2. *The Concrete Details.* Paul built no system, he only laid the foundation stones. His expressions on individual questions are therefore occasional. But they are numerous enough to give a fairly complete account of his attitude to various spheres. (1) The conduct of man as an individual, *i. e.*, his duties to himself. These are threefold:—(a) in relation to the personality itself; (b) in relation to the bodily life; (c) in relation to worldly things. Little is said of the first set of duties except the exhortation to strength of character. Much more is said of the body. It is the temple of the Spirit, and its members are to be servants of righteousness not of lust. As to the last point the great thing is contentment, to have *inward* freedom from earthly possessions. (2) The conduct of man as a member of a community, *i. e.*, his duties to others. Here all is ruled by the command to love. This is the norm in *all* relations, even to non-Christians. It is based on the fact that in Christ all differences are done away, all are brethren saved by Him, and to wrong a brother is to wrong Christ. This branch of Paul’s Ethic is briefly related to the various forms of common life—family, municipal and national, so far as material exists for the purpose. In conclusion, two features of Paul’s moral teaching are noted, (1) that norm, power and motive are gathered to a unity and blended with the personality, so that all is *free*; and (2) that this morality is not negative, but all is power, energy, life.

The other articles are: in Part I., “Kingdom of God, Community and Church in their Significance for Christian Life and Teaching” (very interesting), and “The First Official Confession” (a commonplace treatment of Deuteronomy as a public code); in Part II., “The Relation of the Inner Mission to Church Organisation,” and the first of some “Luther Studies.”

FREDERICK J. RAE.

## Notices.

The Archbishop of Tuam's *Exposition of the Pauline and Catholic Epistles*,<sup>1</sup> has reached its fourth edition. It is introduced by letters of approbation from Pope Pius IX. (dated 1858), Pope Leo XIII. (dated 1879), Cardinal Wiseman (dated 1856), the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, and the former Archbishop of Tuam. It was written when the author held a professorship in one of the Irish Divinity Schools, and consists of "a condensed abstract of a portion of the lectures" delivered in that capacity. It has been improved from time to time, as edition after edition was called for, the last being issued in 1891. It has thus had a large circulation, and appears to have commended itself to the laity as well as the clergy. It aims at providing a "popular and thoroughly Catholic exposition," which may help to refute the charge that the Church to which the author belongs is opposed to the Bible. It is meant to be a "further practical confirmation of the arguments whereby is abundantly demonstrated the anxious desire of the Catholic Church to have the Holy Scriptures, hedged round with proper safeguards, communicated to her children." It follows the plan adopted in Piconio's Commentary on the Epistles of Paul. The text is taken from Duffy's edition (Dublin, 1857), with collations from the Clementine Vulgate. In this respect, therefore, it is a long way behind date. The text is accompanied by a Paraphrase, on which some pains have been spent. The Commentary itself is comparatively brief, and has a practical rather than a scientific object in view. It is interspersed with moral reflections. It has a tendency to deduce unexpected inferences in favour of Catholic doctrine and practice. Thus the fact that Paul speaks of the Thessalonians as his "glory and joy" (1 Thess. ii. 20), is made to support the Catholic invocation of "the Blessed Mother of God," and to recommend the happiness of securing "the patronage, at the hour of death, of this *powerful Virgin*, in whom no one ever confided and was confounded." The real difficulties of the exegesis are seldom touched. At times, however, especially in the Epistles to the Romans and the Hebrews, there are good notes on doctrinal passages, while the practical teaching of the Epistles, especially that of James, is also very forcibly put. In other matters, too, good sense often prevails. Thus, on Jude 14, 15, it is remarked, "even though it were quoted from the apocryphal Book of Enoch, it furnishes no argument against the inspiration of this epistle, any

<sup>1</sup> An Exposition of the Epistles of St Paul and of the Catholic Epistles, &c. By His Grace the Most Rev. John MacEvilly, D.D., Archbishop of Tuam. 2 vols. Fourth Edition, enlarged, revised and corrected. Dublin: Gill & Son. Imper. 8vo, pp. xxi. 457, and pp. 475. Price 18s.

more than quoting the Pagan writers (1 Cor. xv. 23 ; Titus i. 12) does against the inspiration of these Epistles of Paul."

We mention with pleasure a cheap edition of the biography of Robert Moffat and Mrs Moffat, a book which should find its way into every household.<sup>1</sup> An English translation of Père Médaille's *Meditations on the Gospels*<sup>2</sup> will be welcome to devout members of the Roman Catholic Communion. It is the first English version of a book written by a French Jesuit who died in 1709, which has been translated into Latin, Italian, Spanish, German, and Dutch. The *Meditations*, as might be expected, contain much that is of value only from the Catholic point of view. But they contain not a little that is of general worth, and they have the merit of being short, direct, and suggestive. Each *Meditation* consists of three points, tersely stated and practically developed each in a few lines.

Among various volumes of sermons recently received we mention one by the Rev. R. Rutherford which contains some profitable discourses on the "good part," "the commandments of God not grievous," and other important texts, and also four sensible Pastoral Papers;<sup>3</sup> and a second by the Rev. C. Holland, Rector of Petworth,<sup>4</sup> giving some fifty short, simple, pointed discourses, selected from a collection extending over fifty years.

Mr Patrick's Monograph on Origen's *Reply to Celsus*<sup>5</sup> is a scholarly piece of work. The author has selected an important subject, and has produced a book of considerable Apologetic value. The interest of the subject is large and varied. There is, for one thing, the comparatively modern turn of much that occurs in the polemic. Celsus stood at the parting of the ways, where the earlier, coarser style of attack ceased to avail, and it became necessary to adopt a new form of assault, proceeding on some real knowledge of the nature and aims of Christianity. Like some others, he attempted to establish the sufficiency of a philosophical Theism. He saw that this could

<sup>1</sup> The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat. By their Son John S. Moffat. Ninth and Popular Edition. London: T. Fisher Unwin, cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 314. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> *Meditations on the Gospels for every Day in the Year.* By Père Médaille, S.J. Translated into English under the direction of the Rev. W. H. Eyre, S.J. London: Burns & Oates, cr. 8vo, pp. xxvii. 537. Price 6s.

<sup>3</sup> *That Good Part, and other Sermons Preached to a Country Congregation.* By Robert Rutherford, M.A. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 8vo, pp. 327. Price 5s.

<sup>4</sup> *Gleanings from a Ministry of Fifty Years.* By Rev. Charles Holland, M.A., Oxon. London: Elliot Stock, 8vo, pp. viii. 311. Price 5s.

<sup>5</sup> *The Apology of Origen in Reply to Celsus.* A chapter in the history of Apologetics. By John Patrick, B.D., Minister of Greenside Parish, Edinburgh. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 340. Price 7s. 6d.

not be done except at the cost of Christianity. But he differed from others, like Lucian, in thinking that it could be done in harmony with the popular religious beliefs. Mr Patrick offers some just remarks on the distinctive character both of the attack and of the reply. He makes a careful enquiry into the history of the *True Word*, and follows this up by an elaborate analysis of its argument. He concludes that the book was written at Rome, and assigns its date to the period between A.D. 169 and 176, when Marcus Aurelius was sole ruler, or to the period between 176 and 180, when Aurelius and Commodus were joint rulers. The statement of the arguments in support of this date, drawn from the internal condition and external relations of the Church, is both fair and pointed. The analysis and criticism of Origen's reply cover all that is of real importance. Among many things of interest in Mr Patrick's Monograph we can notice only one or two. He holds the identification of Celsus with Lucian's friend, supported as it is with so much ingenuity by Keim, to be purely hypothetical. He brings out very clearly and fully the Apologetic importance of Celsus's book as regards the witness which it bears to the books of Scripture, and to the dogmas of the Church. He shows how large an acquaintance it exhibits with the Book of Genesis, how it indicates some knowledge of Exodus, and how it suggests that Celsus *may* also have known Isaiah, Micah, Job, Zechariah, Jonah, and Daniel; while the Book of Enoch is quoted, without being named, as Scripture. On the subject of the New Testament books, Mr Patrick brings under our view the reasons which exist for saying that Celsus knew Matthew well, and also Mark, Luke and John in some degree. He agrees, therefore, with most critics in concluding that all the Gospels were, more or less, in the eye of Celsus. With respect to the doctrine of the Church of those days, he gives a very full statement of the testimony borne by the *True Word* to the fact that Christians of those times believed in the main truths by which the Church has stood in later ages—the miracles of Christ, His resurrection, His divinity, &c. On these and many other matters the author has much to say, and says it to good purpose. His book is an excellent example of the kind of close, patient, independent, historical studies of which we should have more from our younger Scottish scholars.

The importance of Professor Wendt's book on the *Teaching of Jesus*<sup>1</sup> has been amply recognised both in Germany and in our country. The German edition has already been noticed at length in this *Review*. An English translation has been wanted, and there

<sup>1</sup> "The Teaching of Jesus." By Hans Hinrich Wendt, Ord. Prof. of Theology, Heidelberg. Translated by the Rev. John Wilson, M.A., Montreux, Switzerland. In two volumes, Vol. I. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo. Pp. 408. Price 10s. 6d.



should be many readers to welcome the present volume. It is the first of two volumes, which will give an English rendering of the second volume of the German; the first volume of the German, which deals with the critical foundations, being left meanwhile untranslated. Wendt's book is written in the interest of a purely historical interpretation and estimate of the doctrine of Jesus, and in the conviction that the more that doctrine is studied in a strictly historical method, the more will its Author be seen to be the perfect revelation of God. As Professor Wendt predicates a third main source for the Gospel histories, in the form of a document at the basis of our present Fourth Gospel, which he takes to have been the work of a disciple who understood the spirit of the Lord's teaching better than those to whom we owe the Synoptical Gospels, one of the most instructive things in his book is the continuous comparison which is instituted between the representation of the doctrine of Jesus in the Johannine narrative and that in the first three Gospels. No more important contribution has been made to the Biblical theology of the New Testament since the publication of Baur's book, or that by Schmid of Tübingen on the same subject. It should be added that the present volume is more than a simple translation. It is also a careful revision by the author's own hand of the German edition.

Mr Nicol gives a succinct and useful *resumé* of the results of recent investigations and discoveries in the East as they bear on Biblical questions.<sup>1</sup> The chapters which make up the modest volume were prepared originally as a supplement to the sixth revised edition of Robert Young's *Analytical Concordance to the Bible*. Mr Nicol has been well advised to issue them in this separate form. Among the most interesting sections are those dealing with the *Chaldean Genesis*, the *Empire of the Hittites*, and *Egypt during the Oppression*. The book is very well up to date, noticing the Siloam Inscription, the Tel-el-Amarna Tablets, &c. There are brief but careful statements on the *General Results for the Old Testament*, and also on the identification of Gospel Sites. One of the best chapters is the last, on *Ephesus and St Paul*. The volume should make an excellent text-book for Bible classes.

The second volume of the *Church of Scotland Guild and Bible Class Text-Books* comes from the hand of one of the Editors.<sup>2</sup> Mr M'Clymont's contribution is a short introduction to the New Testament. Beginning with a brief chapter on the *New Testament* generally,

<sup>1</sup> "Recent Explorations in Bible Lands." By the Rev. Thomas Nicol, B.D. Edinburgh: G. A. Young & Co. 8vo. Pp. 76.

<sup>2</sup> "The New Testament and its Writers." By the Rev. J. A. M'Clymont, B.D., Aberdeen. Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black. Pp. 155. Price 6d. net.

the author proceeds to give notes on its Name, Language, Contents, Manuscripts and Other Witnesses, and its English Versions. Then comes a chapter dealing with the *Gospels* generally—their Name, Characteristics, Origin, Diversity and Harmony; after which each Gospel is separately considered. The *Epistles* are similarly treated, and there are concise statements also on *Acts* and the *Apocalypse*. The writer does not obtrude his own views of disputed questions. Occasionally, however, these appear. The Babylon of 1 Peter, for example, is taken to be Rome, and the Epistle is held to be addressed to Churches mainly Gentile. Jude is pronounced to be by the brother of James, the Lord's brother. As regards questions like those of the date and interpretation of the Book of Revelation, an objective statement is given of the different answers proposed, together with the main considerations relied on in support of each. The small book is full of matter well arranged and lucidly stated.

The latest addition to the series of *Bible Class Primers* is Dr Gloag's *St John*,<sup>1</sup> a careful, exact, informing, and sympathetic study of its subject. The chief incidents in the life of "the beloved disciple," as given in the Gospels and in the Book of Acts, are reproduced in a style altogether suitable for Bible class instruction. A brief but valuable account is also given of John's writings.

Dr Hutchison has added to his previous works on the Epistles to the *Thessalonians*, and the *Philippians*, and *Our Lord's Messages to the Seven Churches*, an Exposition of the Miracles in the Fourth Gospel.<sup>2</sup> The choice of subject is a happy one, the miracles in John's Gospel having a character of their own which at once suggests separate treatment. The author's object is to show what that distinctive character is, and to determine in each case the individual significance and symbolical purpose of the "sign." Dr Hutchison fully recognises the difficulty of his task, and seeks to meet it by getting at the central idea of each miracle on the basis of a careful study of the record itself and its historical setting and circumstances. The volume is attractive in style, reverent in spirit, and enriched by words of weight drawn from many quarters. Without the parade of the exegetical process, it is based, too, on careful exegetical study. Among the best things in the book are the expositions of the "sign" of the conversion of the water into wine, and of Christ's emotions at the grave of Lazarus. It is free, too, from the extravagance to which symbolical interpretation so readily descends.

<sup>1</sup> "The Life of St John." By Paton J. Gloag, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 98. Price 6d.

<sup>2</sup> *Our Lord's Signs in St John's Gospel. Discussions, chiefly Exegetical and Doctrinal, on the Eight Miracles in the Fourth Gospel.* By John Hutchison, D.D., Bonnington, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. viii. 237. Price 7s. 6d.

Dr Hutchison's tabulation of these eight miracles deserves mention. He arranges them and defines their significance thus : first there is the inaugural miracle (the water made wine) as a sign of Christ's glory in the transforming and ennobling influence of His Kingdom ; then come three distinct pairs of signs,—the first pair (the healing of the nobleman's son and that of the impotent man) depicting His glory in His Kingdom in relation to the individual soul ; the second pair (the feeding of the five thousand and the walking on the sea) depicting the same glory in relation to His Church on earth ; the third pair (the healing of the man born blind and the raising of Lazarus) depicting it in relation to the world ; after which comes the supplemental, post-resurrection sign (the second draught of fishes), illustrating the final fulfilment of the blessings of the Kingdom.

The minister of the parish of Innellan<sup>1</sup> writes an interesting book for the help of those—especially such as are at the beginning of life—who are perplexed by the changing ideas of the day, and are endeavouring to “reconcile the old and the new” in matters of faith. He deals with the questions which he believes lie closest to many minds and are of most serious interest to those he has in view. Without striking any very deep note, the book speaks simply and persuasively of the fundamentals and the ideals of religion, the meaning and the uses of life. It is dedicated to the memory of Frederick Denison Maurice, and it breathes the spirit of his teaching. There is a lack of definiteness at points where definiteness is to be desired. High themes like the *Solidarity of the Race* and the *Gospel and Heredity* are considered, but all too briefly, too easily, and too much under the idea that their difficulties can be solved by calling that *disease* which the theology of Paul and the Reformers calls *sin*. But there is no lack of sympathy with the generous aims and struggling thoughts of youth, nor any lack of conviction in setting before young minds the realities of the moral order of the world, the immortal nature of man, the broad facts of man's relation to God.

A book of a somewhat similar aim, but more distinctly theological, of a more reasoned order, and addressed to a different class, comes from the hand of another minister of a Scotch parish.<sup>2</sup> Mr Lindsay dedicates his volume to the clergy and the cultured laity of all denominations, and argues for the progressiveness of Theology.

<sup>1</sup> *A Modern Disciple*. By Arthur Jenkinson. London : Nisbet & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 279. Price 5s.

<sup>2</sup> *The Progressiveness of Modern Christian Thought*. By James Lindsay, M.A., B.D., B.Sc., Minister of the Parish of St Andrews, Kilmarnock. Edinburgh and London : Blackwood & Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. xix. 182. Price 8s.

His object is to show that Theology is of its own nature progressive, that, in point of fact, it has been progressive, and never more so than it is now, and that it must be progressive in the future. It is claimed that modern theology has made a great and salutary advance upon ancient and mediæval theology in its method, its spirit, and its contents. The author is right in his general contention, though not at every point. He is right in affirming the gains of modern theology in its Christo-centric basis, its historical and critical method, its better relations to art and science. He is right, too, in what is said of the enlargement and purification of some of its doctrines—the doctrine of God in the matter of His Immanence, the doctrine of the Incarnation in its cosmical significance, the new conception of Revelation, the more adequate view of Prophecy, and the like. It is questionable whether the reduced view of Sin which he advocates, the interpretation of it as disease rather than guilt, and things connected therewith which are claimed to be among the advances of modern theology, are entitled to be so reckoned, or are likely to hold permanent rank as such. The author states his case, however, ably, with the decision of one who is convinced, with the force of a good logician, and with the knowledge of one who has read and thought seriously.

Few men have such a title to be heard in matters of Scottish Ecclesiastical history as the author of the *Law of Creeds in Scotland*, and the *Handbook on Church and State*. Mr Taylor Innes has the story of Scotland, the nation and the Church, upon his heart. He has written so well and with such insight on some of its passages, as to provoke the regret that he has not written more largely. The papers which he has gathered together in the present volume are all the more welcome.<sup>1</sup> To many they will be new, and those who have read them in their first form will be glad to read them again. The sketches of Samuel Rutherford, Sir George Mackenzie, and Sir William Hamilton, show Mr Innes at his best. They are full of life, insight, and delicate analysis. When one reads an essay like that on Rutherford, he begins to question whether he had ever known the minister of Anwoth before. We confess to the feeling that Mr Innes sees not only more than most men in Rutherford, but probably more than there was in the real man himself. The paper, nevertheless, is a most acute, surprising, original study of a man and divine, most notable and to be revered. Nigh half the volume is given to the Church question in the different phases it has had during the last twenty years, and to the theory of the Church and its creed, in itself and in its development during a quarter of a century. The papers which handle these topics naturally will not

<sup>1</sup> *Studies in Scottish History, Chiefly Ecclesiastical.* By A. Taylor Innes, Advocate. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. 341. Price 5s.

commend universal assent. But they cannot be studied without advantage, or without recognition of the writer's knowledge, breadth of view, and patriotism. A heart in sympathy with all that is noblest in the strivings of the Scottish people and the Scottish Church beats in them all. An eye that sees "far ben" looks at us through them all.

Dr Briggs had occasion to deliver, in New York and elsewhere, a series of lectures, explaining more fully the views which he stated in his Inaugural Address on the *Authority of Scripture*. These lectures are now published (with the addition of two on *Biblical History* and the *Messianic Ideal*) in a separate volume.<sup>1</sup> They are a defence of the legitimacy and profitableness of the higher criticism. They are also a defence of the position that, while Scripture is the infallible rule of faith and practice, its infallibility does not mean a circumstantial inerrancy. But it is more than this. It is a contribution of some moment to the discussion of the question of authority in religion. It attempts to determine in what sense the Bible, the Church, and Reason are each a fountain of divine authority, while the first of the three alone is the infallible rule of belief and life. The book addresses itself to subjects which are before the mind of this generation, and which cannot be stifled. It is written with clear decisiveness and blunt vigour, and with a command of the sense and history of the Westminster doctrine such as few men can pretend to possess. It has a value independent of all personal considerations. It has a special interest at present in relation to the controversy agitating the American Presbyterian Church on the subject of the Bible and Criticism.

Professor Driver's Treatise on the Hebrew Tenses<sup>2</sup> appears in a new edition. To speak of its merits is superfluous. It has established itself long ago as a book indispensable to the student of Hebrew.

The new and cheaper edition of Mr Weymouth's *Resultant Greek Testament*—a book composed with conspicuous care, and of great service to those interested in the text of the new Testament—is also welcome.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Bible, the Church, and the Reason, the three great fountains of Divine Authority. By Charles Augustus Briggs, D.D., Edward Robinson Professor of Biblical Theology in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. ix. 298. Price 6s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew, and some other Syntactical Questions. By S. R. Driver, D.D. Third Edition, revised and improved. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 306. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> The Resultant Greek Testament, exhibiting the Text in which the majority of modern editors are agreed, &c. By Richard Francis Weymouth, D.Lit. With an Introduction by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Worcester. London: Elliot Stock. 8vo, pp. xix. 644. Price 5s.

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## Christian Ethics.

By Newman Smyth, D.D. (being the Second Volume of the "International Theological Library," edited by Prof. Salmond, D.D., and Prof. Briggs, D.D.). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo, pp. x. 498. Price 10s. 6d. T

A TREATISE on *Christian Ethics* very properly finds a place in the International Series of Theological Text-books, in which Canon Driver's book on the Old Testament Literature holds the honourable position of pioneer. And the preparation of such a treatise could not have been entrusted to better hands than those of Dr Newman Smyth. Those who are acquainted with the other writings of this author, especially with his *Old Faiths in New Light*, will be prepared to find in the work which now makes its appearance, a combination of qualities which guarantee it against being ranked among books of the dull or the dry-as-dust order. Here, as in all his works, ample knowledge is united to a philosophic acumen, a freshness of thought, and a literary skill which will make the present volume pleasant and profitable reading, not only to the professional student, but to all intelligent laymen who take an interest in theological studies.

The first business of a treatise of Christian Ethics must be to explain the nature of the discipline, and to vindicate for it a place among the theological sciences. The former part of this task is very simply performed by a few well-chosen phrases in the opening pages of the Introduction. Christian Ethics is defined in language borrowed from Ignatius as "the science of living according to Christianity," or as "the science of the moral contents, progress, and ends of human life under the formative Christian Ideal," and as having for its object "to bring to adequate interpretation the Christian consciousness of life." The other part of the problem, the vindication of a distinct sphere for the theme, is a matter of more elaborate effort. For there is a tendency to deny to Christian Ethics any right of separate existence, and to ask, Why should there be a *Christian* ethic as distinct from a natural or philosophical ethic?

The author's answer to this question is careful and well-balanced. He represents Christian Ethics as distinct from but not opposed to the reasonable conclusions of philosophical ethics. His claim for the subject of his study is that it is "ethics raised to the highest power," the last and fullest interpretation of the world and its history. With regard to scientific Ethics, or the Ethics of

naturalism, he maintains that it does not give a complete induction of the moral facts unless it include in its generalisations the ethics of the best Christian consciousness of life; and he complains that writers who approach Ethics from the scientific side too often treat the Christian moral consciousness as an episode in human history. To be thoroughly scientific, he holds, Ethics must not merely be adequate to the common moral sense of men, but "prove true also to the moral consciousness of the Son of Man." It is obviously an important subject of inquiry in what way morality has been influenced by religion, and in any such inquiry the ethical modifications produced by Christianity are well entitled to a position of exceptional prominence.

In defining the position of Christian Ethics all round the circle of kindred sciences, the author naturally takes occasion to explain the relation of the subject to theology, and to discuss the connection between morality and religion. On both these topics he makes valuable observations. His attitude towards theology as the expositor of the Ethics of Christianity is expressed in terms which have a clear metallic ring. He claims the right to remain true to the ethico-religious consciousness without provocation or prejudice from Christian dogmatics, and declines to lower the Christian conscience before any churchly tradition, or in any supposed dogmatic interest. He believes that "nothing can abide as true in theology which does not prove its genuineness under the ever renewed searching of the Christian moral sense; nothing is permanent fruit of the teaching of Christ which does not show itself to be morally Christ-like." This is sound and healthy doctrine, the fearless and consistent application of which to theology would alter not a little in our traditional systems.

In discussing the connection between morality and religion, the author has in view chiefly writers like Leslie Stephen, who, from the positivist philosophical basis, endeavour to make the former entirely independent of the latter. That the two are relatively independent he admits, but, compatibly with this admission, he regards them as complementary elements of human life, as implying each other, and as ultimately unified in the perfect life. On this account Ethics cannot be satisfactorily treated apart from religion. We must reckon with "the transcendent environment," however conceived. To neglect to do this is to dwarf and mutilate the subject of study. Ethics without transcendental assumptions "is like physics without astronomy." The moral ideal cannot be fully determined by a purely inductive historical enquiry. It contains a superhistorical, if not supernatural truth. "The ideal of humanity is itself above the past or present experience of humanity. It rises over the exalted spirits of our race, like the dawn on the mountains,

from beyond our horizons." This is well said, and there is much more of the like kind. The author cannot be said to have dilated on this important and difficult topic at undue length. Indeed, had space allowed, he might even with advantage have gone further, and discussed the views of theologians of the Ritschl school, who are more or less in agreement with the positivists in regarding religion and morality as independent, while recognising it as the peculiar excellence of Christianity that in it, and it alone, the religious and the ethical ideals coincide, the Kingdom of God as Jesus presented it being at once the highest good and the chief end of man. For a typical exposition of this view, Kaftan's *Wahrheit der christlichen Religion* may be consulted.

The main body of the work now under review is divided into two parts, one of which treats of the CHRISTIAN IDEAL, and the other of CHRISTIAN DUTIES. Each part embraces six chapters. The chapters of Part I. treat in succession of the Revelation of the Christian Ideal, the contents and the realisation of it, the forms under which the realisation takes place, the methods of its progressive realisation, and the spheres in which it is to be realised. Under the first of these six heads, the revelation of the Christian ideal, important and delicate questions come up for discussion. One is the authority of Scripture. Here the author's way of conceiving the Scriptures is to be carefully noted. He puts them in the line of the whole historic working of Christ in the spiritual consciousness and life of humanity. The Scriptures are for him products of spiritual experience; and it is only when so conceived, he thinks, that they can become a rule of faith and practice. . . . It can, he says, "hardly be insisted too urgently that the inspiration of the sacred Scripture is itself put in peril, if it be held separate from the whole work of God's Spirit in humanity; if it is not comprehended as an element and factor in the whole spiritual experience which men have gained of God and the Christ. The doctrine of the Spirit in the Bible is a special part of the still larger doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the life of the world." The aim of this statement is not to degrade the Scriptures from their position of authority. This is recognised, only, however, in the second place. The place of supreme authority is reserved for Christ. The Scriptures have authority because they testify of Him, and in virtue of their "Christian quality." This Christian quality is, of course, not uniform. There are decided signs of shortcoming from the highest Christian level of thought and feeling in the Old Testament, the Scriptures of the earlier and simpler stage of Revelation. Even in the New Testament our author finds variations in the quality. Thus, the Fourth Gospel is more decidedly Christian, human, universal in its tone

than the Apocalypse, in which a certain Judaic element is traceable. The discovery of a law of moral development within the Scriptures down to the very end of the canon naturally raises the question, Does the development stop at that point? The question affects the relation of Scripture to faith; and the peril involved in a wrong answer is, that our whole system of ethical judgments may be brought into confusion, either by a too servile subjection to the letter of Scripture or by a hasty assertion of independence, which would land us in an erratic individualism. The author's answer is summed up in these positions—1. There is a principle of spiritual continuity in Christianity. 2. The Christian consciousness is not only a continuous but also a progressive appropriation of the Christian Ideal,—progressive through the addition of new materials in Christian history, and through the better interpretation of the contents of revelation as given in Jesus Christ, who, of course, is recognised as at once the source and the realised example of the Christian Ideal. On the question as to the relation of Scripture to faith or conscience, the author adopts a *via media* between the view of those who put the Bible in absolute supremacy above conscience, and that of those who subordinate entirely the Scriptures to the Christian consciousness. Scripture and conscience must be held in close correspondence and reaction. In taking up this position, the author claims to be in affinity with the Reformers, as distinguished from the scholastic Protestants of a later time, who insisted on an inerrant inspiration, and an unconditioned authority of Scripture.

In the chapter on the contents of the Christian Ideal, the interest centres in the account given of Christ's presentation of that ideal. Here the ideal appears under four forms—1. The Kingdom of God; 2. Perfection after the pattern of God the Father; 3. Eternal Life; 4. Jesus Himself. The treatment here suggests points for respectful criticism. It may be asked, Is much gained by presenting the ideal under these four co-ordinate forms? Would it not be better to adopt the first as cardinal, and to bring the others into line with it? Another point at which one might be inclined to demur is the way in which the author presents Jesus as the ideal. Our ideal, he tells us, is "the Christ sitting at the right hand of the Majesty on high" (p. 122). The historical Christ, it is implied, is not an adequate presentation of the ethical ideal, and Paul's often misquoted words, "Even though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now know we Him so no more," are cited in justification of this setting aside of the earthly Christ as insufficient in the interest of the heavenly Christ. This view chimes in with present tendencies, but we dissent from it in the interest at once of theoretic truth and of what is practically whole-

some in religion. If the ethical ideal is not revealed in the earthly Jesus, then it is not revealed at all. For we know nothing of the heavenly Christ beyond what we know of the historic Jesus. It is with the materials of the life of Jesus that we fill the form of the heavenly Christ with definite contents. All we know of the heavenly Christ is, that He is the same in Spirit as the Jesus who lived on this earth eighteen centuries ago. To speak of Christ on the throne as embodying the ideal in some sense not covered by the earthly life of our Redeemer is to open the door to a religious mysticism which, beginning by despising, may end in transgressing the fair ideal it embodies. The health of religion demands not disparagement but magnifying of the earthly Christ. Insistence on this is the meritorious side of the Ritschl school. But, we doubt not, our author is in full sympathy with us at this point, though in a few passing sentences he may seem to lean in an opposite direction.

Having ascertained the nature of the Christian Ideal, as historically revealed, the author next proceeds to compare it with other ideals, ancient and modern, the aim being to show its superiority to them all as tested by three characteristics which it is shown to have in consciousness—absoluteness, extension over all spheres of activity, and comprehension of all objects and aims that are good. Passing over this, we come to the realisation of the Christian ideal. Here Dr Smyth begins at the beginning, tracing the growth of mankind towards the moral ideal from the rudimentary moral feeling of the pre-historic stage, onwards to the culmination in Christianity. We cannot follow the discussions of the three stages—the pre-historic, the legal, and the Christian, though we feel tempted to linger over the author's skilful treatment of the Fall; but must pass on to note as of special value his statement as to the ethical significance of the Incarnation. This falls to be spoken of under the head of realisation, because throughout the moral growth of humanity is considered under two aspects, in relation on the one hand to objective environment, and on the other to subjective appropriation. Now, the Christian era was epoch-making in this respect very specially, that it entirely altered man's moral environment, through the new idea of God as Incarnate in Jesus Christ. The ethical significance of the Incarnation is represented as consisting in these particulars—that it enables God to be more than He had ever been before to the moral creation, that it puts man on a new and higher plane of ethical motive and aspiration, and that it puts an end to the sense of enmity between God and man arising out of the facts of sin, and makes God in Christ appear as the soul's eternal friend.

Though the subject of this treatise is Ethics, it contains more

than one good contribution to theology. Prominent among these is a discussion on the immanence and transcendence of God, occurring in the fourth chapter of Part I., on the forms in which the Christian Ideal is realised. Having pointed out that love is the material and faith the formal principle of Christian virtue, the author goes on to consider the nature of love as at once self-affirmation and self-impartment, and to show how, applying the conception of love under these two complementary aspects to the Divine Being, Pantheism is effectually excluded.

"God could not morally have so imparted His own Being to the creation as to cease Himself to be God over it. To surrender His Sovereignty would be to deny His love. Self-impartment love will create man in the image of God, but it will not make man as God. Of His infinitely blessed life God will impart to the creation intelligence, moral capacity, all the good that is implied in self-conscious and free existence. Yet God, however immanent in man's spirit, must remain the transcendent One; and the moral creation, in its fullest reception of the Divine, will continue to be a dependent creation, having its life from God, and not in itself, because God is love, and perfect love cannot deny itself. Pantheism is thus excluded by an ethical necessity. An ever-deepening immanence, yet always some transcendence of God, is ethically secured in the conception of God as perfect love."

Alongside of this contribution to the refutation of Pantheism may be placed a sample of the author's wholesome way of treating some of the weak points of scholastic Protestantism occurring in the same chapter. It is characteristic of ultra-Protestant orthodoxy to be jealous of ascribing any virtue to faith, so that it may appear a mere empty hand laying hold of the benefits of grace. Our author has no sympathy with this jealousy. On the ground that all moral action has character, as virtuous or vicious, he maintains that faith has character and is good, so far as it goes, and that it could not be the root out of which a new Christian virtue grows, unless there were in it at least a moral beginning of right life. This view is in thorough accordance with the teaching of the New Testament, and especially of Paul, who shows no desire to empty faith of moral contents, but represents it as a principle of an energetic nature working through love, and so as good for everything, for sanctification not less than for justification.

In the last chapter of the first part, on the spheres in which the Christian Ideal is realised (the family, the State, the Church, indeterminate social spheres), the author has an opportunity of touching on several questions of present interest, such as the right view of the functions of the State, the idea of the Church, the relations of Church and State. In regard to the first of these topics, he steers a middle course between two extreme theories—on the one hand, what Lassalle ridiculed as the "night watchman" idea of the State,



according to which its function is little more than that of the policeman ; and, on the other hand, the "paternal" theory in favour with socialists, according to which the State becomes a guardian angel exercising a perpetual oversight over individual efforts and pursuits. The clue to right views on this and all other questions relating to the State is found in the idea. In its organic idea, according to Dr Smyth, the State is the legalised expression and embodiment of existing social relations. As such, it is secondary and derived, not primary and fundamental. And its authority, so conceived, does not arise either from the consent of the people (social contract) or directly from God, but from the moral value of the social relations which it organises. "If these are worthless, the State is an assumption, and all organic laws an illusion. But if these primal relations of humanity have moral worth, and are to be brought to their highest possible realisation, then the State is invested with their ethical authority, and is itself an ethical end ; and also, like the family, it will be an ethical means for further realisation of the moral ideal." Once more the proper function of the State can, without much difficulty, be deduced from its idea. The scope and limitations of governmental action are determined by the nature of the primary human relations which lend and which do not lend themselves to organisation and administration through law and under the forms of legal institutions. "The line of demarcation is determined by the distinction between what is immediately personal and only indirectly social, on the one hand, and that which is directly social and indirectly personal on the other. The distinction, though not absolute, is broadly valid, and admits of practical application, given the requisite sagacity in statesmen.

The author conceives of the Church as the Kingdom of God come, and, as such, the Christian idea of society realised in the world. So viewed, it is for humanity at large, and is not simply a means towards an end—the redemption of the soul. This broad conception,—the merit of restoring which to the Christian world is credited to the late Mr Maurice,—carries along with it a corresponding conception of salvation as not merely individual but social, and we are not surprised to find our author regarding with favour "institutional churches," which group around them practical instrumentalities for ameliorating the condition of society in all possible ways.

Church and State would thus appear to be kindred institutions, two organisations apparently having in view pretty much the same end. Are they both necessary, and if they are, how are they related, what is the ideal adjustment of their respective spheres ? On these vexed questions our author has a good deal to say ; and if

the discussion does not result in much new light, the fault lies probably not in him, but in the inherent difficulties of the subject. He discriminates three possible solutions of the social antinomy between civil and religious authority. The first is absorption of either into the other. The second is recognition of both as independent organisations under the organic unity of the whole society, either under the form of a national Church with guaranteed independence, or in the form of a free Church in a free State. The third is a "transcendental unity" of the two powers, resulting from the complete spiritualisation and Christianisation of both. This is the *pium desiderium* of the author, who, however, acknowledges that the goal is as yet far from being reached, and therefore finds it necessary to close his discussion with a sort of prophetic adumbration of the good time coming, which shall hover as a beneficent ideal over the sorrowful disappointing reality, not, it may be hoped, without exercising some healthy influence upon the minds of politicians and ecclesiastics.

The second part, on Christian Duties, begins with a full and suggestive chapter on the *Christian conscience*. The human conscience, it is pointed out, becomes specifically Christian and attains certain definite characteristics, through its formative principle of faith. By faith conscience comes under the power of the personal example of Christ, and remains no longer under the power of an impersonal law. Hence arise two characteristics—a heightened sense of responsibility and a new sense of freedom. Along with these goes a third quality of great value—hopefulness. The Christian conscience is "Messianic," optimistic, can never be cynical or unsympathetically severe. Yet it is not perfect to begin with; it needs education. And, in connection with this, account has to be taken of the relation of the individual to the community. All conscience is necessarily social, and the individual Christian conscience is formed in the communion of saints. The conscience of the Church, the resultant of the general moral education of the Christian world, is in fact and in right a powerful factor in the moral life of the individual. This truth is recognised in the Roman Catholic doctrine of the confessional, but it should not be left to Rome alone, but should in all branches of the Church be recognised as a needful counter-weight to our excessive moral individualism, so abundantly exemplified in Protestant sectarianism. While, however, the authority of the collective conscience is to be recognised, the rights of the individual conscience must be carefully guarded. The author's statement on this point is highly satisfactory. He knows full well how often the truth has been with minorities, and even with solitary Christian men of prophetic insight. "The leadership of the public conscience has ever been

given to the chosen prophets to whom the Word of God came with power." "The pure individual conscience, which is set for a beacon and a sign, is the universal moral consciousness of an age concentrated and brought to a burning focus in some single reformer's soul." This truth needs to be insisted on, for the average Christian is by no means so alive to the rights of the individual conscience as to the authority of the collective church conscience. "Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted?" Even in the Protestant world the prophets have been first slain in a frenzy of orthodox zeal, then in aftertimes honoured with a monument.

Among the means for training conscience are included the school, the pulpit, the Christian college, the newspaper, especially the religious newspaper, on all of which instructive statements are made. Under the first head, the author deals with the vexed question of religious education in schools in a way which even Scotch readers weary of the subject will find not threadworn. On the subject of religious newspapers he is very racy. Being an American, he is fully aware that the press is too often a social impertinence, a plague, like the frogs in Egypt, overrunning all the houses and entering into every chamber, and that the religious press is frequently an obstructive to the true Christian interest. "Denominational papers," he observes, "have often been narrow, divisive, and obstructive, and their methods of sectarian conflict have by no means been held above reproach. They have usually represented the traditional rather than advancing religious thought of their day." Yet, notwithstanding the bad characteristics of too many so-called religious newspapers, which have brought reproach upon the class, the author recognises the value of religious journalism as represented by exceptional publications, which keep on a high level of Christian intelligence, and breathe a sweet wholesome spirit in their editorial columns.

Duties are classified under three heads—1. Duties in relation to self as a moral end; 2. Duties in relation to others as moral ends (social duties); 3. Duties in relation to God as willing the supreme end of being.

Notable under the first head is what the author contrives to bring under the category of duty to self. The right of *privacy* is discussed under the head of the duty of self-preservation. Outside America this would hardly occur to a writer dealing seriously with the subject of Christian ethics. But the author is quite in earnest, and not merely indulging in a little play of innocent humour. The extent to which the practice of interviewing prevails in his country makes him feel that the topic is urgent, and not to be excluded under any fear that its discussion was beneath

the dignity of the theme. His pleading for privacy is pathetic, and it is to be hoped that it may exercise some influence on public opinion. He reminds readers needing to be reasoned with that an utter loss of privacy would cause much of the finest fruit of civilisation to wither, that life held always and everywhere up to the fierce glare of publicity would soon become a parched and barren field, that only the coarsest and grossest natures can endure the blaze of perpetual noon, and that the shadows likewise are part of Nature's economy of the day, and the quiet night has also its uses. Reference is made to the need, in order to the preservation of the divine spirit in man, felt by public men, to fly from the footlights of their stage of action to the quiet influences of the forests, the loneliness of the lakes, the solitude of the mountains, the soothing presence of the sea. Legislation to check the interviewing and photographing nuisance is plainly hinted at. "Limits should be set by public opinion, and, if necessary, by statute law, to the effrontery of the newsmongers, and the rudeness of the instantaneous photographer, in their invasion of the home, and disregard for the personal belongings of men. No modest and beautiful girl should be left by the laws without protection from the gratuitous insult of a description of her appearance, and her movements in the society of which she may form a happy and gracious part. The good offices of the law, which protects the person of the individual from violence, might be invoked to protect the faces, the dress, the private lives of men and women from the assault of public curiosity through the newspapers." Probably the legislation called for will be forthcoming when a sufficient number demand it with urgency equal to that of our author. But, meantime, it is legitimate to doubt whether the majority either of men or of women want protection for their faces, dresses, and privacies as earnestly as they do for their lives, properties, and persons.

Besides the duty of self-preservation, the author recognises as obligatory on the Christian the duties of self-development, and of realising in the individual life as much as is possible of the highest good. Under the former head, he makes some judicious observations on specialism in education, and the risk to which it exposes men to contraction and impoverishment. He warns specialists that there is a real danger of losing one's soul in absorbing professional study. "A man may give his life in exchange for his science, his art, his single treasure of knowledge, and even for his theology." The other duty to self, that of being happy, is broadly asserted as against a morose view of life, which regards all enjoyment as sinful. It is recognised that there is such a thing as a legitimate and even obligatory Christian ambition, which, without injury to others, endeavours to make the most of self in the

appropriation of the materials of our existence. It is contended that it is not unchristian to make one's home spacious beyond the necessities of existence, and to fill it with furnishings that will give pleasure to those under its roof; all, however, in subordination to the true ideal of life.

We have left ourselves only a little space for a few remarks on the chapter which treats of duties to others. The author finds occasion, in connection with social ethics, to discuss the question, Are we still Christians? in reply to those who affirm that the bold virtues are not recognised in the ethics of Jesus. "The Samaritan who had compassion on the man who had fallen among thieves, is the good man of the Lord's parable; there is no word spoken in commendation of the strong man who should beat back the robbers, or pursue the thieves." The obvious reply to this is, that Jesus laid emphasis on the virtues most difficult to practise, and therefore most neglected. Under the head of the duty of truth the question is discussed, whether lying is in any case permissible? The answer is, that truth must be told to all who have a right to it. It is held that there are some who have no right. The housewife may deceive, if she can, the tramp bent on mischief; falsehood as military strategy is justifiable, if the war is righteous, &c. Characteristic and praiseworthy, as coming from an American, is the insistence on truth in work—"in the arm of the day-labourer, the hand of the mechanic, the finger of the artist, the pen of the capitalist, the brain of the thinker, and in the very imagination of the poet." "An urgent ethical need of the times is a revival of truthfulness amid all handicrafts." "Civilisation needs salvation from sham work, sham thought, sham service, sham study, sham literature, sham orthodoxy." Well said! Anyone who has visited Albany, in the State of New York, and witnessed the huge cracks in the woodwork of the senate room of the Capitol, can understand how an American prophet should feel called on to lift up his voice against trade frauds and shams. May his protest not be in vain!

We commend to the special attention of bachelors what our author says about the social duty of being *married*. He tells them that they ought to get married unless they can show good reason to the contrary. He declines to recognise as a valid excuse the artificial ideas of modern society as to what constitutes a good marriage. He even hints at penalties directed against those who wilfully neglect the duty. We have heard bachelor ministers complain of having to make a compulsory payment to the Widows' Fund. What if the State were to follow the example of the Church, and fine all who, without good cause, choose to remain in single blessedness? A quondam Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to impose a tax on lucifer matches. *Ex luce lucellum*. Some

future Chancellor may seek to raise a little revenue from a tax on those who shun love-matches. Let them be wise in time.

The chapter on the *social problem* is specially interesting and valuable. First, an endeavour is made to ascertain the precise nature of the problem. And we are told that the social problem is not simply the prevalence of social discontent, or the existence of a great amount of poverty, or the employment of some particular method of industrial economy, such as competition. The evils pointed at by the expression consist rather in the impersonality of modern industrial life, produced by the development of machinery, the tendency of society to gather round the opposite poles of capital and labour to the imperilling of social solidarity, the human waste under the present industrial system, and the tendency to permanent monopoly in land, capital, and place, threatening to take from the people at once the means of subsistence and the opportunity of bettering their position, and giving rise to a large ominous mass of social hopelessness. These evils, resulting from the "rapid differentiation of the complex elements and functions of modern life," create a demand for a new and better integration. This statement of the problem leads up to a criticism of the new integration proposed by socialism. The charge of socialists against the present system is represented as reducible to two heads—that it denies the right of every man to a fair share in the products of civilisation, and that its methods—competition, production through private capital, individual ownership of the means of production, and the distribution of goods by a monetary exchange, are radically evil. The rival scheme of collectivism is then examined. The chief fault found with it is ethical—viz., that "it does not give enough space and play to the great law of life and growth, that unto every one that hath shall be given and he shall have abundance; nor does it provide for the ethical judgment which accompanies this law of growth, that from him that hath not even that which he hath shall be taken away." The root of the social problem is declared to be moral evil, and the social problem itself not primarily to provide a better system of distribution with lessening opportunities for extortion, though that is in its own place important, but before all to cast out the devils of greed. In the author's own forcible words—

"How to rid society of the spirit of Judas Iscariot is the ultimate social problem; and that is a question of the man rather than of the money bag: it is not so much an economic as a moral and religious question. Even if we could conceive of a society, organised without military force to keep it together, after the pattern of Mr Bellamy's twentieth century monotony of bliss, the moral problem would remain, How is the spirit of the betrayer to be kept far apart from such homogeneous masses of contentment? how in such an earthly paradise is the entrance of the serpent to be pre-

vented? Industrial independence without real moral freedom, instead of being the attainment of the social goal, might prove to be the beginning of another tragedy of man's fall and need of redemption."

The "social problem" obviously imposes special duties on the Church. The first mentioned is *hearty interest in the question*. The next is patient, practical study of sociological principles. It is specially insisted on that, in present circumstances, such a study should form a part of the professional training of the clergy. We hope the Scottish Churches will take note of this. Why should not the Evangelistic Chair in the Free Church Colleges, at present so useless, be utilised for this purpose? Once more the duty is strenuously enforced on the modern Church to surround itself with organisations promotive of social well-being, having over its porch the motto: "All things to all men for the Gospel's sake."

With this imperfect outline of its contents, we cordially commend to readers of *The Critical Review* a work which we have perused with much pleasure, and not less instruction. A. B. BRUCE.

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### Orientalische Skizzen.

*By Theodor Nöldeke. Berlin: Paetel. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 304. Price M. 7.*

It is superfluous to say of a work on Oriental subjects which bears the name of Professor Nöldeke that it is accurate, thorough, and interesting. The volume he has just published, however, differs in two respects from those to which he has hitherto usually accustomed us. The "Oriental Sketches" are intended to be popular in character, and they are sketches rather than learnedly exhaustive monographs. The learning is in them, it is true; but it is only those whose studies have lain in the same direction who can properly realise its extent and profundity.

One of the "Sketches," that on the characteristics of the Semites, has already appeared in the pages of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. It has, however, been revised, and, according to the author, "improved" in several respects. Two other "Sketches" have also been published elsewhere. All the rest are new.

In the last of them Professor Nöldeke ventures on the slippery ground of modern politics. It is devoted to an account of the rise and fall of "Theodoros, King of Abyssinia." The author's sympathies are strongly with the half-barbarous prince, who for a time restored the old kingdom of Ethiopia, and dreamed of dealing with the potentates of Christian Europe on a footing of equality. His false estimate of the relative power of himself and England, the

misunderstandings which led to the English invasion of Abyssinia, the king's belief in the impregnability of his capital, and his heroic death when all was lost, are described in a masterly way. But in sympathising with the Abyssinian monarch, Professor Nöldeke is hardly just to the English. The difficulties they encountered in the Abyssinian expedition are minimised, and no opportunity seems to be lost of contrasting the misdoings of the British soldier with the chivalry of the Abyssinian king.

Of the other essays in the volume, perhaps the most interesting, and to most readers the newest, are those on "A Slave War in the East," and "On Jacob the Coppersmith and his Dynasty." It was towards the close of the ninth century that the Khalifate of Bagdad was threatened for a while with disaster, if not with dissolution, by two serious insurrections. About A.D. 860 Sistan made itself independent under "the Coppersmith," Jacob, the son of Laith, who soon became master of a considerable portion of the Khalif's dominions. Even Fars, the ancient Persis, was wrested from the feeble hands of the Khalif Motamid, and a dynasty founded which lasted for more than one generation. The revolt of Jacob was followed by the revolt of Egypt in the west, and of Turkestan in the east, and the head of Islâm became hardly more than a prince in name.

Meanwhile the servile war had broken out. Under the leadership of a certain Ali, the negro slaves had declared themselves free, and to the number of many thousands had established themselves in the marshlands of Southern Babylonia. From this vantage-ground they carried on for several years a successful war against the troops of the Government, destroying the neighbouring cities, and harrying the adjacent country. They were assisted by the revolt of Jacob, which prevented the full force of the Khalifate from being brought to bear against them. It was not till A.D. 883 that the decisive battles were fought which led to the death of the negro chief and the capture of his capital. But the war had shaken the power of Bagdad to its foundations, and had introduced a new element of insecurity into social life.

Of the remaining essays in Professor Nöldeke's book, we may single out the two on the Qorân and on Islâm, which give a succinct but clear account of the nature of Mohammedanism and its sacred book. The "general reader" will not find them dull, and in studying them he will have the satisfaction of feeling that he can trust implicitly what he is told. Professor Nöldeke's information is never given at second-hand, and what he tells us is written out of the fulness of his own knowledge.

For English readers, however, it is a pity that the book is printed in German type. Why cannot the popular literature of



Germany follow the example set by its scientific literature, and abolish the eye-destroying characters which still delight the heart of Prince Bismarck? The old Gothic type is an anachronism for a nation which desires to be included among the powers of Western Europe.

A. H. SAYCE.

### The Book of Job.

By Robert A. Watson, D.D. (*The Expositor's Bible*.) London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 416. Price 7s. 6d.

THOSE who are acquainted with the previous volumes in *The Expositor's Bible* will not expect to find in Dr Watson's work anything like a detailed exposition of the Book of Job. His object is not to elucidate obscure passages, but to place as vividly as possible before English readers the main ideas and the train of argument contained in this Book. Dr Watson rightly protests against the notion that the literary and the religious aspects of the work are to be separated—the moral teacher and the artist are, as he says, indissolubly connected, and neither can be understood apart from the other. Accordingly he endeavours throughout to illustrate the Book of Job, not only from the Bible, but from modern thinkers and poets by whom the same great problems have been treated.

How far Dr Watson has succeeded in his attempt to make the Book of Job more attractive and more intelligible to ordinary readers is a matter on which it is hard to pronounce an opinion, as here everything depends on the literary taste of the critic. Dr Watson's style bears much resemblance to that of Archdeacon Farrar; it is characterised rather by fervour and exuberance than by conciseness and perspicuity. To many this will appear a merit, but others will be inclined to cry for mercy when they find that a large part of the work consists of such passages as the following:—"The fire burns through the sculpture and carved framework and painted windows of his art with no loss of heat. Yet, as becomes a sacred book, all is sobered and restrained to the rhythmic flow of dramatic evolution, and it is as if the eager soul had been chastened, even in its fieriest endeavour, by the regular procession of Nature, sunrise and sunset, spring and harvest, and by the sense of the Eternal One, Lord of light and darkness, life and death" (p. 5).

Dr Watson is inclined to follow Ewald in assigning the composition of the Book of Job to the period of the overthrow of the Northern Israelite kingdom, and he suggests that the author may have been himself a Northern Israelite who had escaped from the sword of the Assyrian (p. 17). He shows (as has been done by others—for

example, by the Dean of Westminster) that the book is in no sense the product of a primitive age, but everywhere pre-supposes a tolerably advanced civilisation. He agrees with all competent critics in ascribing chapters xxxii.-xxxvii. to a much later author, whom he supposes to have lived after the Exile. As to the other portions of which the authorship is disputed (chapters xxviii. and xl. 15-xli. 34), he expresses no decided opinion, though he seems to feel some of the difficulties which they present. Accordingly, he suggests that chap. xxviii. is not put into the mouth of Job, but is "a chorus after the manner of the Greek dramas." Of whom this "chorus" consists he does not tell us.

In linguistic and historical matters Dr Watson is a very unsafe guide. No real scholar could possibly be guilty of connecting the name Uz (Hebr. *אֲזַי*; in the Septuagint *Αὐσίτης*) with the Arabic *Oweysit* or *Owsit* (p. 22). This latter means "middle, half-way place," from the root WST, and therefore has nothing to do with *אֲזַי*; in *Αὐσίτης* the *τ* is, of course, merely part of the Greek termination (cf. *Μωαβίτης*, *Ἀμμωνίτης*, &c.). Dr Watson is likewise drawing entirely on his imagination when he concludes from the words of Jeremiah, "Is wisdom no more in Teman?" (Jer. xlix. 7) that "in the region of Idumæa the faith of the Most High was held in remarkable purity by learned men," &c. (p. 25). Similar expressions are applied in the Old Testament to the Phœnicians (Zech. ix. 2), yet it is certain that the wisdom of Phœnicia did not by any means lead to "remarkable purity" in the matter of religion.

A. A. BEVAN.

**Commentar über das Buch "Esther" mit seinen  
"Zusätzen" und über "Susanna."**

Von Dr Anton Scholz, Professor an der königl. Universität  
Würzburg. Würzburg: Woerl. 8vo, pp. xxxviii. 182, u.  
Anhang cviii. Price M. 6.

THE last few years have been fruitful in ingenious speculations regarding the Book of Esther. On Prof. Paul de Lagarde's treatise "Purim" (Göttingen, 1887) there followed quite recently, in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. VI., No. 1, a paper by Dr P. Jensen, from which we learn that the various personages in Esther are neither more nor less than Elamite gods and goddesses! But all these brilliant performances pale before the pyrotechnics of Prof. Scholz. The strangest part of the matter is that the new theory has been elaborated by a devout Catholic in the interests of the Christian faith. How far the "Catholic" Professor surpasses in

boldness all his "Protestant" and "Rationalistic" predecessors may be seen from the following summary.

The Book of Esther in its original form (which has unfortunately perished) was not a historical narrative, but a religious allegory, based upon Ezekiel's prophecy about Gog. Ahasuerus represents mankind brought into the Messianic kingdom. Haman, whose epithet "the Agagite" clearly refers to "Gog," is the Evil One. Mordecai is the converted Israel. Esther is the most interesting character of all—she is at the same time the Church, the Mother of God, and the converted heathen world. This beautiful and edifying parable was grossly misunderstood by the later Jews, as also by the Christians. Accordingly, the original text was ruthlessly "revised," the "prophetical" allusions were often suppressed or altered, and the absurd attempt was made to transform the book into a narrative of historical facts. Hence modern interpreters, who construe the whole literally, have always fallen into one of two errors—they have either endeavoured to defend the historical truth of the narrative, in spite of all its manifest impossibilities, or else pronounced that Esther is a romance, to the scandal of devout believers. The allegorical interpretation alone supplies the clue to the Book.

It is hardly necessary to say that this theory involves a complete reversal of all that has hitherto been believed as to the history of the text. The Greek versions, according to Prof. Scholz, are not re-modellings and expansions of the Hebrew text, as we have always supposed, but really come nearer to the "prophetic" original. In the Hebrew text much has been omitted, and much has been added by Scribes, who pieced together the glosses and marginal notes which they found in their copies, so as to form new chapters. The fabricators of the new chapters, as the Professor naïvely remarks (p. xix), show marvellous skill in making this patch-work of marginal notes present the appearance of a continuous story. Any one who has tried to construct a narrative out of the marginal notes in the Revised Version of the English Bible, for example, will be able faintly to realise what skill these Scribes must have possessed.

It is but fair to add that Prof. Scholz does not expect his interpretation to be accepted at once by everybody (p. i.). Although "no theory respecting the Bible is proved by such crushing evidence" (p. xxxvii.), the power of prejudice will probably hinder many from seeing the truth. Whether the Catholic Church will welcome this new light is a matter on which a Protestant cannot, of course, form an opinion. But however we regard the allegorical theory it is impossible to deny that Prof. Scholz deserves great admiration for his patient research, and for the sincerity with which he has sought to further the cause of learning.

A. A. BEVAN.

**Zwingli's Theologie. Ihr Werden und ihr System.**

*Dargestellt von August Baur, Dr Theol.; Halle, Niemeyer. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. viii. 543, and pp. ix. 864. Price M. 30.*

THE professed object of this elaborate work is to trace the growth of Zwingli's theology. The environment of the theologian has not, however, been neglected, and wisely; for of systems of theology it may be said, as Plato said of Laws, that they are not created by men, but by all sorts of circumstances and surroundings. Zwingli was not a solitary thinker who framed a system to gratify an intellectual craving for ordered thought. He was preacher, churchman, and statesman. The demands of his public position converted him into a System-Builder; for the eager curiosity of the age craved for an answer, and, if possible, for a complete answer, to the numerous questions which had been brought to the front by the religious revolution. The Romish Church, moreover, possessed an imposing theology and polity, and Evangelical theologians felt that they must confront them with a system based on their own principles, if their Church was to maintain the hold the religious movement has given to it.

Zwingli's theology has a somewhat tragic significance in the history of the Reformation. It was the first of those *Variations of Protestantism* which furnished Bossuet with his most plausible argument against the Reformed Faith. Protestant writers have often treated the controversy between Luther and Zwingli as a lamentable quarrel to be passed over with silent regret. Dr Baur, more justly, regards it as the inevitable outcome of a divergence in religious thought. That this view is the correct one will be apparent if we consider the characters and the mental history of the two Reformers. Luther was trained in the Augustinian theology, and his natural bent towards mysticism had been strengthened by diligent study of Tauler, the *German Theology*, and other mystical works of the Middle Ages. In spite of his denunciations of monasticism, the spirit of the cloister was strong within him; its meditative piety was the element in which he lived. To classical antiquity, and to its revivals, he was indifferent, save in so far as the restoration of the knowledge of the languages threw light upon the meaning of Scripture. To the revival of the classical spirit he was as hostile as any monk. Zwingli, on the other hand, at the beginning of his career, was a Humanist. He was never under the spell of the Church of Rome, although he was its priest, and he despised scholastic theology and monastic piety as heartily as Erasmus. "A priest of Christ and of the Muses," he was devoted to classical

literature, and his religion was the vague philosophic religion of the Humanists, half Christian, half Pagan, of which Dr Baur gives an admirable example in an extract from a letter addressed to Zwingli by Beatus Rhenanus. As time went on, Zwingli departed from the vague religion of the Renaissance, and preached a Gospel that did not differ from Luther's, nor was he less zealous against Romish superstition. But he continued through life to value classical literature not for its form alone, but for its substance, maintaining that God spake by heathen sages and poets, as well as by the prophets. In one of his latest works he opened, without hesitation, the kingdom of heaven to the sages and poets, and even to the legendary heroes of antiquity. The passage excited the anger of Luther, who declared that it implied a denial of the truth of Christianity.

It is surprising that with such views Zwingli did not remain outside of the Reformation, indifferent, if not hostile, like other German scholars. What was the process of thought or experience by which Zwingli was changed into Evangelical preacher and Reformer is not quite clear, for he does not indulge in many personal references. In their absence, we may hazard the conjecture that it was his sense of public duty rather than any imperious spiritual longings that led him to change. Unlike most scholars of the time, who were cosmopolitans, he was an ardent Swiss patriot; and he was strongly moved by a wish to enlighten and guide the flocks committed to his charge. The vague religion of the Renaissance, although not so powerless as it is sometimes represented,—it still survives as a *religio laici* among a large number of cultivated men outside the Church and within, in the various forms of Broad Churchism,—has never been an effective religion for the people, who crave for something more definite. In the New Testament Zwingli found a teaching which was strong to control and to comfort simple men and women, and yet free from the puerilities of the effete Mediæval Faith. There is much in Zwingli's modes of action that gives confirmation to the theory that his manner of preaching was at first largely determined by the need of his fellow-countrymen. Unlike Luther, who, prophet-like, spoke his message with little regard to what men would think of it, Zwingli was always an Opportunist, although in the nobler sense of the term. He preserved silence, sometimes for years, upon questions with regard to which his mind was made up, and only spoke when the hour for useful speaking seemed to have arrived. This was not owing to lack of courage, for he was one of the most courageous of men, but to a sense of his public duty as a leader of the Church and nation.

Of all the Reformers, Zwingli was the most democratic, and his democratic leanings, fostered by a republican birth and education,

make another note of difference between him and his great contemporary. Luther loved the people, and laboured for their good, but it never occurred to him to elevate Herr Omnes to a position of rule in Church or State. Learned and godly men were in his judgment the only suitable guides for the Church. Zwingli, in theory at least, regarded the whole people as the fountain of civil and ecclesiastical power; and he was careful to explain that it was merely as organs and representatives of the people that the Council of Zurich introduced reforms. For the idea of the historical continuity of the Church, Zwingli had small sympathy. His desire was to restore the Church of the New Testament, and to permit the Mediæval Church, with all its fantastic memories, to disappear like a sick man's dream. His summary rejection of the Augustinian doctrine of imputation, although perhaps justified exegetically, was a further proof of his want of perception of historical continuity, and of his leaning towards a Christianity without mystery. It was, however, in his doctrine of the Sacraments that this tendency most fully revealed itself. The idea of sacramental grace had no place in Zwingli's system. As Dr Baur points out, baptism, according to his view, has a significance for others, rather than for the receiver: it is the mark by which other men recognised the Christian. The Lord's Supper is a memorial feast awaking holy memories, and quickening faith, but only in the same manner as the reading of Scripture. Baur, like Harnack, warmly espouses the view of Zwingli as against Luther, who in this matter, he writes, was unable to free himself from the trammels of his Mediæval education. The accidents of the controversy must not be allowed to obscure its real issues. Zwingli bore himself throughout with great moral dignity, and in the exegetical argument, he was the victor; for Luther's dogged appeal to the words *Hoc est corpus meum*, finds no support in the customary language of Scripture. Luther's mystical arguments regarding the body of the Risen Lord were of no weight, and nothing can excuse the stormy violence of his language regarding his opponents. The question cannot, however, be decided either by the logical superiority of Zwingli, or by the bad manners of Luther. The special work of the Reformation was to bring religion into harmony with reason, and with common life. The doctrine of the *Tremendum Mysterium* became a natural subject of attack. Luther was at first disposed to adopt the view of Carlstadt, because he perceived that it struck an effective blow at priestly power. Zwingli found, when he first broke silence on the subject, that his friends were already prepared to receive his doctrine, and he predicted that in a few years it would be universally accepted by believers of the Reformed faith. Erasmus expressed his admiration for Zwingli's fine exposition of the doctrine, although he said the *consensus* of the

ancient Church, in an opposite sense, made him hesitate. Baur regrets that Zwingli's doctrine did not triumph; Luther's, he maintains, checked the intellectual freedom and the moral fruitfulness of the German Reformation. Against this conclusion there are grave objections. It was a real danger at the time of the Reformation, that Religion, in being brought into contact with common life, might be converted into a mere instrument for giving sanction to moral duty. Its divine origin being thus ignored, it would speedily have lost its power to control and to inspire, and would have been ultimately dethroned in favour of utilitarian Morality. Against this danger—no chimera as the subsequent history of Protestantism shows—the Sacraments were the great bulwarks. They represent what does not come into consciousness, Regeneration and the *unio mystica*, and their neglect has always the tendency to weaken the sense of the divine claims of religion, and to impoverish the devout life. Luther, therefore, was guided by a true Christian instinct, when he protested against the teaching of the Swiss Reformer, although he employed bad arguments, made his protest with unbecoming violence, and displayed a great lack of charity to a noble-minded opponent.

Of Dr Baur's volumes we have said less than we ought. They will be invaluable to a student of Reformation thought, and will take their place as the standard authority on the theology of Zwingli.

JOHN GIBB.

### The Principles of Ethics.

By Herbert Spencer. Vol. I. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 562. Price 15s.

MR SPENCER'S great work, "A System of Synthetic Philosophy," now approaches completion. Parts V. and VI. on "The Ethics of Social Life, Negative Beneficence," and "The Ethics of Social Life, Positive Beneficence," have yet to be written. But the gap between "The Data of Ethics," published in 1879, and "Justice," published in 1891, has now been filled up by the present work, or rather by the publication of Parts II. and III., which Mr Spencer calls "The Inductions of Ethics," and the "Ethics of Individual Life." "The Data of Ethics," which forms the first part of this volume, need not be noticed here. It has already been abundantly criticised, and has given rise to a good deal of controversy; and Mr Spencer has replied to his critics in *Mind* for January 1881, a reply printed as an appendix to the separate edition of "The Data of Ethics," but not reprinted in this volume.

Readers of Mr Spencer's works are familiar with the general scheme on which they are constructed. In his "Biology," in his "Psychology," in his "Sociology," and now also in his "Ethics," there is first a general section called "the Data," and this is invariably followed by a section called the "Inductions." It is not very clear why they have these titles. For the "Data" are very like the "Inductions," and both names are used in a somewhat unusual sense. But then we have to get accustomed to the Spencerian way, and make of it what we can. At the same time, it is somewhat inconvenient, for, after we have learnt Mr Spencer's language, and have got accustomed to his way, we find that the Spencerian words are often used in the sense they have in common use, and are made to justify conclusions which do not follow when they are restricted to the Spencerian meaning. For example, in ordinary treatises on Logic, "Induction" has a particular meaning, which is so well understood that we need not here explain it. When we read Mr Spencer's works we have to give a new meaning to "Induction." We have no longer to deal with masses of classified facts, and with the laws of their action, which we have been able inductively to discover and set forth. Instead of this, we have from Mr Spencer an abstract statement of what he conceives the "induction" to be. Take, for instance, the opening paragraph of the work before us. It runs thus—

"If, in common with other things, human feelings and ideas conform to the general law of evolution, the implication is that the set of conceptions constituting ethics, together with the associated sentiments, arise out of a relatively incoherent and indefinite consciousness; and slowly acquire coherence and definiteness at the same time that the aggregates of them differentiates from the larger aggregate with which it is originally mingled. Long remaining undistinguished, and then but vaguely discerned as something independent, ethics must be expected to acquire a distinct embodiment only when mental evolution has reached a high stage."—*"Principles of Ethics,"* Vol. I., p. 307.

Evidently the general law of Evolution is here the main conception, and determines what the inductions are to be. Mr Spencer brings an "expectation" to the facts, and they must conform to his expectation. In every case in the volume before us, Mr Spencer seems to deduce his "induction" from the general law of evolution, and then looks out for facts to support the so-called induction. The facts are drawn from various sources, all apparently of equal value in Mr Spencer's eyes. Books of travels, daily newspapers, ancient literature—in fact, any source from which he can get a statement which seems to support his view, is used in the most uncritical way. As to the uncritical way in which Mr Spencer



uses his authorities we may give the following illustrations. We take them because they are accessible to every one, and may be easily verified. "The truth which it specially concerns us to note is, that during states of hostility, which make aggression habitual, it acquires a social sanction, and in some cases a divine sanction ; there is a pro-ethical sentiment enlisted on its behalf. Contrariwise, in the cases just referred to, aggressiveness meets with reprobation. An ethical sentiment, rightly so-called, produces repugnance to it. Nor was it otherwise with the Hebrews. After the chronic antagonisms of nomadic life had been brought to an end by their captivity, and after their subsequent wars of conquest had ended in a comparatively peaceful state, the expression of altruistic sentiments became marked, until in *Leviticus* we see emerging the principle, often regarded as exclusively Christian—'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,'—a principle, however, which appears to have been limited to 'the congregation of the children of Israel' " (pp. 349-50). We have tried hard to understand what Mr Spencer means in the foregoing sentence. Does he mean that the chronic antagonisms of nomadic life continued until the captivity ? and does he mean that the wars of conquest are subsequent to the captivity ? In any event, he has misread his authority.

But a graver misuse of authorities occurs in the chapter on Veracity. We quote the paragraph as a curiosity—

"We have proof in the Bible that, apart from the lying which constituted false witness, and was to the injury of a neighbour, there was among the Hebrews but little reprobation of lying. Indeed, it would be remarkable were it otherwise, considering that Jehovah set the example, as when, to ruin Ahab, He commissioned 'a lying spirit' to deceive His prophets ; or as when, according to Ezekiel xiv. 9, He threatened to use deception as a means of vengeance—'If the prophet be deceived when he speaketh a thing, I the Lord have deceived that prophet, and I will stretch out My hand upon him, and will destroy him in the midst of My people Israel.' Evidently, from a race-character which evolved such a conception of a deity's principles, there naturally comes no great regard for veracity. This we see in sundry cases, as when Isaac said Rebecca was not his wife but his sister, and nevertheless received the same year a bountiful harvest—'the Lord blessed him ;' or as when Rebecca induced Jacob to tell a lie to his father and defraud Esau—a lie not condemned, but shortly followed by a divine promise of prosperity ; or as when Jeremiah tells a falsehood at the king's suggestion. Nor do we find the standard much changed in the days of Christ and after. Instance the case of Paul, who, apparently, rather piquing himself on his 'craft and guile,' elsewhere defends his acts by contending that 'the truth of

God hath more abounded through my lie unto his glory' (Romans iii. 7)."

It is not necessary to say much on this paragraph, in which Mr Spencer misunderstands and misrepresents his authorities. He ascribes to Paul a statement which the Apostle repudiates with energy and indignation, and which he states only to refute. If the statement about Jeremiah refers to his interview with Zedekiah, recorded in Jeremiah, chap. xxxviii., then a reference to Jer. xxxvii. 20 will prove that the prophet told the truth in his report to the princes. If Mr Spencer will read the context of the texts in Ezekiel and 1 Kings to which he refers, he will find that the enticement or deception was in punishment for previous sin; while the narrative in Genesis shows that both Isaac and Jacob did suffer for the falsehoods which they told or acted. Veracity enjoins that a man should understand his authorities and not misrepresent them. We are constrained to say this in addition, If Mr Spencer uses such accessible authorities as the Bible in this fashion, may he not use authorities not so accessible in a similar way?

Passing, however, from his use of authorities we ask, What has he accomplished in this instalment of his work? He has done one work for which we are very thankful. He has set forth with great clearness and power the radical inconsistency between the ethical code which Christian lands profess to believe, and the ethical code on which they seem to act. While they profess the ethics of amity, they act on the ethics of enmity. The accusation is made good, and the charge is too true. If Mr Spencer's attack will help to awaken the churches and the nations to a sense of their inconsistency, and help to cause them to resolve that they shall henceforth, both in profession and in practice, obey the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount, he will have done good service. For, somehow, the commands of Christ have been regarded as mere "counsels of perfection," and the ethics of mere self-assertion have ruled far too long and absolutely in Church and State. It is time to try the more excellent way, and Mr Spencer's chapter on the confusion of ethical thought ought to make the issue clear.

Apart from this, however, we do not think that Mr Spencer's conclusions will be accepted by students of ethics, either with regard to the ethical end, or with regard to the ethical sanction of conduct. The ethical end, according to his teaching, is pleasure. "From the point of view of absolute ethics, actions are right only when, besides being conducive to the future happiness of self, or others, or both, they are also immediately pleasurable" (p. 487). "No school can avoid taking for the ultimate moral aim a desirable state of feeling—called by whatever name—gratification, enjoyment, happiness. Pleasure somewhere, at some time, to some being or beings, is an

inexpugnable element of the conception. It is as much a necessary form of moral intuition as space is a form of intellectual intuition" (p. 46). With varied iteration, Mr Spencer insists that the ethical end is a desirable state of feeling, and we might concede the truth of his contention if man were a sentient being and nothing more. But man is more than feeling ; and while man thinks and reasons, and can look before and after, the end of his conduct can never be a mere state of feeling. Every object of desire must, for a rational being, have in it a rational element, and must be such an object as can satisfy his whole nature. Pleasure, as the ethical end, is set aside when we recognise that man is more than feeling.

But the ethics of Mr Spencer is even more unsatisfactory when we have regard to the test of right conduct which he advocates. He contends that an action is right when it produces or tends to produce a desirable state of feeling. From which it would follow that there is an absolute coincidence between virtue and happiness. But all kinds of Hedonistic ethics declare, to use the language of Mr Leslie Stephen, that "the attempt to establish an absolute coincidence between virtue and happiness is in ethics what the attempt to square the circle or to discover perpetual motion is in geometry and mechanics" (*"Science of Ethics,"* p. 430). Unless we can establish such an absolute coincidence between virtue and happiness, we must abandon the Hedonistic basis of ethics, and endeavour to find a more secure foundation. When virtue and happiness fall apart, clearly we must have another test of the rightness of conduct than pleasure and pain.

Why should I do right? What is the meaning of obligation? What is the explanation of the coerciveness of duty? Mr Spencer uses the words "right," "obligation," "duty," and sometimes in his own sense and sometimes in the ordinary sense, but he has his own explanation of their origin, progress, and decay. They have arisen from external pressure, they are transformed as the mental capacity to foresee the future has grown, and they will vanish when mankind has been completely moralised. Here is his description of the moral consciousness: "The true moral consciousness which we name conscience, does not refer to those extrinsic results of conduct which take the shape of praise or blame, reward or punishment externally awarded, but it refers to the intrinsic results of conduct, which, in part, and by some intellectually perceived, are mainly and of most intuitively felt. The moral consciousness proper does not contemplate obligations as artificially imposed by an external power, nor is it chiefly occupied with estimates of the amounts of pleasure and pain which given actions may produce, though these may be dimly or clearly perceived ; but it is chiefly occupied with recognition of,

and regard for those conditions by fulfilment of which happiness is achieved or misery avoided" (p. 337, 338).

There is nothing more curious in the history of speculation than the various estimates of mind presented in the different works of Mr Spencer. At one time the mind becomes a series of successive states of consciousness; and at the next moment mind is able to look at its conscious life as a whole to such an extent that it can balance what is immediately present with what is yet to come. At one time the self is nothing but a series of states of consciousness, at another time the self can have "regard for those conditions by fulfilment of which happiness is achieved and misery avoided." The natural history of the self is most curious. According to Mr Spencer, it is first the narrow self of an organism, which is occupied with that continuous adjustment of acts to ends which serves to prolong and intensify its own individual life. Somehow this self gets transformed, becomes a self which has regard to the life of the species. Still another transformation takes place, and the self somehow becomes a self which avoids doing injury to others, and acts so as to promote the good of others. How a self which starts with acts of self-preservation can become a self which acts for the good of others Mr Spencer does not explain, nor does he in the slightest degree explain how such a self feels bound to act for the good of others. For the self is in the hands of natural forces, and acts as it is acted on. A merely natural history of ethics is impossible, unless we suppose that there is in the self something more than the reaction against natural forces; unless we can regard the self as something which can set itself over against natural laws, and can regulate and modify their action, we can never come to a right understanding of the great conception of duty. We can explain "duty" if we can assume that we can form an ideal of what our life ought to be, and adjust our conduct to that end. But, by the teaching of Mr Spencer, the self becomes a thing beside other things, and the sense of duty is a weakness, not a strength; something which emerges in the conflict and struggle of existence, is of value only while matters are in a transition state, and vanishes when the adjustment becomes complete.

Very striking is the hopefulness of Mr Spencer. For instance—"A life of settled internal amity generates a code inculcating the virtues conducing to harmonious co-operation—justice, honesty, veracity—regard for others' claims. And the implication is, that if the life of internal amity continues unbroken from generation to generation, there must result not only the appropriate code, but the appropriate moral nature—a moral sense adapted to the moral requirements. Men so constituted will acquire to the degree needful for complete guidance, that innate conscience which the in-

tuitive moralists erroneously suppose to be possessed by mankind at large. There needs but a continuance of absolute peace externally, and a rigorous insistence on non-aggression internally, to ensure the moulding of man into a form naturally characterised by all the virtues" (p. 471).

It is a marvellous passage. Get the appropriate machinery for the manufacture of intuitions, and the intuitions will follow. But Mr Spencer has not yet presented us with a manufactured intuition, nor shown how the process can go on. Nor has he produced any evidence for his contention that industrialism is more productive of the other-regarding virtues than a state of war is. For both in war and in commerce the spirit of competition reigns; and commerce, which goes forth with the motto, "Buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market," has magnified self-interest, and serves it in the highest degree. How came Mr Spencer to have a belief of this kind, a belief which he enunciates with all the earnestness and enthusiasm of a prophet? Well; the belief was universal when Mr Spencer was a young man. It was proclaimed from every platform in the kingdom by Mr Cobden, it was set forth with royal pomp and splendour at the Exhibition of 1851. Given peace and free trade and open commerce among all the nations of the earth, and we shall "ensure the moulding of man into a form characterised by all the virtues." Great as Mr Spencer is, and wide as his outlook over all the phenomena of evolution, we see that one of his fundamental beliefs has been wrought in him by the accidental phenomena of the time when he was a young man, and has persisted notwithstanding all the adverse phenomena of succeeding years.

We fear that the evils which afflict humanity are not so easily cured, nor can man be so easily "moulded into a form naturally characterised by all the virtues." Mr Spencer does not make any demand on an extramundane source for the evolution of human life, or for the guidance of human conduct. If, under the influence of religion, it has happened that men have risen to purity of life, and to virtuous conduct, Mr Spencer says, "the prompting was an other-worldly one more than an intrinsically moral one." The other-worldly motive may foster the moral motive, but is in itself non-moral. We know from the previous works of Mr Spencer what his view of religion is. Founded on the baseless ghost-theory of the savage, fed by the illusion of men throughout all the ages, religion has, according to Mr Spencer, not much ethical value; at all events, conduct must have regard to intrinsic results alone. But what if there is a God? and what if man shall live after death? If man is immortal, and if there is a life beyond death, does not this fact, or a firm belief in the future life, become one of the *conditions* which man must

regard? Can a system of ethics be adequate which takes no account of man's relations to God, or to a future life? If there be a God, our relation to Him is as much a moral relation as any other in which we stand; if there is a life beyond the grave, then a regard to that life becomes a condition by fulfilment of which happiness is achieved and misery avoided, and, on Mr Spencer's own principles, an other-worldly motive becomes an intrinsically moral one.

We have, therefore, to say in conclusion, that the ethical system of Mr Spencer presents us with a false and inadequate ethical end, and a misleading ethical motive; affords no adequate explanation of such moral phenomena as obligation, duty, responsibility; holds up before us an ethical ideal of a most inadequate kind; and thrusts out of account altogether a large mass of ethical phenomena which any adequate system of ethics is bound to deal with.

JAMES IVERACH.

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### **Eine vorcanonische Überlieferung des Lukas, in Evangelium und Apostelgeschichte.**

*Eine Untersuchung von Dr Paul Feine, Ord. Lehrer am Königl. Gymnasium zu Göttingen. Gotha: F. A. Perthes. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. x. 252. Price M. 4.*

CRITICISM is treating us liberally in the matter of *Urevangelia*, which bid fair to raise the ghosts of St Luke's "many" predecessors with perplexing success. The present investigation attacks the questions raised by the material peculiar to the Third Gospel. Accepting the view that "Luke" is a Gentile Christian imbued with the teaching of St Paul, Dr Feine argues that in large portions of his Gospel, and most of the first twelve chapters of the Acts, he depends on a written authority not traceable elsewhere, proceeding from the Christian circle in Jerusalem, and dating in its latest form from the beginning of the Jewish War. Feine's standpoint is that of a cordial believer in miracle, which—in opposition to the subtle analysts whom he uses or attacks in every page—he does not consider to be a sufficient ground for condemning beforehand a passage brought up for judgment at the bar of literary criticism. At the same time, he treats the text freely, pointing out Luke's mistakes in using his material, and distributing with more or less confidence the portions assignable to the original documents or to the canonical writer. There is of course a great deal of subjectivity in all this, and most readers will find plenty to quarrel with in the details. But if it is settled that written documents,

and not oral tradition, are to be looked for as the sources of our Gospels in their main extent, Feine's hypothesis certainly deserves our respectful consideration. Perhaps, from every point of view except the author's, the hypothesis is all the more valuable because it can be very largely modified without losing its identity.

It is very difficult in a short review to do justice to a thesis depending so much on detailed criticism, and the sketch that follows cannot pretend to be more than partial. The author tells us in his preface that he started from the Acts (i.-xii.), which he examined in the *Jahrb. für Prot. Theol.* (vol. xvi. pp. 84-133); he now starts from the Gospel, the sources of which he distinguishes in his first chapter, mostly following Weiss. There are no less than four, the "Ur-Markus," the Synoptic *Grundschrift* (a development of the first-named), the *Logia* (in Greek; for the original Hebrew, Feine thinks, disappeared early), and the document before us, a later expansion of the *Logia*. The origin of this document is to be proved by applying our knowledge of Jewish life, thought, language, and conditions, which the Gentile Luke could not have known well enough to give us so natural and accurate a picture as we find in the parts of his work under review.

The next section, embracing a quarter of the whole book, is devoted to the proof of the thesis as it affects the Gospel. Chaps. i. and ii. naturally occupy much space in the argument. It is maintained that the detailed history of the Baptist's birth is natural only in a narrative circulating among Jewish Christians, that the conception of Messiah is throughout national, that the ideal of piety presented in the characters of the story is essentially Jewish, that numberless little traits of Jewish customs and thought are traceable in every line—one slip of the editor's being alleged in the *αὐτῶν* of ii. 22—and that Hebraisms of language abound to an extent impossible in a writer not born a Jew. The three hymns, we are told, are untouched by the editor: Simeon's universalism is merely that of the Prophets, and the Pauline Luke would not have seen the "glory" of Israel in the salvation of the Gentiles (Rom. xi. 11, 15). His hand is seen, however, in ii. 41-52, where the language is more Greek, though the contents show no trace of alteration. Holtzmann's contention that the Jewish Christians knew nothing of the supernatural birth of Jesus is well disposed of, as is Hillmann's attempt to reach the same goal by a different road. The difficult question of Joseph's relations to Nazareth and Bethlehem respectively is answered by adopting an interesting theory by Schneller, which space forbids our quoting. The treatment thus summarised will serve as a specimen of the writer's methods, which he applies successively to a number of passages peculiar to the Third Gospel, and to a few in which he

believes his *Quellenschrift* responsible for noteworthy differences from the other Synoptists. One or two questionable points may be noted. The fact that Peter was acquainted with Jesus and with His miraculous power surely need not condemn the episode of Luke v. 1-11 as unhistorical in its setting: the usual explanation is perfectly simple, and has the advantage of saving the canonical Luke from perpetrating an exceedingly obvious mistake. And is it worth while to build the slightest superstructure on such utter trifles as the mention of the *μέτοχοι ἐν τῷ ἐτέρῳ πλοίῳ* in v. 7 for the first time, without our being told who they were? In connection with the same passage Feine takes occasion to express his disbelief in a special Petrine element in the Second Gospel. His evidence is curiously like that usually cited to prove the opposite. Mark omits a number of notices in which Peter is prominent, while he does not endeavour to soften those in which the Apostle comes out badly. That we have here the signs of a humility which shrank from claiming an honourable prominence, but placed failings on record in order to "strengthen his brethren," is a conclusion Dr Feine would not seem to have heard of. In the Centurion's Servant, the undeniable—though hardly inexplicable—discrepancies of the narratives are most unnecessarily increased by the assumption that Matthew's *παῖς* is to be taken as "son," and by the endeavour to find in John iv. 43-54 another version of the same event. On the other hand, the allegorising eccentricities of Holtzmann are quoted to be condemned for "allzu viel Scharfsinn:" one might almost suspect the author of a desire to lighten his sober pages at the expense of a scholar certainly not overgifted with a sense of humour. The section closes with an examination of the Passion narrative, devoted mainly to the recounting of differences from the other Synoptists attributable to Luke's special authority, which John is shown to have used to some extent also. I am inclined to suggest that Dr Feine's theory may help us to explain some of the well-known problems of text which meet us in this part of the Gospel: I refer to the passages enclosed in double brackets by Westcott and Hort. For some of these ordinary interpolation may be assumed. For instance, Feine's assertion that in Luke xxiv. 50-53 the Ascension takes place on Easter Day itself is entirely upset by the removal of *καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν* from the text, into which it obtained entrance through the mistaken idea that the appearance of Ascension Day is described in the Gospel. (See W.-H. ii. App. p. 73.) And the *Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν* of xxiv. 36 may well be an interpolation from the Fourth Gospel, instead of a point of contact. But the obviously authentic passages, xxii. 19, 20; 43, 44; xxiii. 34, may very probably owe their peculiar position to absence from the *Quellenschrift*, supposing it to have circulated for a time together with the canonical



work which superseded it. These passages are such as St Luke himself might well have added from the oral traditions to which he had access. The first is St Paul's account of the institution of the Eucharist, scarcely altered; the second has no marked Hebraisms, and connects itself with St Luke's own part of the Acts by the word *ἐκτενέστερον* (cf. Acts xxvi. 7); of the third much the same may be said, it being noted that a strongly Hebraic passage immediately follows. Of course, the same cause may account for other interpolations which internal evidence strongly attests, such as ix. 55.

Feine next applies himself to the parables and discourses which are, in his opinion, taken from, or influenced by, the hypothetical document. He remarks on the difference between the types of parable peculiar to the First and the Third Gospel respectively, and observes that the abundance of local colouring required by Luke's parables of human life could never have been accurately put in by a Gentile narrator. Selecting as before a few noticeable points in the chapter, we can hardly pass without protest the statement that Matthew probably did not know the parable of the Unjust Steward, since he does not record it. Is this to be soberly applied as a principle to guide our criticism of the Gospels? The only conceivable standpoint to justify such a canon would be that of critics dating the Gospels too late for living memory of the words and deeds of Jesus: an apostle, or any member of the community which knew the Lord, could not write at all without selecting only a small proportion of the material stored in his mind. If I understand Dr Feine aright, he would place the compilation of the canonical Synoptists much too early for such memories to have died out. In connection with two or three of the Lucan parables, our author treats the doctrine of wealth and poverty as a characteristic note of the poor community of Christians at Jerusalem, who would be likely, he thinks, to retain in thankful memory the blessings of Jesus bestowed on poverty, and the woes denounced against wealth. The point is perhaps overstrained—notably in the assertion that Dives is condemned simply because he was *dives*,—but, apart from such exaggerations, there seems probability in it. In the same parable Feine believes that the *Quellenschrift* named the beggar Lazarus in reference to the history of Lazarus of Bethany. Judging from his later protest on the parable and the miracle of the Barren Fig-tree, he would repudiate the assumption that the miracle here was a materialisation of the parable.

The least satisfactory feature in Feine's method is the readiness with which he equates parables or narratives which can without the faintest improbability be kept distinct, and then treats their differences as variations from a more original norm. Surely it is *à priori*

a most natural and wise mode of teaching, deliberately to repeat what has been given before, in order that the intentional alterations may bring out complementary lessons. What reason is there in treating the Marriage of the King's Son and the Great Supper, the Talents and the Pounds, &c., as distorted versions of the same originals? Such treatment has a trick of revenging itself on its author, who inevitably parades the veriest trifles as discrepancies. We are to suppose that *three* servants come forward in Luke xix. 16-20, not because they are the minimum sufficient to bring out the lesson, but because three appear in Matthew! Dr Feine's exegetical instinct would be severely judged if it were all placed on a level with his remark that the second servant adds nothing essential to the parable.

The chapter on the characteristics of the document is naturally of preponderating importance. Premising that it must have contained both narrative and discourse, the author proceeds to give a general description of its contents. The order cannot be determined, though the canonical writer would seem to have re-arranged to some extent so as to keep divisions of his subject together. The summary of contents is given pp. 126 *sq.* From viii. 4 to ix. 50 Luke follows his "*Markusquelle*," but throughout the great section ix. 51 to xviii. 14 depends almost entirely on his own peculiar source, which he occasionally alters and adds to. The determination of these new passages is exceedingly subjective, as when the initial discourse of chap. x. is ascribed to the Evangelist because it implies a mission to the Gentiles. Feine suggests that his document probably assumed another document somewhat older, the Synoptic, and that it only went over the same ground in order to correct or supplement it. A very important argument for the Jewish-Christian origin of the document is found in its striking agreements with the Epistle of James. Yet more important are the links with the Fourth Gospel, which Feine believes due to the common use of his authority by Luke and John. There would seem to be a slip here in the comparison of Luke xxi. 37 *sq.* with John viii. 1 *sq.*:—Dr Feine hardly accepts the Pericopè as Johannine! Some characteristic ideas of the writing are next formulated:—it suggested nothing of a Christian mission to the Gentiles; it did not however confine salvation to Israel; and so on, mostly points which have often been recognised as notes of St Luke's Gospel. The discourses have come to Luke through a medium which alters more than that through which Matthew read them. A list of linguistic peculiarities preludes the statement that the document was in Greek. The proof is confined to the fact that the whole style is steeped in the language of the LXX., while one or two counter-arguments are briefly met. The date is next determined as the period 66 to

70 A.D. A later date is excluded by the entire absence of allusions to conditions born of the catastrophe. The mass of the matter was accumulated much earlier. The Greek collection of discourses was in existence before the year 60, for Feine sees no reason to question Papias's statement about Matthew's work. The Greek *Logia*, he believes, underlies both the First and the Third Gospel. But it was subject to continual accretions, one resultant of which is, as we noted before, the document here under investigation. A date for the final form of the Synoptic *Grundschrift* is found (with Weiss) in the parenthesis *ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοείτω* (Matt. xxiv. 15, Mark xiii. 14), which implies that the fulfilment of the prophecy had already begun. This *Grundschrift*, it is further alleged, is enlarged into the Gospel of Mark by the same processes which developed the Lucan document out of the *Logia*. The *place* of composition is shown to be Jerusalem, which of course adds to the proof that the whole extended process was complete before the fatal year 70 A.D.

A brief account must suffice for the remaining two-fifths of the book, which maintain the same propositions for the first part of the Acts, establish the historical worth of the work thus recovered, and show its connection with the Evangelic writing, which was composed during the same period in the midst of the same community. Acts i.-xii. is a picture of the primitive Christian congregation at Jerusalem, with the Apostle Peter as protagonist. The sequel is continuous with the former treatise, the apparent discrepancy as to the Forty Days being explained away in a manner which admits of improvement, as suggested above. In the discussion of the Pentecost narrative I should very strongly dissent from the assumption that the "tongues" of Acts ii. are essentially different from the phenomenon referred to in other places; and if this position is justifiable—and it is really very hard to see why so many scholars have yielded to its surface difficulties—the various editings and document-distinguishings become in the main superfluous. But here I suppose one must bow respectfully to the majority, albeit with a muttered reservation. I must confess myself very often unconvinced by the reasoning which Dr Feine employs to discriminate the several elements of the text. Even Weiss's authority does not make plain what was the insuperable difficulty in the assembling of the 3000 disciples in the Temple and at home. I do not gather from the Acts that they ever assembled all together in one house, or, for matter of that, in the Temple. Then in ii. 43, if the interpolation is omitted, the "wonders and signs" are done within the Christian community, so that the miracle of ch. iii. remains the first *public* sign. The Theudas problem is solved by assigning v. 36 to the canonical editor, who is supposed capable of a chronological muddle, which his immaculate contemporary (?) Josephus

must never on any account be suspected of perpetrating. The Choice of the Seven is assigned to Luke himself, on grounds whose ultra-imaginative character space forbids me to bring out. There follows a very elaborate dichotomy of Stephen's speech, and the narrative concerning him. The two motives in the speech are well analysed, but their presence does not make one speech into two, and the discrepancies alleged to help the division are very subtle and very trifling. Suffice it to say that one narrative does, the other does not, bring in Saul. We turn with satisfaction to the common-sense with which the author argues at the close that the proofs of connection between Stephen's death and his Lord's, demonstrate nothing more than that the events of the Passion were constantly in the martyr's heart, as in the hearts of numberless members of the noble army since his day. How strange it is, after all, that critics, otherwise sane, can be found to support any different conclusion!

This must serve for a sketch of the case made out for Acts i.-xii., a case which is rather disappointing when compared with the more cogent demonstration brought to bear on the Gospel. It cannot be said that the *necessary* use of a document here is in any way proved, for the conditions are perfectly fulfilled by oral intercourse between Luke and members of the Jerusalem Church, while arguments from the assumed "tendency" of the writer will go the way of their kind with a large proportion of readers. Still, Dr Feine's thesis remains not improbable, especially if disburdened of features which, after all, are not necessary to it. The chapter on the historical value of the *Quellenschrift* recognises its accuracy in its main features, and generally in its details. Feine can admit no trace of editing a narrative concerning Peter to produce an artificial parallelism with the history of Paul. And he cannot understand the development of the primitive Christian Church except on the assumption of a direct divine energy therein, which could not fail to evince itself in miracle. The chapter is mainly devoted to showing that on these assumptions the history is recommended to us by ordinary probability. Sometimes, in small points, this probability is not allowed, and we cannot help realising the uncertainty of a criterion which will be applied differently by every critic. When, for instance, the recorded communism is pronounced to have been impossible in the early Church, and the credibility of the historian's statement is so far invalidated, we confess to be unable to see why. But we must hasten to close a review which it has been difficult to bring into short compass. The last chapter need not detain us, proving by verbal parallels and other ordinary methods the continuity of the two original documents and their common parentage. Nothing need be added in summing up. It will be evident, from all that has been said already,

that Dr Feine's book is an able and careful investigation which will claim consideration from all who follow him in the fascinating but slippery paths of document-hunting in the New Testament.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

### Friedrich Nitzsch's Dogmatics.

*Lehrbuch der Evangelischen Dogmatik.* Von Dr F. A. B. Nitzsch. Zweite Hälfte. Freiburg, 1892. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. The two halves together, 629 pp. 8vo, price 14s.

FRIEDRICH NITZSCH's contribution to the *Collection of Theological Manuals*, now publishing at Freiburg, in Baden, well maintains the reputation of the series. It carries out conscientiously the expressed aim of the whole collection,—to provide independent but scientific handbooks of the kind most useful to the Protestant students of theology in the German Universities. The word Protestant is used deliberately, because, by Evangelical Dogmatics a German means Protestant as opposed to Romanist, and not, as Evangelical so often implies in English, Biblical as opposed to Ritualistic or Rationalistic. As such a book should be, it is full of facts as well as inferences, is clear in arrangement and style, and is readable. Not so brilliant as Holtzmann's *Introduction to the New Testament*, nor so suggestive as Harnack's *History of Doctrine*, in the same series, Nitzsch's *Dogmatics* is as full of facts as either, and is a much more suitable book for beginners. Certainly it lacks freshness. All recent German Dogmatics, alas, seem to be of the scholastic type, the product of industry rather than genius, and standing in much need of a new spiritual impulse. In one respect, however, Nitzsch occupies a place all its own. The statements concerning present opinion in Germany upon Religion, Revelation, Inspiration, the Person and Work of Christ, are the completest I know; indeed, the historical surveys of doctrine are admirably and compactly done.

Of course, a system of doctrine is beyond brief review. All a reviewer can hope to do, in the space at his disposal, is to give some clue to the method of treatment, and at the same time to state his general impressions upon the fulfilment of the plan laid down.

"Evangelical Christian Dogmatics is the scientific presentation and defence of the contents of the Evangelical Christian faith or consciousness in the forms of thought and expression of the present age." This is Nitzsch's governing definition. Thus the persons addressed by Dogmatics are "the intelligent amongst believers, or the believers among the intelligent." Nitzsch has no intention of

endeavouring to formulate a science of religion valid for man as man, but only of interpreting Christianity to the Christian. On the other hand, Dogmatics is regarded by Nitzsch as wider than Biblical Theology, for it attempts to translate Biblical doctrine into the "forms of thought and expression of the present age." In Nitzsch's view, further, there are various sources of religious knowledge which Dogmatics should draw on. The supreme source of doctrinal knowledge is, in his view, the Christian consciousness of the expositor. Still, continues Nitzsch, whilst the source is the Christian consciousness, the norm for Evangelical Dogmatics is the Biblical record of revelation, and at the same time, the religious kernel of the creeds of the Reformation. There are, that is to say, in Nitzsch's view, various sources of doctrinal knowledge—viz., the individual Christian consciousness, the several Protestant creeds as judged by the individual Christian consciousness, and the Bible as similarly judged. The Christian consciousness is the supreme *fons et judex* of theological truth. Of course, it is difficult to see how passage is made from this subjective source to knowledge that is objective; but this is but saying that Nitzsch has not shaken himself free from the dominant view of all recent German doctrinal systems.

Elaborating his system, Nitzsch starts then from the Christian consciousness, which declares, he thinks, as its fundamental position, that "Jesus Christ is, through the realisation of the Kingdom of God in humanity, the permanent mediator of salvation." From such a position it follows that Christianity, the realisation of the Kingdom of God, is, first, Religion; second, Revelation; third, Protestant. Nitzsch, therefore, divides his system into two parts, the first of which deals with the principles of Evangelical Dogmatics (*Die Dogmatische Principienlehre*). In this part are treated, first, Religion; second, Revelation; third, Protestantism.

But it also follows, thinks Nitzsch, from the fundamental position of the Christian consciousness, that Christianity, the realisation of the Kingdom of God, is concerned, first, with Man; second, with God; and third, with Christ. Therefore, in his second part, in his Special Dogmatics (*Specielle Dogmatik*), Nitzsch adopts the unusual order of treatment—first, Anthropology; second, Theology; and third, Christology. Under Anthropology, Nitzsch treats both the doctrines of Man and of Sin; under Theology, the Doctrines of God, of Angels, and of the Creation and Preservation of the World; and under Christology, not only the Doctrines of the Person and Work of Christ, but the Doctrines of the Appropriation of Salvation by Man, of the Church and its Sacraments, and of the Last Things.

It is to be feared that this latest German system of doctrine is too German, in its postulates and its atmosphere, to be of much use

to the English-speaking peoples. Their standpoints and needs and writers and development are, if not unknown, ignored. Oh, for the theology which is one, international, catholic, prophetic, and apostolic! Still, this book of Nitzsch's is an excellent guide to the best German teaching on its subjects; and even those who know these subjects well, may have something to learn from the succinct and careful statement of recent German opinion on the Philosophy of Religion.

ALFRED CAVE.

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### The Witness of Hermas to the Four Gospels.

*By C. Taylor, D.D., Master of St John's College, Cambridge.*  
*London: C. J. Clay & Sons, Cambridge University Press*  
*Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane. 8vo, pp. viii. 148. Price 7s. 6d.*

THIS book is not a deliberate apologetic monograph, written, so to say, expressly "to order," but the natural outcome of a more formal investigation into another subject. Its value is enhanced by the fact that it is not so much an *ἔργον* as a *πάρεργον*,—"an incidental result (as the author tells us) of a detailed study of the *Shepherd* in relation to the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, for the purpose of deciding which of the two writings borrowed from the other." In the course of this comparison, as Dr Taylor was considering the words in the *Teaching*, "And your prayers, and your alms, and all that ye do, so do as ye have it in the Gospel of our Lord," he was led to anticipate the discovery of the word *Gospel*, under some disguise, in the work of Hermas, and he found it in the form of *ἀγγελία ἀγαθή*, *good tidings*. This phrase, however, would in itself have told no tale; but in the same paragraph of the *Shepherd* a very suggestive illustration occurs. The young, fair, gladsome form of the church, happy in the receipt of *good tidings*, is seen seated on a couch, "and the position is a firm one; for the couch has *four feet*, and standeth firmly; *for the world too is upheld by means of the four elements*." It occurred at once to Dr Taylor to interpret this passage in the light of the doctrine of Irenæus that in the nature of things there could be neither more nor fewer than four true Gospels, because "when God had made all things compounded and fitted together, the form of the Gospel too must needs have been well compounded and compacted." Dr Taylor felt persuaded that just as Irenæus thus inferred the tetrad of a complete Gospel from the tetrad of a complete universe, so Hermas also had previously the same idea in his mind when, in his chapter on the *good tidings*, he illustrated the four-footed couch, on which the church was so firmly set, by the fact that the world also was com-

pacted of four elements. And just as from Irenæus's "full, clear, and precise testimony" (to quote the words of Lightfoot) the case is irrefutably established that in his time there were four canonical Gospels, no fewer and no more, so also, as Dr Taylor contends, from Hermas the four Gospels are shown to have attained, in the metropolis of the empire, to their exclusive and canonical position a third of a century or more before Irenæus made his statement; while it is made apparent that, as Dr Taylor himself wrote in 1889, "Irenæus's analogies for the necessity of there being four Gospels must have been suggested by Hermas."

This is the thesis of the first and shortest and, as it seems to us, by far the strongest portion of the book. The argument in support of the thesis is well elaborated, and ancillary points are carefully brought into view. We are led on from seeing the Church, an aged woman (aged in the eternal purposes of God), sick and at the point of death (at the close of the old dispensation), sitting in an easy chair,—the same *καθέδρα* as occurs in the saying, "The scribes sit in Moses' seat." But she "vanisheth away"; and the chair is carried off to the east by four young men and is seen no more. In the next vision she appears standing, as if risen to life, and, save for her hair, less aged than before, reading a booklet wherein is a revelation not yet complete, and ordering six young men to build a tower,—that is, herself, the spiritual creation. In the third vision she is carried off to the tower, and is seen seated therein, young (but for her hair), joyous on account of the *good tidings*, resting on a bench which has four feet, and which has been carried to the tower by four young men. The revelation is now complete, and the bench is deposited in the tower as the permanent possession of the Church. With a fair show of reason, Dr Taylor asks:—If the chair is the seat of authority under the old dispensation, what can the new bench, which stands on four feet, signify but the fourfold gospel? This inference is confirmed by the structure of the tower. This is built four-square, is founded on four rows of stones, (the *στοίχοι* recalling the *στοιχεῖα*, the four elements of the world), and "the numbers of the stones in the four rows are 10, 25, 35, and 40 respectively, of which the decades are expressed in Greek by the initials of John, Cephas, Luke, and Matthew (Cephas being the authority for Mark's Gospel)." The argument that Irenæus owes a debt to Hermas is supported by Eusebius's testimony that Irenæus knew and received the writing of the *Shepherd*, quoting it as Scripture. Furthermore, Irenæus appears to refer to the four rows of stones in his four pillars of the Church; and his "Son of God" seated upon the four cherubim, corresponding to the four Gospels, reminds Dr Taylor of the Church (which, as the Shepherd explains to Hermas, represents the Son



of God as the Holy Spirit) seated on the four-footed bench. From these and other instances the author argues that either Irenæus made use of Hermas, or both borrowed from a common source which could not have been later than Hermas ; and it is significant that the *Shepherd* was written not in a corner, but in the metropolis of the world. Nor does the intrinsic worthlessness of the cosmico-spiritual argument of Irenæus and Hermas, drawn from the Pythagorean doctrine of numbers, and of the *tetractys* as the reputed root of all things, affect the residuum of fact—that the argument was suggested by the actual existence of four canonical Gospels, no fewer and no more.

If Dr Taylor's line of reasoning on this point does not lead to absolute conviction, it makes his conclusion, at any rate, extremely probable, except, of course, for those who are content to regard the four feet of the couch as simply symbolical of firmness and completeness in the Church's foundation.

We have said that this portion of the argument, taking the existence and canonicity of the four Gospels a generation further back than Irenæus, is the strongest section of the book. Certainly the second part, dealing with Hermas's quotations from the Gospels, does not carry with it the same potency of persuasion. But we must not push the author beyond his own limitations. The second part is designed not to be by itself a proof that Hermas used the four Gospels for his literary purpose, but "to be taken with and as verifications of the antecedent general proof that he accepted them." Now Bishop Lightfoot, in his volume of replies to the work entitled *Supernatural Religion*, affirmed that "the *Shepherd* of Hermas is equally devoid of citations from the Old Testament and the New." Gebhardt and Harnack in 1877 conceded that "Hermas was not unacquainted with the history told in the Synoptic Gospels, but whether he had read those three Gospels or not, is by no means obvious." They so far agree with Köstlin and Zahn as to admit that there are clearer traces of Mark than of the other Synoptists ; but consider that these are insufficient to assure us that Hermas had access to the second Gospel. As to the fourth Gospel, Westcott, Keim and Zahn have contended that Hermas had read it, or, if not the Gospel, the Johannine Epistles ; and Hilgenfeld has admitted a certain close kinship of Hermas with the Gospel, and that not seldom ; but *nulla certa vestigia* is his dictum, as well as the dictum of Holtzmann, and of Dr Sanday in his *Gospels in the Second Century*. But, mingled with this judgment that there are "no sure traces," there is a tendency on the part of such critics to grant that traces are not to be absolutely scouted. Hence Dr Taylor can legitimately claim that his argument is "not opposed but supplementary to the reasoning which has led some writers on Hermas and the

Gospels to an opposite conclusion." He maintains that those whose motto is *nulla certa vestigia* have failed to take into account the saying of Hermas—"For the world also is compacted of four elements;" a saying which, if his interpretation be correct, should (he naturally thinks) create a predisposition to see in the *Shepherd* surer references to the four Gospels. If, on the other hand, the saying is believed merely to illustrate, by admitted cosmical analogy, the firmness and completeness of the foundation on which the Church reposes, the predisposition is absent, and the alleged references to the Gospels must be taken on their own merits. But, if it be granted that the four elements imply the four Gospels, Dr Taylor has yet to cope with another difficulty; not the lack of express citation (for that would be nothing in Hermas, who cites no writing expressly except *Eldad and Modat*), but the peculiar latency of the alleged references, and their dislocation. Dr Taylor takes this difficulty by the horns, asserting that Hermas, habitually and of set purpose, disguises his quotations; that his method is, in fact, one not of quotation, but of subtle, recondite allusion; that he culls a phrase here, a word there, a figure elsewhere, and lightly and deftly weaves them in among his materials. These are not Dr Taylor's actual words, but the words he used in dealing with Hermas and the *Didachè* come to the same thing: "Hermas allegorises, he disintegrates, he amalgamates. He plays upon the sense or varies the form of a saying, he repeats its words in fresh combinations or replaces them by synonyms, but he will not cite a passage simply and in its entirety." In his present work Dr Taylor seeks to prove this assertion by looking to the author's manner of citing the Old Testament, and also the Epistle of James, which is acknowledged to be one of his particular repertoires by all except those who put this Epistle into the second century; and even they are compelled to admit either that the one writer had seen the other, or that both works had been written under similar circumstances and amid similar surroundings. Our space forbids us to enter into this argument: we must be content to refer our readers to pages 26-29, and to say that Dr Taylor seems to make out a very fair case for this fundamental and indispensable presupposition. The subtlety of Hermas's references not unfrequently entails upon Dr Taylor the necessity of turning upon him a reflected light from other authors, such as Clement of Rome, Barnabas, Justin Martyr and Irenæus, and from other writings, such as the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, so that in this light he may disclose references which would otherwise be too shadowy for clear illustrations. It is in the light of Irenæus, as we have seen, that he interprets Hermas's *four elements* as analogical to the four Gospels, and ἀγγελία ἀγαθή as equivalent to εὐαγγέλια. In the light of the *Teaching* he shows

how the "broken bread scattered in *grains* upon the mountains, and afterwards becoming one (the Church in its unity)," is changed by Hermas into *stones* scattered upon the twelve mountains (representing all the nations of the world, see page 26, and Isaiah ii. 2), and afterwards brought together into one jointless tower, the Church; and hence he is able to justify with considerable plausibility the references in Hermas to the phraseology of the parable of the *Sower*, though seeds are replaced by stones (page 40). In the light of Irenæus, the Sibylline Oracles and Hippolytus, he uncovers a reference in Hermas to the "many mansions" of the Father in the fourth Gospel (pages 120-126). Sometimes, as it appears to us, this method is pushed to an extreme, as when the ἐκπέτασις, "the outspreading," the sign of the Cross in the *Teaching*, is found to be reproduced in Hermas in the extension of the dragon upon the ground (ἐκτείνει εἰντὸ χαμαί), after it had *uplifted* itself like *dust* (compare the serpent of Eve) in vain assumption to heaven, but had fallen prostrate as the Shepherd unflinchingly drew near it "in the faith of the Lord." This is offered as a characteristic allusion to John iii. 14, "as Moses *lifted up the serpent* in the wilderness" (page 83). And so it is, we must presume to say, with not a few of the passages in which the author allows himself to detect echoes and references: even with the help of his pre-suppositions, the four elements and the habit of disguise, he does not in these cases convince us or even persuade us of probability. In not a few instances, indeed, it is quite otherwise. We are inclined to agree with him that Peter's confession may be referred to (perhaps in a way inconsistent with true exegesis) when Christ is made the rock on which the tower (the Church) is built (page 37), the Twelve Virgins (elsewhere representing the Holy Ghost, page 56) who have power to carry the only fit stones through the gate, being the Twelve Apostles, endowed with the Holy Spirit (page 39), and having the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Tempting likewise is the parallel between the *gate* (the Son of God) which "glistered more than the sun" (ἐστὶ λιβεν ὑπὲρ τὸν ἥλιον) and the "glistering" of Christ's garments at the Transfiguration, στίλβω being used in that place also (Mark ix. 3), and there alone in the New Testament, while the "shining *as the sun*" is found in Matthew's account (xvii. 2). We are drawn also towards the connexion between the words in Hermas "[Herms] praying, the heaven was opened," and the same words (with a different construction) in Luke iii. 21; the "beloved son," which occurs in the following verse of Luke, appearing in Hermas (Sim. v.) as the Son of the owner of the field (which is "the world," p. 44). Nor can it be denied that when the Shepherd is made to take Hermas to an Arcadian mountain top, and show him a great plain surrounded by

twelve mountains, which represent all the nations of the world (p. 36), there is a probable reminiscence of the temptation of our Lord. Echoes of the fourth Gospel also are reasonably discerned in the use of ἀληθινός, ἔργα θεοῦ, ἐρωτᾶν for "praying" to God (as John alone uses it), and λέντιον, the extremely rare word for a *girding cloth*, found neither in classical Greek nor in the Septuagint, and employed by John alone within the borders of the sacred writings. Other words and phrases such as "Believe the works," "Witnessing a witness," seem to claim a reference to the same Gospel. And the contexts in which some of these verbal echoes are found, remind us also, now and then, of John. Thus the context in Hermas of the Johannine λέντιον brings before us John xx. 5, which reads: "Stooping and looking in, he seeth the linen cloths *lying*, yet entered he not in. Simon Peter therefore also cometh . . . and beholdeth the linen clothes *lying*, and the napkin not *lying* with the linen cloths." Compare now what Hermas says when he is awaiting the apparition of the Church (Vis. iii. 1. 4, 5): "I see an ivory bench *lying*, and upon the bench was *lying* a linen bolster, and over it a linen towel (λέντιον). Seeing these *lying*, and no one in the place, I became affrighted." Λέντιον indeed is not used in its own Johannine setting (Jesus "took a towel and girded himself"); but in Sim. viii. 4, 1 of Hermas (according to the accepted reading), "Gird thyself and serve me" recalls to us not only the action of Jesus when he washed his disciples' feet, but also Luke xvii. 8, where the same Greek words are used. More distinct employment of Johannine words and ideas (in the usual disguised, yet discoverable, way) can be found, for example, in the case of the great willow covering hills and mountains, its *branches* representing the spiritual status of the people sheltered by it, some flourishing, some dry. This reminds us, first, of the vine of Psalm lxxx, 8-10. ["The vine] filled the land. The hills were covered with the shadow of it:" it reminds us, next, of the vine and the branches in the fourth Gospel, especially as, according to Hermas, the willow is the Son of God preached to the ends of the earth. Again, the angel of repentance in Hermas, after promising that the Twelve Virgins (i.e., the Holy Spirit) shall dwell with Hermas in order that he may learn all things and keep the commandments (pages 131, 132), goes away with the Shepherd and the Virgins, but promises to send them back again to abide in Hermas's house, and not depart from it. Here we have Jesus and the "other Comforter" (John xiv. 16), and the combination of "I am with you alway" with "I will send you another Comforter."

But with many of Dr Taylor's hidden references there is a sense of overstrainedness, so that they do not appear to furnish material even for cumulative argument. Thus εὐχρηστος, "of good use," is, in one passage, made to be a trace of Christ as "the Life," through

the early corruption of *Christus* into *Chrestus*, the subsequent clause running, "and serviceable unto the life;" and the scourge (*φραγέλλιον*), used by Christ in John ii. 15, is regarded as referred to in the scourge (*μάστιξ*) of the angel of retribution (Sim. vi. 2, 5), and in the plagues (*μάστιγας*) upon the double minded; while Dr Taylor thinks he sees in Hermas's phrase about "the new sound garment sent to the fuller and returned rent" (part of an exhortation to unity and peace of spirit), a reference not only to the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, but also, through the fuller, to the only place where this word is found in the New Testament, and where it is said that no "fuller on earth" could have so "whitened" the glistening garments of Jesus.

Opinions will undoubtedly vary as to the strength and weakness of the various textual props by which Dr Taylor seeks to support his argument. The sum of the whole matter seems to be this: the judgment upon the instances will depend on the prejudgment of the reader, the predisposition (not hastily to be condemned) to see, in the passages collected, "disguised references" to the Gospels. A mind entirely detached may still find other, and, in some cases, better explanations for the parallelisms. But, in our opinion, there is decidedly something to take account of in Dr Taylor's contentions; at any rate, he has made an interesting and suggestive contribution to the study of the subject, and for this he deserves our hearty thanks. The printer and publisher should also have a word of commendation for the beautiful workmanship which makes the book so pleasant to read and to handle.

JOHN MASSIE.

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### **Beiträge zur Organisation und Competenz der Päpstlichen Ketzergerichte.**

*Von Dr Henner. Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xii., 383. Price M. 8.30.*

THE object of this volume is not to furnish a general history of the inquisition from its first existence as an episcopal court through its subsequent development into a separate papal tribunal, or to trace the doings and fate of the inquisition in the several countries where it was established, but to give an account of a definite period in its annals; namely, the epoch from 1227 to 1590, when the jurisdiction over heretics, which had been for a long time virtually in the hands of papal legates, was once for all withdrawn from the episcopate, transferred to the Holy See, and constituted in a form, which, though modified and expanded by councils and subsequent popes, has continued in the main unaltered. Dr Henner enters with great

minuteness into all questions connected with the organism and legal capacity of the Pontifical judicature, and having made good use of the mass of literature bearing directly, and the collateral sources of information touching indirectly, on the "Holy Office," has produced a book full of interest. As a jurist, he treats his subject from the forensic point of view, dwelling chiefly on the legal character of the procedure of the inquisition, with the object of furnishing materials for a comparison with the lay administration of justice of the day. For a knowledge of the relation and interaction of canonical and civil law is indispensable in order to arrive at a right understanding and estimate of the nature and history of the inquisition. The book is written throughout in a calm impassive tone, with nothing to offend the most rigid of Protestants or the most bigoted of Ultramontanes.

In the first part of the book Dr Henner details the composition of the court, known under the appellation of "*Inquisitio hæreticæ pravitatis*." The principal officials were the inquisitors and the notary; among the minor officers were the assessors, the *crucesignati*, the jailors, the torturers, &c. The inquisitors, who also went by other names (*defensores fidei et ecclesiæ*, *summi fidei quæsitores*, &c.), presided over the deliberations. In general three were required to form a quorum, but the author quotes several authorities and cases to show that there was no legally fixed number, and that it was left dependent on circumstances. The qualifications for the office were: descent from parents that had never been suspected of heresy (omitted by Dr Henner), a knowledge of theology and of jurisprudence, a circumspect, discreet mind, a certain amount of craft, after the Apostolic model, as set forth in 2 Cor. xii. 16, "*Cum essem astutus dolo vos cepi*," and purity of life. The possession of holy orders, at all events of the diaconate, was taken for granted, and the age of admission was set down at forty, at which time of life man is supposed to be no longer swayed by impulse and passion, but to have become a rational creature. The conduct of the trial was regulated by rules laid down in papal bulls, decretals, edicts, propositions, and the resolutions of œcumenical as well as local councils, which had gradually grown into a code; but on many occasions the judge had to be guided by precedent and usage, and at all times a good deal was left to his individual discretion. A veritable storehouse of information on the laws enacted by ecclesiastical authority is to be found in the third part of Eymericus' "*Directorium Inquisitorum*," edited, with a commentary added to it, by Peyna. It is almost needless to add that the inquisitorial function was held in the very highest honour. Those were the days when the Papacy had reached its zenith of power, and the Head of the Church ruled supreme over bishops and church councils. The inquisitor, though

not necessarily nominated by the Head of the Church, derived his authority direct from the Pope, and was considered as his delegate, in token of which he was addressed by the title of "reverendissimus," and ranked, as a matter of fact, above the bishop. In support of his dignity, even the Holy Scriptures were appealed to: Christ was alleged to have given His sanction to the institution in the words: "pascere oves meas," and God Himself in pronouncing judgment on our first parents was held up as the Arch-inquisitor. The emoluments attached to the position, though somewhat uncertain, were probably considerable, and the holder of the office was entitled to very substantial privileges. He was not under the control of the ordinary ecclesiastical authorities, being directly accountable to the Pope; he was granted a full indulgence for life; his person and possessions were regarded as inviolable; he was under the immediate protection of the government of the country which permitted him to bear arms; and last, but not least, he was exempt from taxation, and enabled to get provisions at a price fixed by himself. The notary, who came next in importance, practised at first as well in secular as in spiritual courts, but in the end a special officer was appointed who had to confine himself to ecclesiastical business. His duty was to act as reporter: to take notes of the evidence, and to observe any suspicious appearances presented by the witnesses or by the accused brought up for trial. The rough draft, containing the interrogatories and answers, was then drawn up into a protocol, which in most cases owed more to the imagination and partisanship of the writer than to the facts of which it was the professed record. It also lay within the notary's province to make an inventory of the property of those that had been condemned, and to keep the "*libri penitentiarum*," in which a register was kept of the fines imposed upon heretics. Among the functionaries of less note, the only ones that call for remark are the *familiars*, or *crucesignati* (on account of the red cross which they wore on their upper garment). They formed a kind of spiritual police, and were bound by a sacred vow to hunt up all heretics, to bring them to trial, and to guard the inquisitors, whenever the necessity arose. Most of the business of the Holy Office was transacted in secret. The private examinations took place in any convenient location; frequently (no doubt for the prisoner's encouragement) in the room adjoining the torture chamber. The sentence was always given in public, and the spot selected for its deliverance was generally a church, for though "*ecclesia abhorret a sanguine*," the inquisitor was of course bound to be the mouthpiece of the secular judge. The choice of the locality for holding the sessions was left to the magistrate, who generally had special reasons for preferring one district to another. Causes might be heard at any

time (long vacations were then unknown), but the favourite days for the execution of heretics were Sundays and Saints' days, thus acting on the adage, "The better day, the better deed," and providing for the faithful a spectacle, combining the maximum of amusement with the greatest possible amount of edification.

In the second section of this academical treatise Dr Henner deals with the competency of the papal courts. The reader will find here a full discussion of the position held by the inquisitor with regard to the pope, the church council, and the bishop. In respect to the last named the testimony adduced shows pretty clearly that the judicial powers which in former days had been vested in the bishops, and rigorously exercised since the fourth century, were never formally taken from them. Their authority was indeed recognised by several of the popes and councils, and to avoid the possibility of friction between them and the papal legates, repeated attempts were made to establish a *modus vivendi* on the basis of co-operation. But in process of time, from causes which are easily understood, the pope's commissioner gained the upper hand, and the bishops lost all but a mere nominal influence, in the same way as they were gradually shorn of their episcopal autonomy.

Some interesting remarks occur under the heading of "Sachliche Zuständigkeit der Ketzengerichte." The term heterodoxy (originally the papal inquisition had been instituted for the persecution of the Albigenses, Waldenses, and those that refused to subscribe to the Church's dogmas), vague and elastic as it was, and admitting of an extended application, was not deemed sufficiently comprehensive to include all that might in any way incur the displeasure of the hierarchy. The word was therefore interpreted in a sense which brought within its meaning everything that by the wildest stretch of imagination could be said to militate against the teaching and the interests of the Church. Indictable offences were not merely spiritual delinquencies, such as actual or suspected heresy, apostacy and schism, blasphemy, improper use of the sacraments, shielding a heretic, but also indiscretions, using contemptuous expressions about the clergy, harbouring heretical books, and malpractices, *e.g.*, taking usury, indulging in magic, astrology, witchcraft (the credit of having instituted the prosecution against witches belongs to Innocent VIII.), and the many enchantments and evil devices which were taken as indications of an alliance with the evil one. Hoffmann counts 450 heresies, and quotes the saying "that if St Peter and St Paul had been living they would undoubtedly have been brought before the inquisition."

A dozen pages or so are devoted to the topic of the "Inquisition, and the secular powers." The principle on which the Church acted was: "what is yours is mine; what is mine is my own." The



Church being independent of the State could not tolerate any interference in matters spiritual ; at the same time its legislation being superior to that of human lawgivers, and having received paramount authority over the world, it demanded that the laws of the realm should, if necessary, be brought into conformity with ecclesiastical law, that matters spiritual should take precedence of affairs temporal, and that the State should yield implicit obedience to its behests. Dr Henner does not travel beyond the theory of his subject ; the observer is chiefly concerned in watching the working of the system, which varied in different countries according to time and circumstances. In the north of Europe and in England the papal inquisition never took root, in the south it flourished and was eradicated with difficulty. In some lands its introduction and proceedings met with violent opposition on the part of peoples and parliaments ; in others princes smiled on it and upheld it to the utmost. In Spain, where, under the bloody Torquemada, it was seen in its fullest development, it was as much a creation of an autocratic king as of a despotic Church. A. SCHWARTZ.

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**Texte und Untersuchungen, von O. von Gebhardt u.  
Ad. Harnack.**

*Bd. viii. Heft 4. Die griechische Uebersetzung des Apologeticus Tertullians.—Medicinisches aus der ältesten Kirchengeschichte. —Zwei Abhandlungen von Adolf Harnack. Leipzig: Hinrichs. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. iii. 152. Price M. 5.*

YET again it is Prof. Harnack himself who contributes a new part to his series bearing upon the history of "Ancient Christian Literature." And who but he can throw off, as it were, from his marvellously equipped workshop, such monographs, concentrating as they do even upon special points the whole wealth of information so far available ? Indeed, only one who works with such ease and rapidity could venture to discuss with such fulness matters at first sight lying so far off the main track of Church History as those treated in the present instalment.

The title of the first and shorter discussion is *The Greek Version of Tertullian's Apologeticus* ; and the line of thought is as follows :—To judge from the libraries at Cæsarea and Jerusalem, assumed as known through Eusebius' use of them, we are struck by the dearth of Latin Christian literature in the East at the beginning of the fourth century. Eusebius himself, great scholar as he was, was just capable at a pinch of translating extracts for his History. He

tells us, however, of a complete version of Tertullian's Apology, which he used more than once. Till recently this was to us a unique fact, serving only to suggest the comparative wealth of the Greek, as contrasted with the Latin Christians, whose one known masterpiece deemed worthy of translation was the great African Apology. But now we possess early Greek recensions of African Acts of Martyrdom. And as Tertullian seems to have had a hand in the composition of the Acts of Perpetua (Robinson, "Texts and Studies" I. 2. pp. 47 ff), and is known to have been bilingual in his habits, the idea arises that he may have had a hand in the Greek recension also. With fresh interest, accordingly, we must ask "What can we learn as to the Transmission, the Character, the Date, and the Author of the Greek *Apologeticus*?"

Traces of its existence are really confined to Eusebius, who, by the way, represents Tertullian rather as a Roman jurist of fame than as a Churchman; therein diverging from the Western tradition, and possibly actuated by anti-Montanist bias. Rufinus adds little or nothing to our knowledge. These points established, Harnack compares in parallel columns, and with critical notes, the Greek extracts with the original Latin; and then examines first the lesser and then the greater divergencies, reaching the following results in order:—(i.) The translator was not Tertullian but a pure Greek; Latinisms are absent, the Greek is flowing and correct. The stylistic and juristic precision of Tertullian, as well as his pregnancy and irony, have largely disappeared. (ii.) He had indeed historic instinct, but did not really master the Latin as the subject demanded, taking liberties to the detriment of the sense. Incidentally Harnack concludes that he also knew Pliny's Epistle to Trajan itself, that he was a man of philosophic culture, and that the motive for such a version would be less after than before A.D. 218. Who then can even be suggested as author? On one name known to us several considerations converge, and none seem to bar the way. Julius Africanus, φιλόσοφος Δίβυς (if we may trust Suidas), for long resident at Emmaus, a well-informed historian, acquainted with Latin, and even a translator according to later tradition, satisfies our available criteria, even down to a peculiar use of ἐπιστήμη (= *disciplina*, cf. οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι πάντες, ap. Routh p. 228). The possible bearing of the investigation upon the Greek recension of the *Acta Perpetuæ* is reserved for future study.

The second study is entitled *Medicinisches aus der ältesten Kirchengeschichte*, and is treated under five subdivisions; to wit, Christian Physicians, Dietetics and Therapeutics, Physiology and Psychology, Diseases, Exorcisms. It is, of course, quite out of the question to attempt to convey even a notion of the *data* collected under each heading—*curiosa* and *paradoxa*, to use our author's own words.

Special attention is called to Luke, the Antiochene physician, as having probably served to shield his profession from the full force of the suspicion more or less apt to arise among the Christians towards what seemed to many little better than a carnal expedient in presence of the Divine Omnipotence. On this subject Harnack believes that a real crisis must have come about in the course of the second century; and that here, as in the case of Dietetics — where the general sentiment gradually took a *media via* between dualistic Rigorism and worldly Free-living — an attitude of compromise, characteristic of nascent Catholicism all round, replaced the specific temper of primitive Christianity (p. 65 f.). Something analogous may be seen in the history of the Lord's Supper. As regards physiological topics, emphasis is laid on the surprising information and ingenuity displayed by several Christian writers, notably Clement and Tertullian; the latter of whom also comes in for high praise in a sphere where most have found most fault, that of Psychology. Harnack holds that he did good service in opposing the Platonic and Gnostic hyper-spiritualism. That here his insight was great and his criticism incisive, even though he may have gone too far with their Stoic antagonists in bluntly maintaining that the soul is corporeal, though as such *sui generis*. The related views of Athenagoras, Dionysius of Alexandria, Methodius, and Lactantius, are also given, but more briefly. The difficult topic of "Possession" is next handled, with some reference to modern ideas like "suggestion" — temperately, and on the whole, sympathetically. The latter feature is specially noticeable in the tribute paid to the healing power of the Gospel, particularly as mediated through a personality penetrated by a deep faith. In this connection occurs a most careful sketch of the conditions converging upon a great outburst throughout the empire about the end of the first century of the belief in demons; and a subtle analysis lays bare this as one effect of the decay of trust in the old deities. Points of contact with the gospels are cited; and then is traced the great development of Exorcism, both Ethnic and Christian, in the second century, which saw a certain tendency to Syncretism in the formulæ employed. Its high evidential value was recognised on all hands; witness the appeals made on both sides in Origen's *Contra Celsum*. Harnack freely admits the value of the ethical motive lying at the back of the language of Exorcism; while yet he is alive to the menace to general culture therein involved, and frankly reminds the Christian *laudator temporis acti* that the Past contains relative elements with which one must reckon.

But the moral of the whole discussion, highly special as it is in many parts, is eminently positive and practical. It is, in a word, that the Gospel itself is essentially a message of salvation, of healing.

It is redemption. Its climax is this, that the suffering of the Righteous One means healing in human history. Therewith a new ideal dawned on the world. "In place of prosaic and statutory morality, there came the vision of a personal, pure, and divine Life, which spent itself in service to the brethren, and had given itself willingly unto death." Henceforth religion for men throughout the limits of the empire began to mean a new thing. No longer the favour of heaven on those that were "whole"; but, on the contrary, grace, unlooked for and unmerited, coming with health for the sick. This is what affronted the *ancien régime* represented by Celsus. But it was just what the newer type of humbler humanity, oppressed with a crowd of newly realised but clamant needs, and seeking relief in the cult of Æsculapius, "the Saviour," "the Friend of man" (*φιλανθρωπότητος*), was ready to hail as a veritable Evangel. And such it proved itself, not only by its tender solicitude for the weak and morally outcast, but also by its sympathy for the needy bodies of men, in which the "Man of Sorrows" was Himself again discerned. The formal motive may not always have been as disinterested as we to-day could sanction. But it covered immense devotion, and the love purified in the course of service to the frailty of our mortality. Hence, says Harnack, we must more and more evangelise in the spirit of Mackay of Uganda. "For Christianity is medicinal religion. This is its strength; in many developments also its weakness."

VERNON BARTLET.

### The Faith and Life of the Early Church.

*An Introduction to Church History. By W. F. Slater, M.A., Biblical Tutor, Wesleyan College, Didsbury. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Pp. xii. 412. Price 7s.*

THE design of this book, as stated in its preface, is "to investigate those features of the history of Christianity in the first century which are of importance and interest at the present time." Accordingly, our review will follow the line of the author's emphasis, reserving a word or two towards the end for such points of detail as seem to merit passing notice. The title itself is happy, as awakening a sense of the solidarity of early Christianity, often sadly lacking in books otherwise scholarly: the one sufficient refutation of certain theories as to primitive worship and polity being the simple requirement that they be capable of fitting in to the *tout ensemble* of which they profess to reflect a part.

The introductory chapter frankly indicates the "occasional" interest hinted at in the preface. The author is deeply convinced

that modern Christianity and Churchmanship suffer from certain accretions, only partially discredited by the Reformation; and that there are tendencies abroad to-day making for mere re-action in favour of Patristic, and late Patristic, ideals, rather than for genuine reversion to original Christian type. This latter the sixteenth century desired indeed, but was unable to fully attain. Yet while anxious not to let tradition seem to speak with the mouth of history, he is also aware that Criticism itself needs criticism, and that to discredit a tradition is not *per se* a mark of historic truth. It is true that "modern criticism has not raised the value of the 'Fathers' of the third and fourth centuries as expositors of Scripture, as the inheritors of a pure Christian tradition, or as the unbiassed witnesses of a simple faith. The 'unanimous consent of the Fathers' can scarcely be claimed for a single dogma" (p. 10). But criticism too has not ceased to sow wild oats of its own. What, therefore, our author sets before him is to garner some of its genuine grain in this field, and to add here and there a little of his own gleanings. Mr Slater writes, then, as a man already convinced on the broad issue already referred to. But he does not therefore write as a partisan. For he is well aware of the existence of "personal prepossessions;" and unacknowledged bias is the really fatal thing.

"The Church of Jerusalem" is the first topic discussed. Under it comes "the extension of the Church on Jewish lines," a subject on which the book throughout is very strong, making a not altogether unneeded protest against the Anti-Tübingen tendency among some critics to minimise the continued vitality of the Jewish influence within the Church. This is due in part to the now well-established fact that the Greek spirit had even more to do with the genesis of "Catholicism" than had Judaism, either positively or negatively. But within the first century the Jewish influence was most real, though steadily on the wane from 70 A.D. at least. In its polemical form its force was doubtless shattered by the Apostle of the Gentiles. But even here we shall do well to distinguish, as Mr Slater insists, between the "Jerusalem area" of influence, and that which lay beyond. For the former, James' personality was determinative or typical, though probably as representing anything but the maximum of Judaic limitations; and "it is fairly certain that James would never take part" in a "mixed" *agapé*, whatever Peter may have done after his mistake at Antioch (p. 31 *n.*). This means much, and there is only too good reason for supposing that "when the Church in Jerusalem was dispersed, and its chief members fled to Pella, they still retained their Judaic proclivities, and some became leaders of the Ebionite opinion" (p. 24). Verily, the Fall of Jerusalem and the Temple was momentous in the

history of the Church; in Barnabas and Ignatius we can still hear the mutterings of the storm which was brewing within the Church before 70 A.D., but was dissipated in large measure by the political cyclone which so effectually cleared the air of Judea. But whilst Judaism and Christianity, as systems, soon came to the dividing of the ways, as a spirit and type of life the former lived on as a silent moulding influence, until it was absorbed by the growing power of Hellenism, which, on one side at least—its moralistic inability to assimilate the Pauline mysticism—had a certain affinity with Jewish legalism (*cf.* the *Two Ways* and *Apostolical Constitutions*, Bk. I.). Still it is in the sphere of polity that our author finds the greatest dependence. Thus he writes (p. 24): "According to Hegesippus, after the death of James, his kinsman Simon was elected bishop, and the twelve following bishops were all of the circumcision. The Church of Jerusalem, therefore, never lost its unity; but that unity, outwardly and formally, was Judaic. Those who refer to it as the type and warrant of uniformity in the Church should first consider what its principle of unity was." It was quite on different lines from that of the Pauline churches. But it is the general effect produced by Mr Slater's realistic picture of this early Jerusalem community, as given in the Acts, that is really most valuable when thought out to its full consequences. How strange to many ears to-day are sentences like these, but can they be disproved? "There is no positive evidence that any of the 'twelve' ever renounced the observance of Jewish rites" (p. 23). "It was in the nature of the case that there should be no ordinances of public worship distinctively Christian (at that time), for the believers continued to attend the services of the temple and to support its ritual. . . . The formation of a visible Church, apart from Judaism, was necessarily, from the standpoint of the primitive Jewish Christians, a *schism*." Such a conception was "far below the horizon of the Pentecostal Church" (p. 37 *f.*). Thus "the Church took form by the 'logic of facts.' The accretion of increasing numbers in the fraternal life of fellowship made it needful that management should be concentrated somewhere"—i.e., the management of the distinctively Christian aspects of the life of Messiah-trusting Jews, whose normal centre of worship was still the Jewish Temple, with its related rites; while as a special synagogue, like that of the *Libertini* for instance, they had certain distinctive features of their own. "If the Apostolic Church is to be a model for following times, surely it is emphatically so in this part of its method"—i.e., its gradual adjustment to developing conditions. "Violation of the genius of Apostolic Christianity" is here more serious than divergence from its actual arrangements, which had no special relation

to Christ further than concerns their inner norm, "Whosoever would become great among you shall be your deacon"—aptly quoted by Mr Slater as the motto for his chapter on the "First Offices of the Christian Church." But even he overlooks the significance of 1 Cor. xvi. 15 *ff.* (*cf.* 1 Thess. v. 12 *f.*), as showing that the ministry sometimes at least arose in "volunteer" fashion, and was ratified by the simple recognition of the "brotherhood," on the ground of the good work done. This is not the place to go into the details of a subject so complicated in some aspects, while so vitally simple in others; though one could wish that the "very instructive passage," 1 Pet. v. 1 *ff.*, had been more exactly appreciated than it seems to be, even by our author (p. 43 *n*<sup>2</sup>). Suffice it here to say that the chapter in question is most suggestive, and moves quite in the right atmosphere of Church life, which is the great thing.

It is this same insight into the genius of primitive Christianity that yields the simple and unstrained rendering of the Christian sacraments, which is one of the best features of this book. This is specially the case with the Eucharist, of which the following description occurs appositely at the end of a lucid summary of these earlier days (pp. 57 *ff.*):—"The Christians met where possible daily at a common meal, which took in time the name Agape, or Lovefeast. After supper, he who happened to preside handed round bread and wine, in memory of the death of the Lord, and prayers and thanksgivings (*εὐχαριστίαι*) were joined (*sic*) by all." Surely this view, that the Eucharist was but the culminating "moment" of the Agape, is that which alone fits into 1 Cor. xi. 20 *ff.*, as well as the Acts, and even much later notices. As to Baptism, our author, while in general objective in his exposition, seems for once to lapse into the traditional vein in dealing with infant baptism. We read at the end of the prior discussion, "All that is said of baptism in the New Testament, or in the writers of the first century, implies that the subjects who realised the benefits of salvation in connection with it were those who had intelligence to comply with its conditions." It is thus rather a surprise to turn over the page and find simply a quotation from Schaff, which at bottom rests on nothing better than loose analogies, ignoring several distinctive features of the New Covenant, or at least involving anachronism in the reflection attributed to the Apostolic age. Far nearer the truth in all likelihood is Mr Slater's own remark, when he says: "the opinion that baptism came in the place of circumcision seems to have been founded on Colossians ii. 11." For there is no positive evidence that the inference was drawn till after the apostolic age, when the Church was somewhat naturalised to a prolonged sojourn on earth as a continuous society, the visible mark of belonging to which in some sense, in the case of unconscious subjects may have been

gradually found in a sort of re-adapted baptism. That the factor which later operated so powerfully—fear for the lot of infants as partaking in original sin—was wholly absent at this period, seems shown by a passage towards the end of the Apology of Aristides, c. 140 (Syriac), as well as by Tertullian's protest against hurrying the innocent age to the water. Surely the time has come when we can look the evidence fair in the face, apart from *arrière pensée*, recognising that "primitive usage" and "later development" are not necessarily alternatives. Expediency is now, in fact, recognised by all as a legitimate factor in the problem. For even modern Baptists practise a Lord's Supper as modified by necessity, if unconscious, adjustment to developed requirements, as is the practice at least of those Pædo-Baptists, who have not forgotten that you cannot change the subject of baptism without changing its significance also.

Many other points occur, pregnant with suggestion, even where full proof is as yet lacking. Such are the nature of "unity" in a Church with James and Paul as moulding influences (p. 118, &c.); the state of the "Church" at Rome which can be reconciled with the highly tentative tone of the Jewish leaders in Acts xxviii. 22 (p. 127 f.); the specific reference to the Agape-Eucharist in Col. iii. 14 ff. (p. 139); and the manifold aspects of Judæo-Christianity scattered up and down the work. Indeed, a feature of the book is that it constantly sends the student back again to an old topic with fresh points of inquiry. It must now suffice to indicate the ground covered by the book as a whole. The first five chapters cover the period of the Acts, and include, besides those already named, "the New Departure: the inclusion of Gentiles," "the First Council and its results," "the Gospel in Asia." Chs. vii. and viii. deal with "the Close of the Apostolic Age," under the heads "Pauline Churches" and "Hebrew Churches," with the related Epistles. The sequel, "the Age after the Apostles," occupies ch. ix. Then come special chapters entitled "Jewish Christianity Heretical," "Early Christian Literature," "Baptism," "the Agapé and the Eucharist," "the Christhood of Jesus," "the Christ-party in Corinth," and "the Church," this last containing a vigorous reply to Mr Gore's position in "The Church and the Ministry," in which the analogy of the Judaisers is plied with much force.

Perhaps our author has erred in raising much the same questions time and again throughout his book, instead of devoting a single chapter to each main topic—e.g., Judæo-Christianity in all its forms. The *technique*, too, is not perfect, especially as regards the system of reference; and occasional errors creep in—e.g., for *Homilies* read *Recognitions* (p. 287), and for c. 69, read iii. 69 (p. 291, n<sup>o</sup>). But taken for what it professes to be, it is a thoroughly living and



stimulating book on fundamentally historical lines, and will amply repay perusal even by special students; while it is eminently fit to instruct the "intelligent layman," if he is careful not to lose himself in matters of detail. The author has a gift for putting issues in a pointed way, as when he represents the Romanist as asking those most concerned, "What authority decided that the development of creed and cultus should be limited to the first five centuries?" Or when (p. 45 f.) following Lightfoot's irrefutable discussion of the subject, he taxes Cyprian with "Neo-Christianity."

In conclusion, one may say that this book, unpretentious as it is, represents perhaps the first serious attempt made of recent years in England to gather together and make accessible to the public the stores of research now so rapidly accumulating here and on the Continent. Accordingly, it tends to fill a real gap. But the hope may perhaps be expressed that its author may find time to revise it carefully, with a view not only to increased accuracy but also to a certain simplification in its detail, tending to make it as readable as is its style. In any case, failing the possibility of a re-arrangement of the contents, a system of cross-references for closely related parts would be a distinct boon.

VERNON BARTLET.

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### Der Brief an die Epheser.

*Erläutert von Albert Klöpper, Dr and Prof. d. Theol. a. d. Univ. Königsberg, i. Pr. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 201. Price 4s. 6d.*

Two important exegetical treatises by this scholar—*Exegetisch-kritische Untersuchungen über den Zweiten Brief des Paulus an die Gemeinde zu Korinth*, published in 1869, and *Kommentar über den Kolosserbrief*, published in 1882—have proved his thorough equipment as a New Testament exegete, and his skill in treating the critical problems that have to be taken account of in every thorough discussion of apostolic literature. In dealing with the critical questions that have arisen in regard to the composition and authenticity of Colossians, Klöpper found it necessary, in consequence of the close connection between that epistle and the epistle to the Ephesians, to reserve much that could not be given in detail in a Commentary on Colossians, for a similar work on the other epistle. It is well known to all who have given any attention to the subject, that the one epistle cannot be fully treated without frequent reference to the other. The amount of matter common to both is considerable, and very intricate and involved questions arise in regard to the mutual

relations of the two epistles. This subject was exhaustively treated by Holtzmann, *Kritik der Epheser- und Kolosserbriefe, auf Grund einer Analyse ihres Verwandschaftsverhältnisses*, 1872, with the result that the Pauline authorship of a short Colossian epistle was recognised, which, however, in the form of our canonical epistle, had been largely interpolated by a later Paulinist, the author of the epistle to the Ephesians. In the very able treatise of Holtzmann we have, apart altogether from his own theoretical conclusions, abundant material admirably arranged and presented for forming our own estimate of the involved and difficult question of the mutual relations of these two epistles. Every commentator on these epistles has felt himself obliged to give his opinion as to the nature of the relation referred to, and to indicate, with reasons for his belief, whether that relation is such as to admit of the Pauline authorship of both, and if not, then which is Pauline, and in what way and with what intention the other was produced. When Klöpper in his *Commentary on Colossians* had to pronounce on certain points which involved the entertaining of certain views in regard to the twin epistle to the Ephesians, he was obliged to refer—just as Lightfoot felt it necessary to do—for detailed examination and proof to his discussion of these questions in his projected *Commentary on Ephesians*, which he has happily been able to carry out in the publication now under review.

It is perhaps just what might have been expected, that in a work having such a motive originating it, the exegetical and doctrinal annotations on the text should be executed in a somewhat perfunctory manner, should be for the most part rather commonplace and upon the whole inadequate, while the immediate interest of the readers, as well as evidently that of the writer, is concentrated upon the introduction which deals with matters of historical and literary criticism. At the same time there are certain qualities in the *Commentary*, resulting from the thorough critical equipment of the author, which render it, as we shall see, really helpful and informing upon particular points. It is, however, mainly in regard to matters of introduction that the notes of the *Commentary* are really valuable. On particular words—such as: *ἐπουράνια* (i. 3; ii. 6; iii. 10; vi. 12), *οἰκονομία* (i. 10; iii. 2), *περιποίησις* (i. 14), *πλήρωμα* (i. 23; iii. 19), *σῶσθέντες* (ii. 5, 8), *ξένος* (ii. 12, 19), *ποιμένες* (iv. 11), *μυστήριον* (v. 29), *σβέννυμι* (vi. 16), *πράσσω* (vi. 21),—which he regards as affording materials for the proof of the unauthenticity of the epistle, as being used in a sense different from that in which they are used in undoubtedly genuine epistles of Paul, we have careful notes, embodying thorough investigations often of a stimulating and suggestive character. But whatever in the epistle does not lend itself to the support of the theme of the introduction is passed over with a few

simple, sober, commonplace remarks. Thus the Commentary, in so far as it is of any consequence, must be regarded as an extension of the introduction, affording detailed and minute contributions to the critical theories as to the authorship, composition, and purpose of the epistle. What is entitled Introduction is given in a very attractive and interesting form in the very reasonable compass of thirty-five pages. In five chapters the author treats respectively of The Destination, The Authenticity, The Purpose, The Means for Effecting the Purpose, and The Date of the Epistle.

I. In the first chapter our author considers under three heads what can be said for the Ephesian, Laodicean, and Encyclical theories. He regards the style of address and the whole manner of the writer as altogether unsuited to a community like that of Ephesus, which he holds to have been characteristically Jewish-Christian in its membership. Nor can he accept the idea of its identity with the Laodicean epistle mentioned in Col. iv. 16, because its doctrinal material is distinctly not the sort of teaching that could have been offered to churches in danger of falling into such heretical aberrations as those against which the Colossians had been warned. Regarding with favour the circular letter theory, he describes the epistle as a catholicized rendering of the Colossian epistle, composed with special reference to the peculiarities of the Paulo-Petrine communities of Asia Minor. And here Klöpfer takes occasion to note how different from the usual Pauline style of address is a circular of this sort so general in its terms and indeterminate as to its destination.

II. In discussing the question of authenticity, Klöpfer deals first of all with the vocabulary and literary style of the epistle, and then with the distinctive character of its doctrinal contents. He recognises frankly that it claims directly and indirectly to be the work of Paul; yet the number of words peculiar to the epistle not found elsewhere in the Bible (18), of words not found elsewhere in the New Testament (16), and of words not found in the acknowledged writings of Paul (*i.e.*, the epistles commonly assigned to him with exception of the Pastoral epistles) which number 52, raises a question as to whether it be the writing of the apostle or not. Admitting that mere *hapax legomena* cannot afford sufficient proof of the unauthenticity of a document, Klöpfer places more weight upon the large number of phrases used in our epistle in a peculiar sense, of which he gives a list that fills a page. The style, too, he regards as essentially different from that of Paul as seen even in the epistle to the Colossians. It is luxurious and flowing and overladen, whereas the style of Paul is terse, simple, and pointed. Yet more important, according to Klöpfer, is the evidence derivable from an examination of the doctrinal system represented in the epistle. He points out

what seems to him important departures from Pauline doctrine, especially in the way in which the doctrine of the atonement and that of the Church is stated. In both cases we feel certain that his exegesis is at fault. He maintains that, whereas Paul ascribes the origination of salvation to God in and through Christ, the author of Ephesians traces it back to the independent initiative of Christ; contrasting Eph. i. 23; iv. 13 with Col. ii. 10, and Eph. ii. 14 with Col. i. 20; Eph. ii. 16 with Col. i. 20, 21, and 2 Cor. v. 13, 19. He also lays stress upon what he regards as a peculiar development given to doctrines which are themselves undoubtedly Pauline, referring to the restatement of the doctrine of man's universal sinfulness in Eph. ii. 11-13, which had been stated in a purely Pauline manner before in verses 1-5. The conclusion reached is that Paul was not himself the writer of the epistle, but that it was the work of one of his school at a time when the apostle's life was closed.

III. Our author gives special prominence to, and treats at length of, the question, What motive led the writer of our epistle to enter upon his task? He thinks it evident that doctrines of a heterogeneous character, and especially of an Antinomian tendency, threatened the communities addressed (iv. 20-22), and he labours to show that even in the religio-didactic part of the epistle the libertine views directly combated in the ethical portion are distinctly present to the mind of the writer. This theory of the presence throughout of threatened libertine heresies he seeks elaborately to prove by finding allusions to such, or at least the presentation of antidotes against them, in each of the three chapters forming the doctrinal part of the epistle. Then, alongside of this there is an unmistakable irenical purpose in the persistent preaching of the doctrine of the perfect unity of Christians on that higher platform where there is neither Jew nor Greek. The purpose of the writer of Ephesians has this in common with the author of Colossians, that he, just as well as Paul, seeks to substitute for the multitudinous, ideal supernatural mediators of the Jewish and Gentile religious systems the one messianic, kingly person of Christ, who through His ministers (apostles and prophets) brings all into a grand spiritual unity. Between the two writers, however, there is this distinction, that the author of Colossians is combating a definite Judaistic philosophy which threatened the Colossian community as a present danger, and so writes in a pointed and precise manner, whereas the author of Ephesians deals with scattered communities in which a heretical tendency of a somewhat indeterminate character has been cropping up in varying forms and with varying degrees of success, and so his treatment is necessarily more vague and indefinite and loose.

IV. The question is now proposed as to the method pursued by the writer of Ephesians having such a purpose before him. It was

natural that, having in view the performance of a task similar to that of Paul, when he wrote to the Colossians, he should make that epistle in some measure the model according to which he would fashion his own work. There were certain parts of that epistle unsuitable for his purpose (i. 1, 8; iv. 10-17; i. 6-8; ii. 5; i. 15-19; ii. 18), but even from the direct polemic of Paul in Col. ii. against the Colossians heresy, the author of Ephesians caught up certain ideas which in another form and for another purpose he used (ii. 15, iv. 8). Leaving these parts aside, the writer of Ephesians used with the greatest freedom all the rest of the Pauline epistles, expanding and paraphrasing the terse utterances of the apostle, extending Col. i. 24-29 into Eph. iii. 2-12, working out the ideas suggested by the *οἰκονομία* and *μυστήριον* of Col. i. 25, 26, in connection with his own particular point of view in Eph. i. 9, 10, &c. As for those sections in Ephesians that have nothing corresponding to them in Colossians, of which Klöpper with praiseworthy candour gives a pretty complete list (the ideas *ἐκλεκτοί*, *υἰοθεσία*, *πρόθεσις*, &c., &c.), he makes no attempt to account for them, even though it is quite evident that many of them are wrought out with a dialectic power quite equal to that of the writer of Colossians, and would require us to postulate the existence of an otherwise unknown thinker with a genius quite equal to that of the brilliant apostle of the Gentiles.

V. Proceeding to deal with the date of the epistle, Klöpper most ingeniously seeks to utilize the reference to the apostle's tribulations (iii. 15), and the request for the prayers on the apostle's behalf (vi. 18-20), which have commonly been supposed to refer to the imprisonment of Paul at the time he was writing the epistle, so as to adapt them to his theory that the epistle was written after the apostle's death. In consequence of Paul's martyrdom those Gentile Christians, who had viewed him as their champion, were discouraged, and, having lost him who was their bond of union, were getting broken up. Nothing can help them but the opening of the apostle's mouth boldly, one of his literary successors speaking in his name those great truths which he had been wont to proclaim as the apostle of the Gentiles. He wrote while yet the apostle's presence and style were very familiar in the Christian communities. It was not a time of actual persecution, yet the days were evil and called for circumspect walking (v. 15, 16). It was not Montanism that inspired our epistle, for it looks forward through ages to come instead of speaking of a speedy catastrophe, and the prophets referred to are not the fanatical soothsayers of the Kataphrygians. In regard to church organisation the ruling and teaching offices had been bound more closely together, but there is no trace of the episcopate as rising above the presbyterate, or of any hierarchical constitution of

the Church. And though we have no mention of the miraculous charisms of the apostolic church, we cannot conclude that they had ceased, but only that the purpose of the writer did not lead him to mention them. In consideration of all these particulars Klöpfer is inclined to fix the date of our epistle not later than two or three decades after the death of Paul. He considers that 1st Peter is later than and dependent upon Ephesians, inasmuch as in it there is no longer any trace of that separation of Jew and Gentile which it was a main object of Ephesians finally to abolish, and references are made to widespread persecutions which probably fix its date at the period of Trajan. In vocabulary Hebrews and Ephesians are undoubtedly mutually related, but owing to the uncertainty of the date of Hebrews, it will not matter for our present purpose whether it be regarded as earlier or later than the other. Ephesians was certainly known to and is used by Clement of Rome (Ep. 93-97).

Turning, in conclusion, to the question of destination, which, in the beginning of the introduction, on the supposition of the Pauline authorship he had left *in suspensio*, we are interested to find that on the ground of the non-Pauline authorship Klöpfer is inclined to accept the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ as genuine. That the writer meant his epistle for a wider circle of readers is, he thinks, no reason why he may not have formally addressed it to the saints at Ephesus. It was only when a more critical stage had been reached that the question would arise, How could Paul have written to the members of that Church whom he had known so well in the style used in the epistle purporting to be from his pen? When scholars began to use their critical faculties, then a critical edition, still holding by the Pauline authorship, struck out the ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, and its editors sought elaborately to explain the meaning of τοῖς οὖσι in a non-natural sense; whereas in all the popular editions the original reading which alone was intelligible persistently maintained its place.

It must be evident to every one who has followed the full account we have given of the contents of this work, that we have here to do with a treatise of first importance in so far as the critical questions about the composition and authorship of Ephesians are concerned. Even where his conclusions are such as cannot be entertained, in making his way to these conclusions, he supplies materials which no scholar seeking to grapple with the difficulties should overlook. His line of thought is generally fresh and original, and with the exception of one or two very general references to Holtzmann and Pfeiderer, we have no mention of German authors throughout the Introduction, not because he is not thoroughly acquainted with them, but because as a well equipped scholar, wearing his learning lightly, he prefers to pursue his own way. Upon the whole, since the appearance of Holtzmann's *Kritik* in 1872, we have had nothing on

the Ephesians so deserving and requiring to be taken account of in any critical examination of the epistle, unless it be the able papers of Von Soden in the *Jahrbücher für Prot. Theol.*, 1887, which go more into detail, but do not cover the field in the same thorough manner.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

### Praktische Theologie.

Von Dr E. Chr. Achelis, ord. Professor der Theologie an der Universität Marburg. Zweiter Band. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xx. 540. Price M. 11.

DR ACHELIS has now completed his remarkably fresh and effective exposition of Practical Theology. The principle on which he proceeds, it will be remembered, is that Practical Theology is simply the application of the commonly recognised predicates of the Church: holiness, unity, and universality. The volume in hand, which deals with the social aims of the Church, is at the same time the severest test and the best illustration of the value of this principle. And, on the whole, Dr Achelis is entitled to claim that he has found a principle which has the merit of supplying a simple and serviceable basis for grouping and discussing the topics and problems of Practical Theology. If the predicates of the Church give an adequate account of the aims and work of the Church, the author has established his theory. He finds it needful, however, to modify his interpretation of the predicate of universality by regarding the Church and the congregation as essentially the same. "The particular congregation is the *Mikroekklesia*; the organic union of the *Mikroekklisiai* is the Church, the *Makroekklesia*; and in nothing essential does the one differ from the other." This modification enables him to treat liturgies and public worship in a very practical way, and in particular to find for preaching its appropriate place as the central part of evangelical worship. The discussion of the various questions connected with liturgies is very clear and able, and will be found by all who are interested in the improvement of public worship to be both interesting and suggestive. Here, as throughout the work, very concise and yet complete historical statements are given, which cannot fail to be helpful. Dr Achelis calls special attention to Calvin's form of service as including the singing of the Decalogue, and the recitation of the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed. His criticism of the Book of Common Prayer, though it will surprise and perhaps pain many, has in it too much truth. He says:—"No trace is to be found in it of any liturgical principle what-

ever; it is a conglomerate of Scripture readings, hymns, and prayers, without any psychological progress, . . . a heaping up of prayers and Bible readings without principle." The attitude of Dr Achelis toward the æsthetic in public worship needs guarding. All will agree that a style of music which silences the great body of worshippers, and throws the service of praise on a few specially trained and qualified persons, cannot but tend to a deterioration of the idea of Christian worship. But there is in the opposite extreme no little danger of a familiarity which, by breeding irreverence, is equally destructive of that idea. Dr Achelis gives also most interesting accounts and admirable historic summaries of the Inner Mission, the Gustav-Adolf-Verein, and the Missionary Societies. The work of the Inner Mission he cordially appreciates, but he has sorrowfully to admit that it is marred by what in this country we should have to characterise as Plymouthism. One can easily understand why, even at the expense of his theory, Dr Achelis should think it best not to disturb the arrangement by which Missions to the Jews and the Heathen are left to the care of Societies working outside, though in close connection with the Church. But why should he think it needful to reduce the Missions carried on by Churches outside Germany to the same level, by representing these Church-Missions as practically Society-Missions? He is disposed to argue that State Churches can naturally carry on such Missions only through voluntary associations, and to explain the exception in the case of the Church of Scotland as due to competition with the Free Church! The least satisfactory part of Dr Achelis' work, to my thinking, is that which deals with Church Government. He calmly says it is for the most part a matter of indifference who rules the Church, or by whom its rulers are appointed, provided only it is so governed that room is found for the operation of the Word of God, and that the Church can build itself up in accordance with its divine call. To my thinking, government is one of the ways of building up the Church. On the view of government advocated by Dr Achelis, it is easy to see why Germany shows such a development of free associations to carry on outside the Church what is properly the work of the Church.

JAMES ROBERTSON.



### **The Old Testament in the Jewish Church.**

*A Course of Lectures on Biblical Criticism. By W. Robertson Smith. Second Edition, revised and much enlarged. London and Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1892. 8vo, pp. xiv. 458. Price 10s. 6d.*

THESE lectures, it will be remembered, were an appeal from the ecclesiastical courts to the Christian laity of our land on behalf of the new criticism. Their effect was striking. With a rare wealth of detail, they were lucid and firm; there was a mass of learning, precise and severe, but it glowed with the passionate conviction of an advocate who has fought and suffered on its behalf. Not that there was anything unduly personal in the lectures: to read them now, and to remember that they were delivered at a time when the personal interests of the author were alone at issue, is to be filled with admiration at the way in which these personal interests are absolutely lost in devotion to the cause itself. Most noteworthy, however, was their strong evangelical consciousness. Their chief aim was not scientific, but religious: "it is more important to understand the method of God's grace in Israel than to settle when a particular book was written" (Lect. XI.). They were the appeal of a Christian to Christians: "We can draw near to God in every act of prayer in the heavenly sanctuary, through the new and living way which Jesus has consecrated in His blood" (Lect. VIII.). "The death and resurrection of our Saviour are the supreme proof of the spiritual truths of Christianity" (Lect. X.). They avowed the principles and methods of the Reformation (see Lect. I.). And they were full of the consciousness that the theory of the Old Testament, which they substituted for the traditions of the Church, was a real contribution to Christian apologetic. While they thus fought traditionalism in the interests of spiritual religion, they were outspoken against rationalism. They denied that prophecy was a mere return to the truths of natural religion: they proved it unique in history, and vindicated its character as a positive and a true revelation from God.

These strong religious and evangelical characteristics of the Lectures are preserved and even emphasised in this new edition. During the intervening years Professor Smith has been engaged in very wide researches in Semitic religion: therefore his old testimony to the uniqueness of the religion of the prophets, and the impossibility of explaining it by natural causes comes now with greatly increased authority. Perhaps now, also, upon this repeated and undiminished expression of it, all men will see the sincerity

and consistency of Professor Smith's loyalty to the principles and methods of the Reformers. That he still feels his obligation to fight traditionalists from the standpoint of these principles is evident in what is now one of the most stirring passages of his volume—a new appeal (unfortunately too long for quotation) to those who, in the question of the text of Scripture, refuse to enter upon the examination of internal evidence, because they allege the latter to be uncertain or delusive. This passage is as eloquent and forcible as if spoken in the glow of the original controversy (pp. 127-129).

All this will show that the enlargement of these Lectures does not consist of mere additions of instances and proofs. New life has been breathed into the whole. A comparison of the two editions reveals a careful revision of the style, even in Lectures where no substantial change has been made. Superfluous sentences have been cut off, and the few ambiguous ones made decisive (*e.g.*, 79, old ed. 91). Dates have been inserted (*e.g.*, 85, old ed. 99). Sometimes whole paragraphs have been reset, and explanations lengthened or cleared up by references (*e.g.*, 94, 95, old ed. 108). Where a large addition has been made, as in the case of the historical books in Lecture V., rendering necessary a re-arrangement of subsequent paragraphs, this has been carefully seen to (*cf.* 234, 235 with pp. 218, 219 old ed.). So thorough has the revision been, and so fully have the additions been written in the spirit of the original, that but for the preface it would be impossible for a critic of many years hence to distinguish what belonged to the new edition (*e.g.*, the insertion of "to-day" on 108, *cf.* 118 of old ed.). The chief changes have been large additions to the sections on the historical books in Lecture V.; the throwing of the whole discussion of the Canon into Lecture VI.; the re-writing of Lecture VII. on the Psalter; "considerable changes" on Lecture XI. on the Pentateuch; and a new Lecture on the Hexateuch.

In his treatment of the Canon, Professor Smith has made no changes beyond qualifying a few phrases and adding a paragraph on the "Former Prophets." In this paragraph he "apprehends that the association of histories and prophecies in one collection is older than the designation Former and Latter Prophets," and rests not on a tradition that prophets were the authors of the historical books, but on a correct perception that the histories formed a necessary part of the record of the prophets' work. They were edited by men who stood under the influence of the great prophets. Professor Smith still holds that one cannot be sure of our Lord's authority for more than Law, Prophets, and Psalms as canonical scripture. This is based on a correct exegesis of Luke xxiv. 44; and no doubt Ecclesiastes, Canticles, and Esther are not quoted in the New Testament, and doubts of them were not settled till a

late date. But the reference in Matthew xxiii. 35, to which Professor Smith does not allude; and the fact that by the end of the first century A.D. we have witnesses to the contents of the Canon as twenty-two books or twenty-four, counting Ruth and Lamentations separately; and the feeling prevalent (as in Josephus) that the Canon was already ancient,—surely justify the opinion that the Old Testament was, in our Lord's day, of the contents and form in which we now have it (in our Hebrew Bibles). At the same time, there is not enough of evidence that the Old Testament Canon was practically closed by the date Ryle and even Cornill fix—100 B.C. That is surely a little too early.

As to the historical books. In his previous edition, while treating of the LXX., Professor Smith had adduced some evidence that the historical books were compiled from materials of different value, and in Lecture VIII., and in a note to that lecture, he had dealt with the special case of the trustworthiness of the Book of Chronicles as contrasted with the Book of Kings. All this he has now thrown together as an enlargement of Lecture V.; he has increased his evidences; he has examined a number of narratives in Judges-Kings with much greater detail, to the definite conclusion that they contain fluctuating and contradictory elements; and he has drawn out a much fuller case against Chronicles. While Kings has virtually the character of contemporary evidence, Chronicles "is exactly in the style of the Jewish Midrash: it is not history but Haggada, moralising romance"—a conclusion equivalent to denying that the Canon has equal authority throughout—a denial that falls in with Professor Smith's opinion that the precise limits of the Canon were never fixed by any authority, and that it is not binding on the Christian conscience to receive the Book of Chronicles. Of all the new statements of this edition, this one will probably excite most attention, for it is most directly aimed at a prevalent and definite belief of the Church. It is put with a clearness, and supported by an amount of evidence that did not appear in the first edition. Yet it was all virtually there; sufficient passages were quoted in illustration of it.

Before leaving this part of the volume, one of the very few omissions which Professor Smith has made, may be noticed. He has withdrawn the version he suggested for Proverbs xxx. 15, "the daughters of the horseleech," by which he turned it into a title (*cf.* p. 111 with 122 of old ed.)

In Lecture VII. on the Psalter, the results of the author's article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* have been incorporated. But the new thing is, of course, his treatment of Professor Cheyne's theory of Maccabean Psalms in the second Psalter (42-83). In his article Professor Smith had dated the completion of this Psalter before the

end of the Persian period (330 B.C.). His reasons were that the titles of the Psalms show divisions of the temple choir, and names for them which were obsolete by the time of the Chronicler, that the temper of the Psalms, insisting upon the righteousness of Israel, suits the Persian period, and that their historical allusions fit the reign of Artaxerxes III. (Ochus), about 350 B.C. Cheyne, on the other hand, assigns out of the second Psalter the following to the Maccabean age,—44, 60, 61, 63, 74, 79, 83. He does not deny that the Elohist Psalter—as Psalms 42-83 are called, from their having been so revised that Elohim is substituted for Jehovah—was closed, and that the term “the Sons of Korah” had become obsolete before the Maccabean age. But he regards the Maccabean Psalms as insertions, and thinks that they were “elohised” to suit their new context. In answer, Professor Smith now points out that in that case there must also have been invented for the Psalms, titles (44 Korah, 74 and 79 Asaph) which had no longer any meaning. This, he holds, is too complicated a hypothesis, to be accepted without further examination. If the last editor incorporated contemporary Psalms in the body of the Psalter, his motive must have been liturgical—that is, he must have designed them to be in sequence with other pieces. It is highly probable such insertions were made—*e.g.*, 66 and 67, may have been added to follow 65, as a group of songs for presentation of firstfruits at the Passover. But, as these insertions are by the Elohist editor, they prove nothing against the improbability of the insertion of Maccabean Psalms under obsolete titles. As to the individual Psalms assigned by Cheyne to the Maccabean age, Professor Smith holds that a Maccabean date is impossible for Ps. 60, because of the repetition of vv. 7-14 in Psalm 108 with Elohist peculiarities; Ps. 61 and 64 were assigned to the Hasmonean period because of their mention of a king; but Professor Smith points out that this occurs only in the last verses, which are unnatural and merely liturgical additions. There remain 44, 74, 79, 83. Professor Smith attempts to show that the first three reflect a persecution and captivity of the Jews at the hands of Artaxerxes Ochus, and thinks that 83 suits the Persian period better than the Greek. Of the Psalms which Cheyne assigns to the pre-Maccabean era, Professor Smith judges the situation invented for 42, 43 to be fanciful; finds it hard to believe that 45 and 72 speak of foreign monarchs; does not think that 72 requires any historic background, but makes it a “prayer for the re-establishment of the Davidic dynasty under a Messianic king, according to prophecy,” assigns it with 68 to the time after the Persian overthrow; and thus, of all the Psalms which speak of a king, leaves only 45 to the days of the old kingdom. Canon Cheyne has since replied (in the *Expositor* for August) that if, as Professor Smith

believes, the Elohist Psalter must have been closed before the Maccabean era, this is a sufficient answer to his argument for the presence in Ps. 40-89 of Maccabean Psalms, but he is not yet convinced that it must; and while he would like to believe that 44, 74, and 79 belong to the reign of Artaxerxes III., he thinks Professor Smith, in order to show that they do, has had to distort the few records of that time which we possess. He does not admit a pre-exilic date for 45, or the general reference for 72.

It is evident that Professor Smith has been led to suppose the situation he describes under Artaxerxes III. by the necessity, which his opinion of the close of the Elohist Psalter before the Greek era has laid upon him, and that that situation is largely only a conjecture. Yet the uncertainty of the latter should not be allowed to infect our judgment of his main position, that the Elohist Psalter was closed before the Greek era. It is true that he affirms insertions in it from the Hasmonean age—the last verses of 61 and 63—because of their allusions to a king; but these are fragments; they are not granted titles like 44, 74, 79,—titles which, as he points out, are obsolete, nor does Professor Cheyne meet this point about the obsolete titles. And the point seems to me strengthened by the existence of the supplement to the Elohist Psalter of Psalms 84-89, which have not undergone the Elohist redaction; surely it would have been more natural to insert among them the Maccabean additions, if there were any such. On the whole, therefore, Professor Smith (apart from the situation he supposes under Artaxerxes III.) has the best of the argument, but the caution of both critics is significant of the great uncertainty of the matter.

As to the Third Collection, Ps. 90-150, Professor Smith agrees with many critics in assigning it to the early Maccabean age. The presence in it of the Songs of Degrees, which are older than the close of the Elohist Psalter, he explains by the fact that they were hymns of the pilgrim laity, and not of the Temple ministers. But he omits altogether the important question raised by Ps. 137, which Professor Cheyne, upon an argument that seems to me capable of justifying almost any date for any Psalm, takes from its obvious origin in the exile, and assigns as a "dramatic lyric" to a much later date. Of the earlier collections, Ps. 3-41, and the Davidic Psalms in 42-83, Professor Smith does not doubt that, while they take their main colour from the age after the exile, they contain many exilic and some pre-exilic pieces. In face of the evident unfitness of many of the titles which assign Psalms to David, he rightly says that the only question which is now at issue is, whether a substantial element of this part of the Psalter must not be assigned to David, just because of the tradition that so

many Psalms were his. But he answers this question in the negative, and accounts for David's connection with the Psalter by his musical and not by his literary repute. He is careful, however, to show that no real religious interests suffer by the transference of so many Psalms from the incidents of an individual life, which they often evidently do not suit, to the experience of the Jewish Church as a whole. It will be felt that the care for David's literary service to the Church does not get justice done to it. It is strong enough for a more detailed statement than the mere hint in the first sentence on p. 224. That David had the repute of a writer of serious song is certain as early at least as the Exile—that is, before Professor Smith's date for the collection of the First Psalter; that he had a right to this repute is supported by arguments, such as those for the authenticity of the elegy on Saul and Jonathan which still satisfy some of the most exacting critics. Besides, if, as Professor Smith says, "dancing, music, and song are in early times the *united* expression of lyrical inspiration," is it possible for David to have been the musician without at the same time, and to an equal extent, being a composer of words? Another want in this admirable introduction to the Psalter is, that while it seeks to show in detail how so many of the "Davidic" Psalms best suit the post-exilic age, it does not embark on the equally necessary inquiry whether any of them suit the age of the great prophets, nor is the reader at all reminded of the very great probability of the existence in the days of the old kingdom of a body of religious poetry, large enough and spiritual enough to have shared the survival and popularity of the prophetic writings. Prof. Smith may be sure in his own mind that such an inquiry would not take us very far, but not to have discussed it more fully in lectures addressed to the laity must in the present state of lay opinion detract from the reasonableness and usefulness of his volume.

Space does not permit of a detailed review of the rest that is new in Prof. Smith's lectures. In Lecture XI., on the Pentateuch and the first legislation, the changes are mainly two. The paragraphs are much enlarged and enforced which were designed to show that we are not shut up to the alternative of the Mosaic authorship of the whole Pentateuch, or that the Pentateuch is a mere forgery; but that the Jews of the post-exilic era might with all sincerity ascribe to Moses legislation which they knew to have been recently framed. Evidence is given to prove that the Jews were in the habit of ascribing to Moses what they believed to be implicit, or to have had its origin, in his work for Israel. And a very full discussion is given of the question of the Book of the Covenant and the Sinai legislation. The added Lecture (XIII.) on

the Narrative of the Hexateuch, contributes to the volume what was needed to make it a complete survey of the new criticism of the Old Testament. It is a sketch of the processes and results of the literary analysis of the Pentateuch. Among other new matters, there is an answer to Dillmann's dissent from Wellhausen's reconstruction, on the ground that he believes the Priestercodex to be older than Deuteronomy (Baudissin's arguments are not considered in connection with this), and reasons for the opinion that J and E were fused before the Deuteronomist redaction of the Hexateuch. In this full and lucid exposition we miss a satisfactory account of how the historical books which were joined to the Pentateuch under the same redaction, before the Pentateuch received the Levitical legislation, got separated from the Law.

One new point seems to me more than doubtful. In Lect. X., in the sentence, "The Philistines generally attacked the central mountain district of Canaan *from the north by the easy roads leading into the heart of the land from the plain of Jezreel.*" The words in italics have been changed to "from Aphek in the northern part of the plain of Sharon." This means, as explained in "Additional Note B," the adoption of Wellhausen's theory that the Apheks of the Philistine invasions, when the ark was taken (1 Sam. iv. 1), and when Saul was slain (1 Sam. xxix. 1), and of the Syrian invasions by Benhadad (1 Kings xx. 26), and Hazael (2 Kings xiii. 17), are one and the same Aphek, and that this lay in the north of Sharon over against Samaria at the entrance of the easiest road into the latter. Now, it is by no means certain that because the name Aphek occurs several times, it is the name of one and the same place; for, apart from the instances quoted above, which may possibly refer to the same place, there are several other instances of the name in the Old Testament which belong to other places. The name seems to be one of that class of place-names, the literal meaning of which being generic, they occur in Palestine three and even four times over. There is an argument, it is true, for the Apheks of 1 Samuel iv. and xxix. being the same, in the fact that they were both the base of the Philistine operations against Israel. But even suppose all these Apheks, from which Syrians and Philistines operated, were the same. It is as unlikely as possible that this lay on the plain of Sharon. Professor Smith says that the easiest ways into Northern Israel lay thence; and Wellhausen talks of the plain of Dothan "merging" into the plain of Sharon ("History of Israel," § 3). But neither of these statements is correct. The plain of Sharon does not merge into Dothan, for there is a pass between them; and the easiest way into Northern Israel is not from Sharon, but (as Professor Smith says in his earlier edition) from Jezreel, whence a series of more or less connected plains leads as far south

as Shechem. One simply cannot imagine the Syrians passing by this open door, and working their way round to the mouths of much more difficult passes in Sharon. But what is conclusive against the theory of Aphek being in Sharon is the course of the Philistine campaign before the battle of Gilboa. If the Aphek at which the Philistine army encamped were in Sharon, and if, as Professor Smith's new edition says, the easiest road lay thence into Northern Israel, why did they leave Sharon and come away round to Esdraelon and Gilboa? I do not see that Lucian's version of 2 Kings xiii. 22 is proof that Aphek lay on the west flank of Palestine, nor even if the Greek of Josh. xii. 18 be the correct reading, does it necessarily refer to the plain of Sharon.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

**La Sulammite: Mélodrame en cinq actes et en vers.**  
**Traduit de L'Hébreu avec des notes explicatives, et**  
**une introduction sur le sens et la date du Cantique**  
**des Cantiques.**

*Par C. Bruston. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher. 8vo, pp. 79. F. 2.*

THIS pamphlet of 78 pages contains a translation of the Song of Songs, with a discussion of the chief theories of its interpretation. It forms as lucid and summary an introduction to the poem as the student could desire. The unity is defended along the same line of argument as by Prof. W. R. Smith. The hypothesis of Delitzsch, Zöckler, and Orelli, that the Song is the drama of the Love of Solomon and the Shulammite is refuted—also by familiar arguments. M. Bruston adheres to the interpretation which introduces a Shepherd as the Shulammite's lover, and reads the drama as the conflict and victory of her pure love for him against the advances of the King. The question as to whether the Shepherd appears in the earlier acts, Bruston answers in the negative—against Renan and Oettli, the latter of whom finds the Shepherd and the Shulammite conversing in i. 7, 8, 15-17; iv. 8-v. 1; vii. 12-viii. 4—"Le bien-aimé de la Sulammite ne paraît sur la scène qu'au dernier acte." He also disposes of Stickel's uncalled-for introduction of a second pair of shepherd lovers, to fit the dialogues assigned by Renan to the Shulammite and her lover. Bruston's theory is, therefore, practically Ewald's; but the chief aim of his paper is to suggest an addition both to the characters and to the plot, which, he maintains, removes a great difficulty in Ewald's hypothesis, and powerfully assists the dramatic effect of the story. In the passage iii. 6-v. 1, there is either a marriage in progress or, at least, the pre-



paration for a marriage, and Solomon is the bridegroom. On Delitzsch's interpretation this is the wedding of the King and the Shulammite: on Ewald's it is only the attempt of the King to entice the Shulammite to marriage by the display of all the pomp of a royal wedding (iii. 6-iv. 7), to which the Shulammite replies by a picture of her true lover's call to her, and by her answer to him (iv. 8-16). (In this last section of the passage Oettli varies Ewald's interpretation by reading it as the actual appearance of the Shepherd himself.) But now Bruston suggests that the marriage is between Solomon and a foreign princess—one, probably, from Tyre, because of the allusion to Lebanon in iv. 8. Chapter iv. to verse 16a is Solomon's address to this bride, who answers in 16b: the King replies in v. 1, and the last two lines of this verse are the hymeneal chorus. After this new marriage, the repeated attempts of the King on the Shulammite become, of course, doubly odious.

In criticism of this construction, it may be said that, as there is nothing conclusively against it, so there is nothing that imperatively calls for it. The drama gets on very well without the foreign princess. It is natural to take iv. 8 ff. as the words of the Shepherd, particularly as they resemble the words put into his mouth in v. 2; and could the author have made Solomon address two women in sometimes almost identical language (*cf.* iv. 1-7 with vi. 4-9, and vii. 1-9)? The arguments—that the armed escort of Solomon, iii. 7-8, implies a journey across the frontier and through Lebanon infested with wild beasts, and that the King would never address a shepherd girl, but only a princess of equal rank with himself as *my sister* (iv. 9 ff.) are weak: besides, on Ewald's theory, the latter term of address is used, not by the King but by the Shepherd. But if M. Bruston has not proved his point, he has the merit of great suggestiveness, and, altogether, his little work is most useful. The translation is very beautiful; and if the additions to it, in the shape of characters and stage directions are too numerous, and sometimes a little ludicrous, we can have nothing but admiration for the way he brings out the high ethical aim of the book.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

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## **Les Sacrifices Lévitiques et l'Expiation.**

*Courte Esquisse par Théodore Naville.*

*Lausanne, Georges Bridel et Cie. 8vo, pp. 147. F. 2.*

THE aim of this "brief sketch" is more praiseworthy than either its methods or its results. It seeks to uphold the vicarious or sub-

stitutionary theory of the Atonement, as opposed to the so-called Moral Theory, by an appeal to the sacrificial ritual of Leviticus, chaps. i.-vii., and xvi. Now, it is impossible, at this time of day, to ignore the fact that the priestly ritual of the old Covenant is not a thing "of a single casting," but a gradual growth through centuries of priestly *praxis*; consequently M. Naville, who prefers the old paths, must appear wanting to those that prefer the new. Nor can I admit that the author has succeeded in proving his main thesis, that "*l'immolation de la victime*" is "*le moment important dans les rites de sacrifice*," against the express testimony of the texts themselves, and the judgment of the most competent modern expositors, that the essence of the sacrificial rite lay in the manipulation of the blood by the officiating priest.

It must be admitted, however, that the author is commendably free from dogmatic prepossessions, and strives honestly to give us an objective treatment of the question at issue. But there is a looseness in the relation of the chapters to each other, and a lack of scientific method and accuracy in the presentation of certain of his facts. Thus, in his investigation as to the meaning and use of *kipper* as a *terminus technicus* of the sacrificial ritual, it is a serious mistake—but one not unknown in more pretentious volumes—to adduce instances from the Psalms and Isaiah, instead of confining attention to the priestly code, where the word is used in its technical sense. There this verb never occurs otherwise than with a *personal* object, a fact which alone necessitates the revision of parts of M. Naville's "sketch."

Still, the work is not without value as a fair statement of the difficulties that surround this great subject of sacrifice, and an honest attempt to elucidate the familiar aphorism of S. Augustine as to the relation of the New Covenant to the Old.

ARCHD. R. S. KENNEDY.

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### Early Greek Philosophy.

*By John Burnet, M.A., Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. London and Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black. Demy 8vo, pp. vi. 378. Price 10s. 6d.*

MR BURNET has given in this volume a history of Early Greek Philosophy at once competent and interesting. This is faint praise for a book which bears on every page the traces of thorough critical research, and in which there is not, from first to last, a dry or hazy paragraph. The literary restraint with which it is written is as striking as its erudition. It is by no means only a collection of

the results of modern criticism, but an independent study of the greatest value ; and the originality of the author's positions impresses one at every turn of the history. Mr Burnet has sifted, with rare sagacity and exactness, the text on which he bases his rendering of the fragments of the early Cosmologists. He seizes the salient points in each successive system with a philosophic grasp as admirable as it is reliable, and the result is an English history of Early Greek Philosophy, from Thales to Archelaos, which will remain for many a day not only the latest but the best.

Mr Burnet's conception of the period with which he has to deal in this volume is clearly indicated at the outset, and he carries it with him all through his work. It is, that all early Greek philosophy was an attempt to explain the sensible world from a sensible origin (p. 306). According to this conception, the effort of the Greek mind during the period of the early cosmologists was to discover the primary substance, that which persists throughout all change, and they constantly thought of it as sensible, so that "the Eleatics intended their system to be a physical one just as much as the Ionians did" (p. 306) ; and such questions as those which we ask regarding matter and spirit would have been absolutely meaningless to an early Greek philosopher (p. 189). Accordingly, Mr Burnet lays it down at the outset of his work--and he claims to be the first historian of Greek philosophy who has done so--that the term *φύσις* is invariably used by the early cosmologists to express this idea of a permanent and primary substance (p. 10). This the author keeps steadily before him as a fundamental historical truth, and it gives its distinctive feature to many of his expositions, notably his theory of Pythagoreanism, that its so-called *numbers* were sensible objects, and his view that the *It is* of Parmenides is a sensible reality. On another point Mr Burnet, at the beginning of his work, clears the decks for himself,—the alleged Oriental influence on the Greek mind. He admits that Egypt may have given Greece the beginnings of a knowledge of mathematics, as much as is possessed by, say, a landscape gardener, and that a suggestion of astronomy may have come from Babylon ; but he thinks himself justified in laying down "that the Greeks did not borrow their philosophy from the Orientals, and that for the very good reason that the Orientals had no philosophy at all to borrow" (p. 17).

To follow Mr Burnet in his analysis of the opinions of the representatives of the various schools is impossible. Nor is it needful, inasmuch as the ground has often been covered before. But the reader who knows even the outlines of the history will find that Mr Burnet does much more than re-state the facts ; and that, while paying all due deference to the great authority of Zeller, he is by no means an English echo of the German historian. Indeed,

one of the most interesting features of the book is the modest, almost impersonal, but often most convincing way in which the conclusions of previous authorities—even Zeller—are checked and, in some cases, rejected. I can only allude, in passing, for instance, to his argument that Anaximander's "innumerable worlds," which he regarded as "gods," do not, as Zeller held, succeed one another in time, but are co-existent. Mr Burnet moves with independent step, tracking the footmarks of those who have preceded him, but he is the slave of none of them ; and though some of his own conclusions may need checking here and there, there is an entire absence of dogmatic assertion, and the materials for coming to a conclusion are placed faithfully in the reader's hands, for the author never asks us to take his mere word for it. Probably the freshest and most independent part of the work is Mr Burnet's chapter on Pythagoras. Following out a suggestion made by Robertson Smith in his "Religion of the Semites," that such cults as arose amongst the Semites of the seventh century B.C., were by no means confined to the Hebrews, and were a resuscitation of obsolete mysteries,<sup>1</sup> he is led to represent Pythagoras less as a philosopher than as an ancient Revivalist. Popular religion influenced philosophy by making it "above all things a way of life" (p. 87). Henceforward philosophy did for men what religion had done for them in other ages, but this meant its ultimate destruction as philosophy, which actually took place in the hands of the Neoplatonists, who were the spiritual heirs of Pythagoras. Mr Burnet finds this reading of the place of Pythagoras borne out by the earliest stratum of tradition regarding his life, which represents him less as a philosopher than as a wonder-worker and religious reformer ; in other words, a sort of "medicine-man." It further accords with this that the Pythagorean order, established by the philosopher at Kroton, was not a political league, but a religious fraternity that attempted to supersede the State, and succeeded for a time, till a reaction came, and the rule of saints was broken. The Pythagorean order was in fact a *Salvation Army*, and, as Mr Burnet puts it, "we can still imagine and sympathise with the irritation felt by the plain man of those days at having his legislation done for him by a set of incomprehensible pedants, who made a point of abstaining from beans, and would not let him beat his own dog because they recognised in its howls the voice of a departed friend" (p. 95). With this theory, then, further agrees all that we know regarding the opinions of Pythagoras. What we do know is very little, because his method of instruction was oral rather than literary ; but his doctrine of transmigration, associated as it is with a theory of the kinship between men and beasts, and with a system of taboos, becomes intelligible

<sup>1</sup> "Religion of the Semites," First Series, p. 339.

if we regard it as a revival of an obsolete idea, for the purposes of an artificial religious community. Mr Burnet gives numerous examples of the close relation between Pythagorean and savage modes of thought. Yet he holds that Pythagoras cannot be dismissed, and his name deleted from the history of philosophy as a mere medicine-man. That he had a cosmological theory is certain, and Mr Burnet tells us that recent conjectures have gone far to show that it was a fundamental dualism which his mathematical and musical studies led him to harmonise by that theory of *numbers* which marks the later school that bears his name. Whether one accepts it entirely as Mr Burnet has sketched it or not, his reading of Pythagoras has the distinct merit of freshness, and, in the form he gives it, of originality; and it enables him to endorse a recent opinion of Joel, which he quotes, that "the pre-Socratic philosophy is like a dialogue which the Pythagoreans interrupt without knowing what is the subject under discussion" (p. 306).

One would like to linger over the many fresh expositions given by Mr Burnet, but in what remains of my space I can only indicate a few of these. Nowhere does the author's critical faculty excite one's admiration more than in his discussion of the question, Was Xenophanes a monotheist? By an ingenious argument he shows that the view of Xenophanes is a modification of Anaximander's "innumerable worlds," which he called "gods;" and that, as Xenophanes could not believe in anything like a personal god at all, because the conception of Spirit as something different from matter did not yet exist, what Xenophanes proclaimed as the "one God" who is the "greatest among gods," was nothing more nor less than what we call the material world. This is one of Mr Burnet's dexterous arguments which give one the feeling of being just a little more ingenious than stable, and it is reached by a nimble handling of the sources; but as the process goes on before one's eyes in his pages, it is difficult to avoid accepting the deduction, and criticism of a view so carefully reached is perhaps captious. I must admit that one's marks of interrogation at this and other points nearly always disappear on a second reading. The reader must go for himself to Mr Burnet's pages to appreciate his fine account of Herakleitos of Ephesos. I think that one of the most interesting things in the book is the author's version of the fragments of Herakleitos. Apart from their bearing on his philosophical system, these extracts are interesting memorabilia. But Mr Burnet's analysis of them, and his exposition of the theory arising from them, are too complete to be even touched by a quotation. It startles the reader to discover, just in passing, that the phrase, "all things are flowing," which sums up the theology of Herakleitos, is probably not a quotation from the philosopher at all!

If the reader wishes to see the author at his best, let him turn to p. 153, where he moves among the "details of the theory." If he also wishes to get old ideas of Herakleitean philosophy upset, let him watch Mr Burnet, with modest but decisive independence, proving that the theory of a general conflagration, ascribed by most writers to the Ephesian, is not merely irreconcilable with the other views of Herakleitos, but that it is denied by him in so many words! Against an array of authorities who fasten a theology on Herakleitos, Mr Burnet maintains that the attitude of Herakleitos to Religion was one of contemptuous hostility. How Mr Burnet discovers in Parmenides the father of materialism, and sees in his system the beginnings of an interest in Biology; how the view is worked out through the remainder of the volume, that from Parmenides to Plato all philosophical thinkers abandoned the monistic hypothesis; the picture of Empedokles as an Orphic preacher, the carefully sifted text of his fragments, and the opinion advanced that he aimed at mediating between Eleaticism and the evidence of his senses,—all that, and much more in this fascinating book, must be left untouched. Enough has been said to show that in this history of Early Greek Philosophy we have a product of home-grown scholarship of which we do well to be proud. There is all a German's painstaking thoroughness and accuracy in the work, and an utter absence of the ponderous movement of a philosophic treatise. The volume is alive with interest, and lit up on almost every page by flashes of quiet humour and touches of poetic feeling. Mr Burnet has made a difficult subject perfectly intelligible and even fascinating, and we do not wonder that his work has met with such a reception. In this volume he has only cleared the way for further work in the same field which no one is more competent to undertake. St Andrews may be congratulated on the acquisition of such an occupant of its Greek Chair as Professor Burnet.

DAVID PURVES.

### **Die Evangelische Christenheit und die Juden unter dem Gesichtspunkte der Mission geschichtlich betrachtet.**

*Von Lic. J. F. A. de le Roi, Pastor in Elberfeld. Large 8vo. Vol. I. pp. xviii. 440. Karlsruhe and Leipzig, 1884. Price M. 7. Vol. II. pp. viii. 354. Berlin, 1891. Price M. 5.80. Vol. III. pp. vi. 453. Berlin, 1892. Price M. 7. (Or the complete work, M. 17.50.) London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.*

It is not more than two or three years since the two largest Presbyterian Churches of Scotland were celebrating the jubilee of their

Jewish Missions. Very likely the large majority of those who took an interest in the jubilee proceedings believed that this somewhat despised and unpopular branch of missionary enterprise dates no further back than those fifty and odd years. In 1839, the undivided Church of Scotland sent forth the famous Deputation, consisting of the Rev. Drs Keith and Black and the Revs. Robert Murray M'Cheyne and Andrew A. Bonar, to investigate the condition of the Jews on the Continent, in Turkey, and in the Holy Land, with a view to establishing a mission somewhere among them. The "Narrative of the Deputation" has long been a Christian classic in Scotland, and, considering the interest attaching to it, and to the *personnel* of the deputation, of whom Dr Andrew Bonar still survives, Scottish Christians concerned in advancing the spiritual welfare of Israel may be pardoned if their historical inquiries do not go beyond that time.

These three remarkable volumes, averaging over 400 pages each, widen the horizon so as to leave the reader without excuse for any such limitation. As a history of Jewish Missions, it will be the great work of reference on all questions relating to its subject for years to come. Professor Strack of Berlin, one of our greatest Hebraists, and also one of the warmest supporters of Jewish Missions, declares it to be the weightiest publication in the whole field of Jewish Missions—Delitzsch's Hebrew translation of the New Testament alone excepted. The history is conceived on most comprehensive lines, and in a thoroughly sober and liberal spirit. It is German out and out in its minuteness of detail and its striving after accuracy, and it is written with an attractiveness of style which we do not always find in German writers. Pastor de le Roi, though now Lutheran pastor in Elberfeld, was for some time a missionary in the service of the London Jews' Society, and is a sincere lover of Israel. He has found access to documents furnishing him with valuable materials for the earlier part of his history, and especially the part dealing with the famous *Institutum Judaicum* at Halle in the beginning of the eighteenth century. And, whilst at every step in the course of the early history we see the results of careful research and well-balanced judgment, we have personally reason to know that he has spared no pains to obtain the fullest information as to Jewish Mission work in our own times from the reports of the various Churches and Societies at work in all Continental countries, as well as in Britain and America.

His first volume deals with the subject from the period of the Reformation to the middle of the eighteenth century. According to the method he pursues throughout, he first characterises the condition of the Jews, and the general features of the thought and life of the time; then he describes the efforts made to bring the Gospel home

to the Jews in the various countries where they are found, dwelling at length upon the work of famous missionaries ; and after that he gives sketches of notable converts in the periods and countries under review. Luther's attitude to the Jews claims consideration at the very commencement—how he took up their cause with impulsive zeal, and then, by-and-bye, when they resented his efforts, declared, “next to the devil, the Christian has no more malignant or bitter enemy than the Jew.” Tracing the germ of organised missionary effort on behalf of the Jews to Esdras Edzard of Hamburg, and showing its development, through the Pietists Spener and Francke, in the *Judaicum Institutum* at Halle under Callenberg, he devotes the larger portion of the first volume to that noble institution, and to the missionary zeal and the intellectual gifts and the romantic adventures which make the period of the Halle Institute the *Blüthezeit* of Jewish Missions. The sterling piety of Callenberg, his organising power, his translations into Judæo-German and into pure Hebrew, his numerous converts from Judaism ; the ardour of Stephanus Schultz, the most remarkable of the missionaries, a man of twenty languages, who travelled all over Eastern Europe and in Egypt, Asia Minor, and Palestine ; the wonderful conversions and the wide-spread influence of the institute—are all described with a zest and a skill which carry the reader easily on. Nor are Count Zinzendorf's labours on behalf of Israel forgotten. He roused the interest of the Moravian Brethren in the cause of Jewish Missions, and they have the distinction of being not only the first Church, as a Church, to promote missions to the heathen, but also the first to take up Jewish Mission effort.

The second volume describes the condition of the Jews and the work of Jewish Missions in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and then goes on to deal with the Jews of the Continent in the nineteenth century. The latter half of the eighteenth century was the time of the *Aufklärung*, the time of English Deism and of the French Encyclopædists, the influence of which told upon the Jewish as well as the Christian thought of the period. Moses Mendelssohn, whom, next after Moses Maimonides, the Jews call their third Moses, was the medium through which these influences reached the leading circles of Jewish thought and life. He brought those who accepted his views within the range of Christian influence, and although the Christian mind at that time was largely humanist and rationalistic, still, by contact with it, many Jews were drawn nearer to the heart of vital Christianity. It is a remarkable fact that, though Moses Mendelssohn himself remained outside the pale of Christianity, his whole house in course of time went over to it ; his grandson, Felix Mendelssohn, the famous composer, being no mere nominal adherent of Christianity, but a



convinced and earnest Christian. The early part of the nineteenth century saw large numbers of conversions from Judaism to Christianity. We have mentioned Mendelssohn the composer, and the list of other remarkable men who, being born Jews, left the Synagogue for the Church, and achieved a European reputation, is remarkable. De le Roi gives a full account of them, with sketches of the more remarkable. Caspari and Paulus Stephen Cassel, the commentators ; Neander, the Church historian, whose Jewish name was Mendel ; Friedrich Adolph Philippi, the great expounder of Lutheran theology, and others represent German theology in the list. Of German scholars and philologists, we have Theodor Benfey, and Gottfried Bernhardt, and Ebers the Egyptologist, and others. Stahl, the famous jurist ; Lindau the physician, and his son, Paul Lindau, the well-known and still living literateur ; Heine, the poet ; Karl Marx, the Socialist ; Edward Schnitzer, better known as Emin Pasha, were all Jewish proselytes of German birth. From Holland we have Cappadose and Da Costa ; from Denmark, Kalkar, the missionary editor and historian ; and from Hungary, Vambéry, the traveller. In Britain we have had Isaac Disraeli and his distinguished son ; George J. Goschen, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer ; the Rev. Ridley Herschell and his son, Lord Herschell ; Sir Julius Benedict and John Brahms, the well-known musicians ; Leone Levi, the statistician ; Joseph Wolff, the well-known Central Asian missionary and traveller, whose son, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, has taken such a high place as a diplomatist ; Adolph Saphir and Alfred Edersheim, and Christian D. Ginsburg, eminent Biblical scholars and divines—all either direct proselytes to Christianity or the immediate descendants of those who were.

In his second volume De le Roi discusses the Jewish question, which remains a burning question in Russia and Germany still. And he is quite frank in dealing with the faults of the Jews. By statistics which there is no reason to doubt, he shows that in Russia and Roumania the drink traffic is largely in the hands of Jews, while in St Petersburg they manage a large proportion of the houses of bad fame. In many of the country districts of Russia, Austria, and Hungary, the land is hypothecated to the Jews by the nominal proprietors mostly for debts incurred by drink. There is little heard of these things when we hear of riots and persecutions raised against the Jews. "The persecutions," says De la Roi, "to which in the end the completely cleaned out and ruined Christians have allowed themselves to be driven, have been taken up by the Jewish press without a word of blame for the Jewish authors of their distresses, who are held up to sympathy as innocent Jewish martyrs, while the suffering Russian peasantry are held up to reprobation." As regards the anti-Semitic movement

in Germany, De le Roi regards it as a movement of self-defence against Jewish Liberalism and aggressiveness in politics and every sphere of life. He quotes utterances of Jewish representative men to show to what a height this spirit had risen, and he justifies Stöcker for the part he took in the movement, and for which he has been so severely blamed. Of Stöcker's honesty there cannot be a doubt; and if he did now and then weaken his defence by strong language, his conduct has been throughout that of a true lover of the fatherland, and of a zealous and earnest Christian man. While De le Roi discusses these aspects of the Jewish question, he does not allow more distinctly Christian movements to escape him. The work associated with the names of Joseph Rabinowitz and Rabbi Lichtenstein, the schemes for providing for Jewish refugees on the soil of Palestine, and other similar efforts, are cordially noticed.

We have only space for a word on the third volume, newly issued. It describes the work of some ten British Societies, especially that of the London Jews' Society, and the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews. The former was founded in 1809, at the instance of Christian Friedrich Frey, himself a convert from Judaism, and an indefatigable worker in the cause of Christian missions to Israel; and it received, in 1813, the patronage of the Duke of Kent, the father of the Queen. In its service laboured a notable man, the Rev. Lewis Way; the great Hebraist, Alexander M'Caul; Michael Salomon Alexander, afterwards Bishop of Jerusalem, and others. The British Society was called into life by a gift of £100 from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, at the instance of M'Cheyne and the Bonars; and it was constituted in 1842 in the vestry of the Scotch Church at Regent Square, then under the care of Dr James Hamilton. In this volume there are short sketches of the Jewish Missions of the Church of Scotland and the Free Church. In connection with the commencement of the Mission of the undivided Church, he tells of the almost Pentecostal blessing which rested upon it at the first; and in continuing his narrative of the Free Church Mission, he gives an account of Adolph Saphir, and Alfred Edersheim, and Theodor Meyer and other notable converts. He brings his account so far down to date as to notice the conversion of Hermann Warsawiak, under the guidance of the Rev. Daniel Edward, at Breslau—one of the original band sent to Hungary in 1841—and he refers to Warsawiak's very remarkable work in New York during the past year. His criticisms of the working of the Missions are just, and worthy of the notice of those intrusted with their management. It is worth while mentioning in this reference that the Jewish Committees of the Church of Scotland and the Free Church have purchased six copies each of this remarkable book for use at home

and for use at their various stations abroad. We could wish that others would do likewise, for the book can scarcely fail to be a source of inspiration to all interested in the cause of Israel, and a magazine of principles which have been tested in the two hundred years and more of organised Jewish Mission enterprise here passed in review.

THOMAS NICOL.

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### **Ethica ; or, The Ethics of Reason.**

*By Scotus Novanticus. Second Edition, revised and extended.  
London: Williams & Norgate. Crown 8vo, pp. 356.  
Price 6s.*

PROFESSOR LAURIE'S "Ethica" is one of the few books to which one may apply Topsy's celebrated description of herself, "I guess I wasn't made; I'se growed." It is a "live" treatise, which should have enduring, though possibly slowly achieved, influence. Like all such books, it has the faults of its virtue, if one may so speak,—it lacks what is commonly deemed orderliness. In one sense it has undergone almost too much pruning—rhetorical ornament is conspicuous by its absence; yet the book would not have been injured had the vitality everywhere present in it expressed itself a little less ruggedly. It resembles rather what Germans call an *English* garden or park, than the geometrically arranged and neatly trimmed ethical systems, which mostly come into the market. I have read it with some of the excitement that people generally associate exclusively with novels—though, be it said, there is no excitement worthy to be compared with that caused by a scientific treatise that has really grown;—not, indeed, without criticism of details, both of terminology, style, and matter, yet with so hearty agreement as to the general lines pursued and the great features of the system expounded, that the spirit of criticism was almost suppressed.

The work, despite many recapitulations—which are far from being needless or of the nature of "padding"—is so full of matter, so condensed, that to give a proper account of it would be greatly to transgress the limits assigned to a review, especially as at not a few points it presupposes an acquaintance with the author's "*Metaphysica Nova et Vetusta*." But I will endeavour—at some risk of failure—to indicate the point of view and main drift, as far as possible in the author's own words.

The foremost and fundamental difference between "Ethica" and most certainly, if not all, other works on Ethics, is, that instead of isolating the *moral nature* of man, as it is often unfortunately termed,

with its problems, he begins with the whole man as an "organic intelligent unit which is also a unit of the larger organism of society ;" with man, as a complex organism, material, moral, intellectual. "If we desire to be able to speak intelligently of either man or mollusc, we must first know the man or mollusc, and regard such as an individual organism, having certain innate capacities, aptitudes, and ends which it seeks to fulfil, and which for it is the good." The fundamental difference between the "man-organism" and the myriad others in the world is that whereas the latter are "co-ordinated to their end by Nature ; man, through the emergence of will and reason in him, is thereby constituted the co-ordinator of his own organism." The end of every such existence is its own realisation :—in man's case realisation of the self by the self. "The nature and conditions of self-realisation for man are to be found in his nature and in his relations to the rest of creation ;" or, as I should prefer saying, probably in real agreement with the writer, in his relations to the *universe as including both "creation" and God*. "Self-realisation for any organism is 'the good' for that organism. Man has to find 'the good' for himself." At the beginning he is a complex or aggregate of impulses, propensions, desires, emotions, termed, in general, feelings ; this "raw material," or these real elements and their relations are to be arranged and regulated by the man, who, as will, is the centre of his own organism, in such a way as to secure the realisation of himself and thus to constitute himself a moral being. What is the nature of this end, this self-realisation which is man's good ? How is the end to be attained ? How is he to know that the end is being attained ? As a self-conscious organism man can only realise himself through the self-conscious conception both of the supreme end and of the subordinate ends—which ends constitute as such the law by which he is to be governed. Now, the supreme or *formal* end and law is, that will-reason, in other words, will actualising itself in and through reason, should *dominate* in him. In fact, it is only as it does this that he is moral at all in the true and proper sense.

But what is the *real* end ? The *real* end of the "feeling-organism," that is, of the complex of impulses, desires, and potencies is *harmony* ; through harmony it becomes what it is intended to be. Another description of this chief good—the best we are told—is, "*Fulness of life achieved through law by the action of will as reason on Sensibility*." But as the impulses and desires only reveal themselves in feeling, the criterion of the truth of their inter-relations can be ultimately found solely in feeling. During the process of adjustment undertaken by the will-reason more or less of pain may, it is true, arise ; but the ultimate criterion of the attainment of the end must after all be a feeling of peace guaranteed by law. If it

be objected that this new *organised* pleasure is thus made the real object of search, and that consequently the system is one of Hedonism, the author replies, no ; it is the *organisation* of pleasure—the *law* which is revealed through the feelings which tell us that the “good” of our nature is attained ; not the feelings themselves ; not pathological satisfaction ; not the satisfaction of desire or emotion in itself ; but *law in appetite* as indicated by, and learnt through, feeling—feeling, *i.e.*, of harmony.

But it may further be retorted that, if self-realisation be the true end of man's free activity, the system is, after all, only a higher form of egoism—egoism under the cloak of search for and fulfilment of the law or idea of his being. Professor Laurie replies by pointing to the fact that man is not merely an organic intelligent *unit*, but a unit of an *organism*,—to wit, society. There are in him, as, indeed, in a crude and elementary form there are in animals, as primary feelings, “goodwill and love of goodwill,” which are essentially altruistic,—impulses or desires which incite to do what involves the well-being of others, and which differ, therefore, from the self-regarding impulses. Even the love of approbation makes well-being dependent on the goodwill of others. All desire has, indeed, its *terminal* point—not its *end* proper—in the satisfaction of desire ; even the altruistic desires and emotions “terminate” in the satisfaction of emotion ; that is, in the subject ; their *terminal*, however, is not their *end*. But, besides essentially involving the well-being of others, so far as even their “terminal” can only be reached in and through that well-being, these altruistic emotions are not only greater in quantity, but also higher in quality than those which are self-regarding :—the former, “because we are conscious that they involve the well-being of others as well as of ourselves ;” the latter, “because we are so constituted, that we *feel* them to be higher, just as to man, as he now is,” “the satisfaction of the feeling of the beautiful is of higher quality than the gratification of the appetite.”

But I must hasten to a conclusion. I should have liked to dwell on Professor Laurie's account of how the *must* of natural law passes into the *ought* of moral law ; on his deduction of the idea and place of *justice* ; on his view of free will, and of the distinction between *will* and *volition*, the former of which, he thinks, exhausts itself, in the affirmation of idea, motive and law, and brings no new energy into the world of the phenomenal, but simply regulates and commands the direction in which physical energy is to be discharged, whereas the latter, also termed “doing,” is inextricably involved in the matter and energy of the physical universe, and is subject, therefore, to the conditions thereby imposed ; on his admirable criticism of the Hedonistic and Intuitionist systems ; on the

sound position he takes up towards evolution ; and, finally, on the profound thoughts which are thrown out regarding the relation of reason and conscience to God—"religion" receives the scurvy treatment which, alas ! it only too frequently deserves ;—but my space is exhausted. One remark, however, involving a criticism, I should like to add, namely, that the rationality of Professor Laurie's position is somewhat obscured by his use of the word "feeling." If, instead of the term "feeling," through which the constitutive "potencies" of the man-organism are revealed to consciousness, he had kept to the metaphysical term potencies—which, and equivalents of which, do occasionally occur—the awkwardness of treating feeling as the criterion of itself would have been avoided ; for a true criterion, surely, should be something other than that of which it is the test. The fact is, as I conceive of the matter, "feelings," in the strict sense of the word, as denoting modes of pain and pleasure, form one class of the criteria by which self-conscious man ascertains, *first*, what the law of conduct is ; and, *secondly*, whether his organism is realising its idea. Most moralists err by confounding criteria with law or end ; and the principles of the various moral systems are in reality nothing but the various criteria or classes of criteria by which right and wrong are discriminated *in concreto*. From Professor Laurie's general point of view this fatal confusion is readily avoided.

I beg, in conclusion, for myself, to thank the author for the variety of instruction, stimulus, and enjoyment which his work has afforded me.

D. W. SIMON.

### **Commentary on St Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians.**

*By Rev. John Macpherson, M.A., Findhorn. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. vi. 445. Price 10s. 6d.*

MUCH attention has been given of late to the Epistle to the Ephesians. None of the Epistles ascribed to Paul better deserve this, and none will more richly repay the closest study. But it is not every interpreter that will see his way into it, and give us back its spirit. The men are few and far between who have the variety of gifts demanded for its adequate exposition. The literary and critical questions are so difficult, and the doctrinal contents are of such weight. It is gratifying that British scholars are contributing to its interpretation, and that men of very different gifts are giving us their mind upon its problems and its purpose. It is satisfactory, too, to see that the critical questions are not being allowed to absorb attention, but that the theology of the Epistle is also being carefully studied. And the theology of this majestic letter, interesting as it is for its sweep and its magnitude, is the

more interesting for the fact that every doctrinal question which comes into view in it is related so directly to the supreme Christian Doctrine of God.

Mr Macpherson has some of the most serviceable gifts which the interpreter of an Epistle like this requires. He has, above all, the gifts that wear well. He has patience, industry, and whole-hearted sympathy with the theology of the Epistle. He has spent years of devoted labour on this profound composition, and his book is a solid and honest piece of work. It makes no claim to novelty in its methods or results, and it has no surprising theories to dangle before the eyes of the curious. But it will rank among the most painstaking and useful of recent expositions of the Epistle.

Mr Macpherson's aim is to examine all the questions of textual and grammatical criticism which are of real moment, to investigate minutely the meaning of each phrase, and at the same time to exhibit not only the march of the argument, but the "development of spiritual and experimental truth." He has largely succeeded in his aim. He leaves little unnoticed that is of any importance. If he errs at all, it is not on the side of omission.

The literary and historical questions are discussed with great wealth of reading in an Introduction which extends over more than one hundred pages. The strength of the external testimony to the Pauline authorship is forcibly put. The main objections drawn from internal phenomena are fairly, though not exhaustively, considered. The conclusion reached is that there is nothing to shake our confidence in the consentient witness of tradition, and that the late period to which the Epistle belongs, and the circumstances of the "well-trained and highly-gifted community" to which it is addressed, sufficiently account for the acknowledged peculiarities of style and teaching. The author also holds strongly by the traditional view of the destination of the Epistle. As to its date, he argues in favour of the priority of *Colossians* to *Ephesians*, assigning these two Epistles (along with *Philemon*) to the first Roman imprisonment, and placing them at the end of A.D. 61 or the beginning of A.D. 62, but referring *Philippians* to the Caesarean captivity. Many incidental questions are touched upon in the Introduction, such as the silver shrines and the fighting with wild beasts; on which last, notwithstanding the difficulty created by Paul's Roman citizenship, Mr Macpherson adheres to the literal interpretation.

The Commentary itself is done with much thoroughness and with ample learning. The great doctrinal passages furnish the best examples of Mr Macpherson's skill. One section of the book, that on the *Character and Type of Doctrine*, might with advantage have gone more fully than it does into the great

questions with which it deals. But so far as it goes, it gives a fair statement of the existence of Pauline doctrine in the Epistle, and of that doctrine in its most developed form. It is of most value, however, as a criticism of Köstlin and Pfleiderer, and as an exhibition of the difficulties attaching to the theory that the Epistle is the work of a later Paulinist in whom the earlier Paulinism has combined with forms of Johannine doctrine.

Mr Macpherson's notes upon the great doctrinal terms of the Epistle are generally excellent. Good examples of his way of looking at these will be found in what he says of *κληρονομία*, *ἀπολύτρωσις*, *εὐδοκία*, *νίθεσία*, *προορίζειν*, and many more. He regards the doctrine of redemption which appears in this Epistle as essentially the same as that which is given more fully in Romans iii. and Hebrew ix., the point of it being, that what constitutes our redemption is Christ's sacrificial or atoning death. He sets forth, in its length and breadth, the Pauline doctrine of forgiveness, and combats, with real insight into the teaching of the Epistle, the various attempts made to reduce that doctrine, or philosophise it out of the Pauline writings. By a careful and faithful exegesis of the leading passages, such as that in Ch. i. 7, he refutes, for example, Pfleiderer's theory that the idea of the Divine wrath which had been kept in due relation to the Divine love in the early Pauline doctrine, had come, by the time when this Epistle was written, to be treated too abstractly, and that in this way had originated the conception of a satisfaction which Christ had to make to Satan. He rightly protests against the association into which Pfleiderer brings the later form of the Pauline doctrine with the theory of a redemption price paid to the devil. "As God only can forgive sins," he remarks on Ch. i. 7, "the identification of forgiveness with redemption associates directly with God both the act of redemption and the ransom. To God it is paid, by Him it is accepted, and by Him also it is recognised as bringing to those for whom it has been paid the forgiveness of sin." As Mr Macpherson finds the Protestant idea of Pardon in this Epistle, so he finds in it generally the form of doctrine known as the Calvinistic. And in this we judge him right, so far as the broad foundations and large outlines are concerned. Modern exegesis, no doubt, is capable of almost any feat and our interpreters who are resolved to see nothing in Christianity but a new ethics, or to adjust all that is in the Pauline writings to their notions of *tendency*, can perform as wonderful transformations of Paul's meaning as any allegorising Father. But it is difficult even thus to make this strenuous, theological Epistle speak the voice of modern philosophy on the themes of the Divine purpose and will.

There are some things in the Introduction to which exception



may be taken. The discussion of the explanation of the Epistle as an encyclical is not quite satisfactory, and the conservatism which in most cases is substantially right in its conclusions on the literary problems, is sometimes too absolutely put. There are also a good many things in the exegesis which are open to question, particularly with regard to quotations (as in iv. 8, 14), and certain forms of Greek construction. It could scarcely be otherwise. But there is much of a different kind. We might refer, for example, to the discussion of the "enlightened," in i. 18; the greatly disputed phrase "by nature the children of wrath," in ii. 3; the "having slain the enmity in it," in ii. 16; the "dispensation of the grace of God," in iii. 3; the "one Lord, one faith, one baptism," in iv. 5; the "by that which every joint supplieth," in iv. 16; the "sanctifying," in v. 26.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

### **Die Göttliche Zuvorversehung und Erzählung in ihrer Bedeutung für den Heilsstand des einzelnen Gläubigen nach dem Evangelium des Paulus.**

*Eine biblisch-theologische Untersuchung von Karl Müller, Lic. Theol. Halle: Niemeyer. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 155. Price M. 3.*

THIS inquiry in Biblical Theology is a piece of excellent work, and a real contribution to the understanding of the important subject with which it deals; and it is so all the more, because it is strictly limited to a certain part of the great problem of the divine purpose. It deals only with the teaching of Paul, and in his teaching, only with what regards God's purpose as to the salvation of believers; but the author shows that this forms not a mere incidental statement, but an essential part of the Gospel as Paul preached it. In the first part of this treatise, he gives a continuous exposition of the meaning and connection of Paul's principal ideas on this subject; and then, in a series of four *Excursus*, he discusses more minutely the principal exegetical points on which the controversy in the Church has turned. The exposition in the first part starts from the place which the statement of the predestination of believers in Rom. viii. 28 *et seq.* occupies in the general line of thought in the Epistle; and it is pointed out, that it comes not at the beginning, but only after the exposition of the way of salvation through the historical work of Christ; that it is brought in for the practical purpose of assuring believers, amid the terrible trials and temptations to which they were exposed, of the certainty of their salvation; and that the statements about the divine purpose in Rom. ix.-xi. form the ground of the practical exhortations to Christian life in Rom. xii.-xv. It is thus shown that the Pauline doctrine of predestination to life is

not a general metaphysical speculation, but a moral and religious conviction, founded on Christian experience, and forming a natural counterpart to the central Pauline doctrine of justification by grace through faith. At the same time, the author holds that the predestination of individual believers is not separate in Paul's mind from the historical life and work of Christ, and pre-supposes that universal purpose of gathering together all things in Him which the apostle repeatedly asserts. The notion of two co-ordinate purposes, of salvation for some, and reprobation for others, is not a Pauline one: the object of the general purpose of God is the human race as a whole, united in Christ the last Adam; while, along with this, there is a particular purpose of actual salvation for those who are effectually called by God's grace. In the course of the exposition of these ideas, Herr Müller discusses the meaning in Paul's thought of the terms Calling, Foreknowledge, Election, Predestination, and in the *Excursus* he enters more fully into the exegesis and history of interpretation of the more important words and passages, in the course of which he shows that the Arminian views of Calling as merely the Gospel invitation, and Predestination, as founded on the foresight of faith, are exegetically untenable, and inconsistent with the teaching of Paul as a whole. These exegetical discussions are careful and scholarly, giving special prominence to the history of the several interpretations in different doctrinal schools, and noticing English works much more fully than is usually done by German theologians. The treatise, as a whole, is a powerful and valuable plea for that view of Paul's teaching which regards it as what is called moderate Calvinism, holding an unconditional predestination of the elect to life, but no unconditional fore-ordination of any to death, and basing the doctrine, not on metaphysical reasonings about the infinite power, knowledge, and sovereignty of God, but upon the freeness and power of the grace of God in conversion, which is to the Christian a matter of direct spiritual experience. The bringing out of this last point is one great excellence in Herr Müller's work. He bases his conclusions mainly on Rom. viii., and the parallel statements in other Epistles, and shows how vitally these utterances of faith in God's eternal purpose of election are connected with Paul's Gospel as a whole, and its central doctrine of justification by faith. The harder sayings in Rom. ix. he touches more lightly, and he regards the sovereign election of Jacob and rejection of Esau as having reference to the privilege of being the historical organ of God's work of salvation. No doubt, the establishment of the true meaning of Paul's teaching, to which this work is a valuable contribution, is but one part of the great theological discussion that has divided Christian thinkers for ages, and there are difficulties and perplexities even in trying to enter

into all Paul's thoughts ; but the theological public may cordially welcome this discussion of one of the points with which a sound investigation of the subject must begin.

J. S. CANDLISH.

**Die Rechtfertigungslehre der Professoren der Theologie Johann Tobias Beck, O. F. Myrberg und A. W. Ingman geprüft und beleuchtet von mehreren evangelischen Theologen und von E. T. Gestrin, Probst und Pastor zu Lavia in Finnland.**

*Berlin : Wiegandt u. Greben. 8vo, pp. 127. Price M. 1.60.*

It seems that the views of the illustrious Beck of Tübingen have been adopted and taught by the Swedish Professor Myrberg at Upsala, and the Finnish Professor Ingman at Helsingfors ; and this pamphlet is a polemic against their doctrine of justification, in so far as it deviates from the Protestant Confessions by making faith, or the new life of the soul, the ground of it. The author is undoubtedly right in holding, and has no difficulty in showing, that this is not the doctrine either of the Reformers or of Paul ; but, as is usual in such cases, he is rather too vehement in his attack, and relies somewhat too much on human and ecclesiastical authorities. The treatise contributes nothing of importance to the discussion of the subject.

J. S. CANDLISH.

**Notices.**

To the series of *Books for Bible Students*, Professor Findlay contributes a brief but admirably executed sketch of the *Epistles of Paul*. With great fulness of knowledge, and in a vigorous style, he describes how these writings came into being, and what place they filled in Paul's life, determining as far as possible their order, the occasions which called them forth, their several characteristics and purposes, and the historical unity which they make when thus considered. He takes the four evangelical Epistles in this order—I. Corinthians, II. Corinthians, Galatians, Romans. He places Philippians last in the list of Epistles of the First Imprisonment. The Epistle to the Hebrews is separately dealt with. He has given some well-considered remarks on the growth of Paul's doctrine. He finds "variety, elasticity, logical development, adaptation to changing conditions, and at the same time an entire unity of organic life and mental structure." The Epistles of the third group show Paul's theology at its full stature. It

<sup>1</sup> The Epistles of the Apostle Paul : a Sketch of their Origin and Contents. By George G. Findlay, B.A. London : C. H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 287. Price 2s. 6d.

has become by this time an organic unity. Among these Epistles, that to the Philippians is held to sum up, in a certain sense, the "doctrinal development of the letters which preceded it," while the *Pastoral Epistles* "set his final seal upon the teaching of his life." This modest volume is of more real worth than some large and imposing books, which might be easily named, on the same subject.

From the same writer we have an exposition of the *Epistle to the Ephesians*,<sup>1</sup> which makes one of the best contributions to the New Testament division of the *Expositor's Bible*. Professor Findlay's gifts of exegesis, historical insight, and popular statement are seen at their best here. The great theological ideas of the Epistle have justice done them. What is said on such topics as "the elect," "reconciliation," "forgiveness and its price," "Christ the fulness of God," is admirably said. The Pauline qualities of the letter, and the fundamental resemblance which underlies all the differences between it and that to the Galatians, are touched with a rapid but experienced hand. The moral teaching of the Epistle is handled not less successfully than the doctrinal. Of special interest is the chapter on *Doctrine and Ethics*, which deals with the originality of Christian ethics, the four principles of Pauline ethics, personality and morals, the ethical character of Christ's forgiveness, and kindred subjects. For plain, direct force, perfect sanity of understanding, and fidelity to Paul's ideas, the book is like Mr Denney's excellent exposition of the Epistles to the Thessalonians. Mr Findlay, it should be added, adopts the encyclical theory, and expounds the Epistle as *the General Epistle of Paul to the Churches of Asia*, or *to Ephesus and its daughter Churches*. He follows this rendering of the address, without the local designation,—*to the Saints who are indeed faithful in Christ Jesus*.

Dr Dods completes his Exposition of the Fourth Gospel for the same series.<sup>2</sup> The first volume was reviewed at length in these pages, and it is unnecessary to repeat what was then said of the writer's exceptional qualifications for the interpretation of John's Gospel. This second volume takes us from the Anointing of Jesus through all the closing scenes. These scenes, and the words of Jesus spoken in connection with them, are expounded with the reverence which they demand, and with the insight, at once historical and spiritual, which was conspicuous in the former volume. Where all is so good, it is not easy to say what is best. But there is at least nothing better than the chapters on the Resurrection, Thomas' Test, the Appearance at the Sea of Galilee, and Peter's

<sup>1</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiii. 440. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> The Gospel of St John. By Marcus Dods, D.D. In Two Volumes. Vol. II. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 427. Price 7s. 6d.

Restoration. Nor is what is said of the corn of wheat and the sufferings of Christ less worthy. All through the volume, too, we come upon those deep soundings of human character and life which we have become accustomed to look for in Dr Dods's writings.

Two volumes deserve favourable mention as helps to understanding the processes and first results of Pentateuchal criticism. One is from England, the other is from America. Both deal with the book of *Genesis*, and both have the same object in view. Mr Fripp's book<sup>1</sup> consists in part of matter contributed to Stade's *Zeitschrift*. In a brief but very lucid Introduction he explains the different constituents which criticism discovers in the "great historico-legislative work" of which *Genesis* is the first section. The bulk of the volume is then devoted to an attempt to disentangle these different elements, and make the composite character of the narrative patent to the eye. A running analysis is given at the foot of the pages. Professor Bissell's book<sup>2</sup> follows substantially the same plan, but wants the analysis. The different strata of narrative in *Genesis* are indicated by different kinds of type in Mr Fripp's book. Professor Bissell's has the advantage of printing in different colours of type. Both books appear to be carefully prepared. Both are the work of scholarly men, and enable us, as no amount of writing can, to see what *Genesis* becomes on the critical theory. Professor Bissell's concise summary of the arguments in favour of the critical reconstruction will also be useful to those who are not familiar with the question.

Mr Litton's outline of *Dogmatic Theology*<sup>3</sup> is completed by the publication of the second volume. The subjects treated in this part are the Order of Salvation, the Communion of Saints, and Eschatology. They are expounded in harmony with the Thirty-Nine Articles, and these Articles are themselves understood as Protestant Articles belonging to the side of the Reformed branch of Protestantism rather than the Lutheran. In this construction of the great symbol of the English Church, Mr Litton is, we believe, correct. His theological system is that of one who adheres with the utmost strength of conviction to what he holds to be the historical Protestant faith of England, and is in pronounced antagonism to the *via media* theology. He adopts the useful

<sup>1</sup> The Composition of the Book of Genesis. With English Text and Analysis. By Edgar Innes Fripp, B.A. London: David Nutt. 12mo, pp. 198. Price 4s.

<sup>2</sup> *Genesis*, printed in colours, showing the original sources from which it is supposed to have been compiled. With an Introduction. By Edward Cone Bissell, Hartford, Connecticut. Pp. xiv. 59. Price \$1.25.

<sup>3</sup> Introduction to Dogmatic Theology. On the Basis of the XXXIX. Articles of the Church of England. By the Rev. E. A. Litton, M.A. London: Elliot Stock. 8vo, pp. vii. 393. Price 7s. 6d.

method of comparing the statements on each topic as given in the Thirty-Nine Articles with the corresponding statements in other authoritative symbols. There is nothing very novel or brilliant in the volume, but there is a great deal that will make it a very serviceable handbook. It follows the usual lines of evangelical dogmatics of the Reformed type. It makes much, however, of a mission of mercy on which Christ is supposed to have proceeded to Hades after His resurrection, and adopts the position that Scripture "does not compel us to believe that all probation ends with the present life."

Another *Manual of Theology*<sup>1</sup> which contrasts strongly with Mr Litton's, is published by Mr Strong of Christ Church, Oxford. It belongs to a very different school, with a very different idea of Church and Sacraments. It has much less learning, but it is more modern in method and in spirit. Its principle is substantially the Christo-centric, the principle which has vivified many theologies. It proceeds upon the conception of Christian theology as starting with the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. Its method is this. Assuming the fact of the Incarnation, it aims at showing first, that the Incarnation is the outcome and explanation of all the efforts made by the different races to know God; secondly, its coherence with the claims of Christ for Himself; thirdly, its connection with the doctrine of the Trinity; fourthly, its relation with the human race; and lastly, its extension and continuance in the world by means of the Church and the Sacraments. By this the writer hopes to cover all the articles of the Christian faith. The idea is an ingenious one. But it is not sufficiently scientific to permit of a natural and intelligible co-ordination of the different points of doctrine. Some topics get an unduly limited position; others are peculiarly placed. The great *locus* of the Last Things, for example, is unhappily broken up, and obtains meagre and fragmentary consideration. The questions which seem to us to be most successfully dealt with are those concerning the Person of Christ, the Trinity, and the Incarnation itself; those of which the opposite must be said are those relating to Sin. The book is welcome as a scholarly and earnest attempt to restate theology in relation to modern thought. It is welcome also as a token of a reviving interest in the great doctrines of the Christian religion.

At present we can but mention Professor Sanday's two sermons on *Biblical Criticism* and the *Social Movement*,<sup>2</sup> the former of which is a seasonable plea for the formation of a national school

<sup>1</sup> A Manual of Theology. By Thomas B. Strong, M.A. London and Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 424. Price 5s.

<sup>2</sup> Two Present Day Questions, &c. London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo., pp. 72. Price 2s. 6d.

of criticism, while the latter deals wisely with the attitude of the clergy to social questions; Dr Newman Hall's *Divine Brotherhood*, a collection of small tractates published from time to time during the last half century, a welcome memorial of a long and honourable ministry;<sup>1</sup> and the handbook on *Life and Conduct* by Dr Cameron Lees, intended chiefly for the help of young people, and applying in simple, practical style the principles of religion to the great concerns of everyday life in Character, Time, Money, Recreation, &c.<sup>2</sup>

Mr Bonney's *Boyle Lectures*<sup>3</sup> may be classed in some respects with Mr Harrison's *Problems of Christianity and Scepticism*.<sup>4</sup> There is a boldness, conjoined with remarkable sympathy and generosity towards the sceptic, which gives the latter book a place of its own in the evidential literature of the time. It is the work of one who himself has passed through the experience of doubt in which he seeks to help others. Notwithstanding its exaggerated estimate of Mr Herbert Spencer, and its almost slavish submission to his philosophy, it has qualities both intellectual and moral which make it one of the weightiest and most opportune contributions to popular Apologetics. Mr Bonney has the advantage of a superior knowledge of science in some of its branches, and he, too, brings to his task a hopeful and sympathetic mind. His object is to show that the Christian faith, in its presuppositions and in its cardinal doctrines, suffers nothing from the progress of science and the changes thereby wrought on the general view of the universe, but in some things has rather gained. He deals first with the great subject of the *Logos*, presenting it as the safeguard against Pantheism on the one hand and Dualism on the other. Here he brings into the defence of the doctrine the scientific theory of vortex rings in the explanation of what matter is. He passes on to the consideration of the doctrines of the Holy Spirit, the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Resurrection, the Sacraments, and the Church. In each case he proceeds on the assumption of the reality of Revelation, and applies the analogies of science to the explanation and defence of the doctrine. These analogies are not all of the same value. Those taken from chemical phenomena and applied to the mystery of the Trinity are the least successful. But in other cases, particularly in regard to the credibility of a bodily resurrection, they are of force. To a certain type of mind the book will be most welcome and helpful.

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 281. Price 4s.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh and London: A. & C. Black. Pp. 114. Price 6d. net.

<sup>3</sup> Christian Doctrine and Modern Thought. By T. G. Bonney, D.Sc. London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 175. Price 5s.

<sup>4</sup> London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvii. 340. Price 7s. 6d.

There are several books which are welcome in new editions. Canon Driver's *Introduction*<sup>1</sup> has already reached its fourth British edition, a striking testimony to the worth of the book, and to the widespread interest in Old Testament questions.

Weizsäcker's *Das Apostolische Zeitalter der Christlichen Kirche*<sup>2</sup> appears in a second edition. The book is revised, but remains substantially the same. The theory elaborated in the book is one of great interest, and it is skilfully presented. Weizsäcker has the gift of lucid, orderly exposition, as well as bold thinking. We cannot regard the theory, even when put at its best, as an adequate explanation of the origin and development of the Primitive Church; but it certainly has important points of advantage, not only over Baur's, to which it is so far akin, but over the competing theories of Weiss and Pfeiderer. It is a less prosaic version than that given by Weiss, and it avoids the exaggerated idea of Paulinism and the Greek element to which Pfeiderer commits himself. The supposed conflict of parties and tendencies is also reduced to something very different from the original Tübingen construction of it. Weizsäcker's recognition of a more extensive sympathy with Christ's universalism, and a less obdurate Judaism among the original apostles and the first disciples, puts a new face on the whole question.

We have also the third edition of Holtzmann's *Introduction to the New Testament*.<sup>3</sup> The book has been thoroughly revised and brought up to date. It gives not only the special Introduction to the several books, but also summaries of the history of the Text and the history of the Canon. In Textual Criticism, the author has had the valuable help of Dr C. R. Gregory. The apocryphal books of the New Testament are also dealt with. It is unnecessary to speak of the critical standpoint of the book. We dissent from much that is said on the Fourth Gospel, the Pastoral Epistles, and others of the Canonical writings; but the volume is one that has to be reckoned with by every New Testament scholar. It is of great value, not only for the digests it gives of inquiry on many different subjects, but as an exceedingly lucid and systematic statement of the construction put by one powerful critical school upon the rise of the New Testament literature.

<sup>1</sup> An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament. By S. R. Driver, D.D. Fourth Edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. xxxvi. 543. Price 12s.

<sup>2</sup> Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 700. Price M. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das Neue Testament. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xvi. 508. Price M. 9.



The new volume of *The Expositor*<sup>1</sup> has more variety of contents than usual. It has no group of papers comparable in point of original interest to those in which Professor Marshall handled the *Aramaic Gospel*. But, in addition to Dean Chadwick's pleasing studies of some of the Gospel Miracles, and Professor Beet's inquiry into the New Testament Doctrine of the Atonement, we have two sets of articles that deserve particular notice. The one consists of Professor G. A. Smith's sketches of the *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, to which we are indebted for skilful and picturesque descriptions of the natural features, the capabilities, and the historical interest of the Shephelah, the Central Range, and Judæa. The other is the series by Professor Sanday on the *Present Position of the Johannean Question*. There is no English scholar entitled to speak with more authority on this subject than Professor Sanday, and scarcely any one so able to do it with point and lucidity. The criticisms of Schürer, the comparison between the theory of Johannean authorship and that of second-century fabrication as solutions of the problems connected with the Gospel, the limitation put upon the use of the Apocalypse, in the present unsettled condition of its own literary questions, as an argument for or against the genuineness of the Gospel,—these things and the whole review of the most recent modifications of the old positions are opportune and valuable contributions to the subject. The series should be published in separate form. The volume also contains attractive papers on *Gideon* by the late Professor Elmslie, *Newman* by Principal Rainy, the *Book of Lamentations* by Dr Stalker, and others, together with book-notices by Professors A. B. Davidson and Dods. Nor should we omit Canon Cheyne's criticism of Dr Driver's *Introduction*, and Professor Ramsay's paper, based on personal examination of the localities, on St Paul's *First Journey to Asia Minor*.

The third yearly issue of the *Expository Times*<sup>2</sup> makes a large and handsome volume, rich in matter suitable to the needs of many different classes of readers, from the man of research down to the young members of the Sunday-school or Bible-class. The Editor's own "Notes of recent Exposition" always make interesting reading. Among the papers of higher order we may mention the series by Professor Ryle on the *Early Narratives of Genesis*—in every way admirable examples of the application of the newer

<sup>1</sup> The *Expositor*, Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. Fourth Series, Volume V. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo., pp. 476. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> The *Expository Times*, Edited by the Rev. James Hastings, M.A. Volume the Third, October 1891—September 1892. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 568. Price 7s. 6d.

methods and results of historical study to the interpretation of the Old Testament; and the no less important series by Mr Pinches on the *Old Testament in the light of the literature of Assyria and Babylonia*. But amid such wealth and variety of matter it is impossible to particularise. The busy pastor who is left with little time for continuous study has large and wholesome provision made for him here, and others who, having little leisure, wish to keep themselves abreast as far as possible of what is being done in Bible studies, will find here very much what they want.

Among the Magazines we welcome the new series of *Mind* under the editorship of Mr G. F. Stout of St John's College, Cambridge, the July number of which well maintains the old reputation for thorough work both in the longer articles and in the briefer discussions and critical notices. The recent numbers of the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* contain several articles of importance. Among these may be found a study of the *Ethics of St Paul* by Von Soden, an elaborate paper by Harnack on the *Relation of the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel to the whole work*, and another by W. Hermann on the *Historical Christ the Ground of our Faith*. The Student of Dogmatic Theology will also find much to interest him in a couple of papers on some aspects of the doctrine of the *Resurrection of the Flesh*. One of these papers, by W. Haller, gives the history of the doctrine up to Tertullian's time; the other, by P. Lobstein, examines the doctrine itself as a point of Evangelical faith in the light of the New Testament. The *Revue de Theologie et des Questions Religieuses* is conducted with much spirit by the acting-editor, M. Henri Bois and his able associates M. M. Pédézet, J. Monod, Bruston, Wabintz, Doumergue, and Leenhardt. The fifth number has an elaborate study of the *Central Doctrine of the Reformers*, which M. Molines takes to be the Sovereignty of God. There is also a discussion by C. Malan of one of the great questions of the hour—that of *Authority*. The *Thinker* continues to furnish a remarkable abundance of useful matter by a great variety of hands. The surveys of current thought in America, Canada, Germany, and France are full of information, and make a valuable guide to the student. Among original papers which appear in the August and September numbers one by Professor Orr on the Ritschlian Theology, and another by Principal Reynolds on the *Earliest Contact of the Christian Faith with the Roman World* deserve special attention. The *Homiletic Review* appears in a new and more handsome form. Professor Schaff contributes a sketch of *Ochino* in the August issue. The sermonic section gives brief studies of great texts and much else that will be valued by the preacher and pastor. The *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* is conducted with marked ability, and deserves

a larger circulation in this country. No journal of the kind furnishes such a digest of current Theological literature. The original articles are also for the most part of a high order. The July number contains, among other papers, one of a very informing kind by Professor Gretillat, on the state of *Theological Thought among French Protestants*, an estimate of *Calvin as a Commentator* by Professor Schaff, and a careful study by Professor H. M. Scott of the attitude of the Apostolic Fathers to the writers of the New Testament books. Among the Editorial Notes we find one on Canon Driver's *Introduction*, written unfortunately from the standpoint of one who makes the whole question of our possession of a real revelation in the Bible depend upon the question of the composite authorship of the Pentateuch, but written at the same time with full acknowledgment of Canon Driver's eminent scholarship and reverence.

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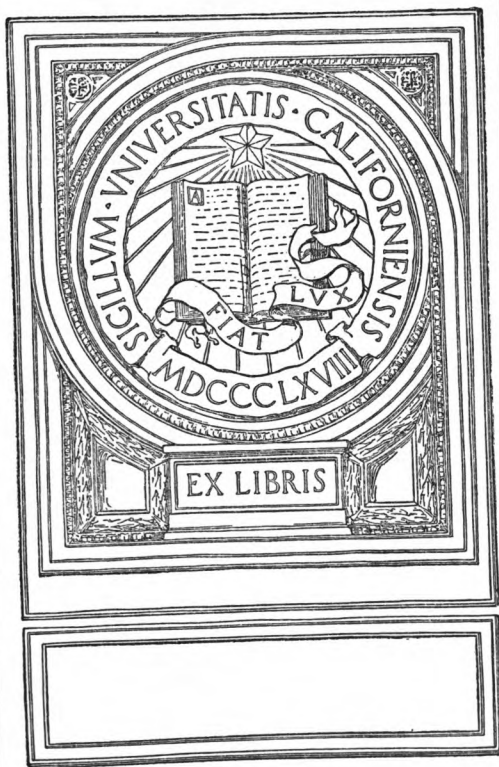
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## **Apologetics ; or, Christianity Defensively Stated.**

*By Alexander Balmain Bruce, D.D. (being the third volume of the "International Theological Library," edited by Professor Salmond, D.D., and Professor Briggs, D.D.) Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo. Pp. xvi. 522. Price 10s. 6d.*

THIS volume, the third in the series of the "International Theological Library," like its predecessors, is designed to meet the growing demand of the present day for a more thorough scientific treatment of theological subjects, in relation to modern controversies, and with the fuller light shed on them by the researches and matured judgment of experts in the various branches of Theology. The success that has attended the issue of the first volume, by Dr Driver, and the generous reception so recently given to the second, by Dr Newman Smyth, combined with the well-established reputation of Dr Bruce, have naturally raised expectations concerning the present volume. Dr Bruce is too well-known to our readers to need here and now any introduction. He has already attained distinction as a clear, fearless, and yet cautious thinker. His previously published works have done not a little in directing and giving tone to learned thought and inquiry on some of the most crucial and perplexing questions of our time. He has contributed his fair proportion of solid thinking towards that reconstruction of our theology for which, in its manifold departments, we are all striving and waiting. The promoters of this movement have conferred a boon on the theological world in securing his services for the treatment of a subject which is felt, alike by those who rest in faith and those who are being tossed on the restless sea of doubt, to be of the deepest interest to the individual life, and fraught with momentous issues to Society. The present volume will well sustain the author's reputation. From beginning to end it bears on it the impress of a man who has a firm grip of the matters he handles ; who clearly understands the positions he assails, and who, while in sympathy with such as walk in darkness and considerate of the difficulties of faith, is strong in his adhesion to what evidently has passed through the testing processes of his own intellect and heart. Everywhere there is manifest fairness in stating the case of an opponent or a doubter, combined with a steady eye for the truth which often lies hidden under the difficulties presented, or, as the

case may be, in systems of thought alien to the full Christian faith. Readers unfamiliar with the actual difficulties experienced by minds differently constituted from their own, and inexperienced in solving them, may perhaps think that here and there Dr Bruce concedes more than is necessary, and would have done better had he assumed a more directly resisting attitude. But if some considerable experience in dealing with questions of this kind may be regarded as justification for an opinion, I will venture to affirm that the tone and method adopted in this volume, even in dealing with some of the most important matters of our faith, are just those which are most likely to accomplish the end of all true Apologetic, namely, to win over to Christ the doubter and to confirm the believer. Human opinions, and forms of expression into which the essentials of faith have been crystallised, are not to be confounded with the "faith once for all delivered to the saints." While there is an undisguised willingness to surrender anything, however venerable with age and sanctioned by human authority, which cannot bear the strain of modern research, there is also a tenacious hold and an intelligent presentation of the things "which cannot be shaken," with the underlying conviction that the effect of all our modern trials of faith will only tend to render its foundations more obviously secure ; and so, in due course, when the energy now spent in works of defence is no longer required, because of the triumph of truth, will also issue in a more productive, because more intelligent, zeal.

The *Science* of Apologetics is not the subject of this volume. The design of our author is, as stated in the Preface and Introduction, not to write "an abstract treatise on Apologetics in which all the traditional commonplaces of the subject are discussed with reference to present needs and trials of faith," but to give an apologetic presentation of the "Christian faith, with reference to whatever, in our intellectual environment, makes faith difficult at the present time." It is important to note this, because otherwise the reader may be surprised at the omission of some things, the brief notices of others, and the introduction of material not usually found in our formal Scientific Apologetic treatises. The alternative title of the work, "Christianity Defensively Stated," very aptly hits off the characteristic of the book. It is a statement, for the present age, of what may be said in justification of our faith amidst the peculiar assaults to which it is exposed. Instead of discussing, as a matter of form, the abstract objections of any and every age, those forms of doubt and difficulty are selected which most fitly either represent our modern conflicts, or are the expression of them. What the author seeks is a fair hearing for Christianity. On this account we must welcome the work of Dr Bruce as one of the most valuable of our time. To all who thirst to know the best that can be said

on matters most vital to their own lives, this volume will prove exceedingly helpful. It is clear, robust, and vigorous in style; well arranged in chapters, with useful tables of contents and index; and, in the working out of the various lines of thought, pervaded by a strong common sense and large-hearted charity. Those who wish to pursue their studies more in detail on the various points of discussion, will find very serviceable to this end the references to the Literature pertaining thereto placed at the head of each chapter.

The Introduction is devoted to a brief historical sketch, designed not to be in any sense exhaustive even of the points of discussion properly falling under Apologetics, but rather to indicate how, from first to last, the one central subject of debate has been Christ and His Kingdom in this world. Many of His own controversies with Scribes and Pharisees are in fact Christian apologies; and in the Epistle to the Hebrews we have a more systematic defence of the Christian Faith. The controversy between Celsus and Origen is sketched, both to illustrate how in early times the historical question was viewed both by believer and unbeliever, and to bring out the truth that then, as now, the main issue concerns Him whom we recognise as Lord and Saviour. The acute form of conflict between scepticism and faith in the eighteenth century is chosen for review, apparently because its points of resemblance and difference with those of the present century furnish a clue to the better understanding of the present day objections of naturalistic interpreters of Christianity. Deism in England and the *Aufklärung* of Germany are expounded with a fine discrimination of their respective peculiarities. Dr Bruce exposes the low type of eighteenth century apologies—a warning to us all not to lay too much stress on the material and social benefits of Christianity in justification of its supreme claims on this age.

The Method adopted in this work is determined by the purpose of it. It being a defensive statement of the case for Christianity suited to nineteenth century order of thought, the author enters upon the task by taking pains to make clear what it is he seeks to defend. Christianity is a term unfortunately covering, in these days, much that may mislead. There are many forms of it. These, however, are not the types of Christianity on which our author here places any reliance, or brings to the front. On these there may be great differences of opinion among sincere Christians. All this I imagine Dr Bruce was thinking of when he hit on the plan of first laying down, as clearly and concisely as the case admits, those general facts concerning Christ, as a historical personage, in which, among men of all schools of thought, except perhaps here and there one too extreme to deserve consideration, there is concurrence. At all events, these facts are taken as provisionally allowed. But granting that these

facts are as will be stated, it follows that, when looked into, they will be found to *imply* a certain theory of the Universe — a theory, therefore, which will need to be expounded, and that, too, in contrast with other anti-Christian theories of the Universe. But further, the Christian facts are known to be connected with a history of the Jewish people stretching back far into the past, as also with certain other historical persons and events of the first century of our era, and embodied in Hebrew and Christian Records. So that the treatment of the subject can only be complete when the pre-suppositions implied in this connection are discussed in their bearing on the significance of the Christian facts, and the records are properly estimated.

In developing this Method the matter is divided into three Books, of which the *first* treats of the Christian facts that may be assumed to be really, or, at least, provisionally admitted by all parties, and of the Christian and other theories of the Universe around which speculative thought has gravitated, namely, the Pantheistic, Materialistic, Deistic, Modern Speculative Theism and Agnosticism. The *second* Book is devoted to the Historical Preparation for Christianity, embracing the burning questions connected with Hebrew History and Literature in their relation to Christ; while the *last* Book on the Christian Origins covers the main controversies bearing on historical Christianity. It might be thought that the fully-developed defensive statement for Christianity would also include a specific and systematic application or development of the *minimum* of Christian facts, so as to secure the recognition of affirmation concerning the Person and Work of Christ somewhat corresponding to what may be termed Apostolic doctrine. But, although some may think that Dr Bruce might fairly have claimed more for his *minimum* of Christian facts, yet I apprehend that those who know the value of caution and gentle reasonableness in dealing with doubters, and who have confidence in the implications of the impression of Jesus produced by the reading of the Synoptics, will agree with him in his general treatment of the subject. How he utilises the knowledge given by the Fourth Gospel and makes it give more positive and dogmatic form to the implications of the other Gospels is well illustrated in the chapter devoted to it, especially on p. 480. Doubters who follow his leading will not fail to find rest in the essential Christian Faith.

The fundamental Christian facts which form the base of the argument are obtained by taking as true those representations of Jesus of Nazareth in which the Synoptics agree, and which, apart from the minutiae of criticism, impress every one as real—namely His strong love for men, even for the outcast; His active benevolence, covering the welfare of the body and soul; His distinct settin

forth of God as Father, even of the wretched and lost ; His constant recognition of the intrinsic worth of human nature, notwithstanding its low moral and social condition,—revealing an extraordinary optimistic humanitarianism ; His ethical ideal for all men—the being God-like ; His own marvellous personality and unclouded consciousness of it ; His proclamation and beginning of a new order, known as the Kingdom of God,—pointing on to the highest good of the human race ; and His high doctrine of sin and of holiness, revealed in conflict with Rabbinism and exemplified in His own person.

The Christian facts being these, they imply a certain theory of the Universe, especially concerning God in His relation to Man, held in common by Jesus and those who intelligently believe on Him. The facts being what they are, we see that God is regarded as an ethical Personality standing in peculiar relation to Man, whose position as a Son is of the highest significance. Moreover, Sin is distinct from physical and social evil ; and is, in a large sense, their cause. It is not an infirmity, or a necessity, or a negative side of good. It is the outcome of a free moral personality ; the guilt it entails is consonant with the dignity of the nature that creates it. God, though not the author of Sin, is the Creator and Sustainer of all else ; and is conceived as working all things through Christ towards the creation of a new Heaven and new Earth, wherein, as the Kingdom of God, righteousness and love will be triumphant.

Such a Christian view of the Universe leads on to a consideration of those in contrast with it. Pantheism, mainly as held and defended by Spinoza, is expounded with as little use of his uncouth technicalities as is perhaps possible, and with a fairness and candour that give all the more weight to considerations subsequently adduced to show the untenableness of the theory. Dr Bruce is right in tracing Spinoza's system genetically to Descartes, whose peculiar dualism, no doubt, suggested monism ; though, I imagine, his definition of Substance, which gave the form to Spinoza's, had more to do with it. After pointing out these reasons why Pantheism has a fascination for some persons, Dr Bruce passes on to a discussion of the difficulties it involves, and finally comes to the conclusion of Lotze that so far from personality not being predicable of God it is only of Him, in the most perfect sense, it can be predicated. But while minds of metaphysical bent tend towards Pantheism, it is those of more matter-of-fact nature that drift off to Materialism. The success achieved in the physical sciences has tended also in this direction. Two forms of Materialism are noticed—the crude and the qualified or “prudent.” Büchner and Vogt are taken as representatives of the former, seeing that they get thought from brain



much as they get bile from liver. The "prudent" form embraces two sections—one represented by Professor Bain, who regards matter and mind as "two faces" of our Reality; and the other by Clifford, who suggests a "mind-stuff" in all matter—advocating, it may be observed, in passing, in his own form, the *beseelt* matter of Stahl and Haeckel, and the perceptive monads of Leibnitz. Our author subjects Materialism to a careful scrutiny, exposing its inherent weakness, especially on its ethical side,—how it fails to find any objective basis of morality; how, by its negation of freedom, and consequent responsibility, it robs life of its real worth, and substitutes for religion a worship of ideals. On the question of Life and Consciousness, within a few pages there is condensed the result of a large amount of close thinking, and very much to the purpose. I am disposed to agree with the statement (p. 107) that in maintaining faith in God as "the fountain of Life" it is not necessary to regard the first emergence of life as due to the immediate and absolute causality of God apart from all natural conditions. Certainly not, because inorganic preparation precedes organic life. But when it is added that this view may eliminate miracle, or the purely supernatural, though not the divine act which underlies the whole, I am not able to follow. For inorganic preparation by natural causes is not identical with the production of the first life by natural causes. If it is not, then we have in the appearance of first life an increment to the Universe by the act of God direct, the conditions being ripe for its exercise. The same would hold true of Consciousness.

The treatment of Deism, as it deserves, is brief, severe, and now and then caustic. Deism has had its day, not again, be it hoped, to rise from the dead. Far more important for the modern apologist is modern speculative Theism, which, though like Deism, rejecting revelation, reducing religion to a few elementary beliefs accessible to all by the light of nature, presenting generally the same light-hearted optimistic view of the world, the same naturalistic conception of God's relation to the world, and equal opposition to all that is miraculous, is, however, more sympathetic in tone, causing, by the presence of a warm emotional temperament, what is really a cold, hard system to appear better than it is seen to be, when laid bare as to its essential contents. Its chief departure from the old Deism lies in the stress it lays on the immanence of God, but with this limitation, that the activity of God is strictly confined to the course of nature. God lives only as He is expressed in a natural order. Now and then, as in the case of Theodore Parker, there is an oscillation between Pantheism and true Theism. The unstable equilibrium of speculative Theism seems to arise from a conflict for the pre-eminence between the intellectual and emotional sides of

our nature. On the religious side it only half yields to the demands of the heart. Hence some of its supporters plead for the right to pray, while others consider all prayer absurd.

Agnosticism, as represented by Mr Spencer, next comes under consideration. Among the causes or occasions of its prevalence Dr Bruce thinks that the conflicting views of the advocates of Theism may be mentioned. The objections brought by theists, now against the Cosmological, now the Teleological, and now the Ontological argument, are apt to suggest to some minds that the theistic foundation is most uncertain, and hence prudence would say that the knowledge sought is unattainable. Over against this Dr Bruce places the fact, that all theists agree as to the thing to be proved; and their harmony in belief ought to weigh more in our judgment than variation in evidence. Our belief in God is possibly "antecedent to evidence," and "in our theistic reasoning we formulate proof of a foregone conclusion innate and inevitable" (p. 157). With all respect to our author, I think he has put the case against the theists rather too strongly. Kant's disparagement of the Cosmological argument was the outgrowth of his system, and is not identical with a common rejection of that argument when properly stated. Anselm's peculiar argument was not devised because he rejected the other lines of proof, any more than was Janet's "Final Causes" so elaborated. Both are consistent with the use of Kant's moral argument based on the Categorical Imperative, as is the Ontological with the argument from Order adjusted to our ideas of Evolution; and are so used, as converging lines of proof, by the best theistic writers. In speaking of unconscious belief "antecedent to evidence" as counting for much, is not Dr Bruce virtually using the argument which in the older theistic treatises figured as the *Consensus Gentium*? Nor can I, without qualification, fall in with the statement, "It would seem as if the way of wisdom were to abstain from all attempts at proving the Divine existence, and, assuming the datum that God is, to restrict our inquiries to what He is." If this means that we take common ground with such an agnostic as Mr Spencer in assuming that there is, at the origin and base of all things, One Eternal Reality, and that we seek by argument to prove that this Reality possesses the qualities which really enter into our idea of God, then all is well—that is what many of us do. Only we must not call it "assuming the datum that God is."

In Book II. we pass on to the "Historical Preparation for Christianity." Here it is pointed out that the Traditional view of the historical character of the Pentateuch, as giving a true account of God's progressive Revelation of Himself, is assailed by Criticism, and having outlined the main critical positions, our author says: "From the foregoing brief outline it will be seen that the effect of modern

criticism on the mode of viewing the religious history of Israel is serious. It amounts to an inversion of the order subsisting between law and prophecy. . . . A very important question now arises for the apologist: What is to be his attitude towards this critical view?" The reply to this question is important, as it enables us to understand better the following treatment of the subject. It is "that the apologist is not called upon to accept the results of modern criticism, or to constitute himself an advocate of its claims to scientific certainty. He is entitled to hold himself aloof from critical dogmatism, and to keep his personal opinions in a state of suspense." For many reasons he may so excuse himself. "It will be time enough for the apologist to dogmatise when criticism has arrived at the stage of finality. It is far enough from having reached that stage yet." The business, then, of the apologist is to adjust himself to the new situation, and see how, if at all, the truth of Christianity is affected by it.

In pursuance of his plan, Dr Bruce takes a survey of the forms of teaching and influence that determined the religious development of Israel—beginning with the prophets as assured ground and as throwing light on Mosaism, and then working downwards again through Judaism and Legalism towards the Christian era. The briefest designation of the prophetic theological position is that of ethical monotheism which though conceived as universal did not overlook the individual. Its source was not, as Renan supposes, in a monotheistic tendency shared by the Hebrews in common with all Semitic races; nor was its universality the consequence of the widening of Israel's political horizon on the rise of the great Assyrian power. The prophets had no doubt of its source. They felt it to be "a revelation direct from heaven." The prophets also held tenaciously to the Divine Election of Israel as a means to the accomplishment for a far-reaching purpose; nor were the people of the Exodus altogether in the dark as to this purpose. This opens up an apologetical problem with respect to other nations outside the election; and its solution is to be sought in the fact that in the election itself there was a general regard for the human race, and that other nations, as attested by Scripture, and more explicitly pointed out by Justin Martyr, shared in a light which, in its measure, prepared the way for the final result. The chapter on Mosaism brings out more distinctly Dr Bruce's relation to some extreme forms of criticism. Readers of Wellhausen's *History of Israel and Judah* will remember how he minimises the significance of the Exodus from Egypt. Dr Bruce regards it as one of the three great crises in the national life which gave occasion for a special Revelation from God to the chosen people. The Decalogue is not to be referred to the age of Manasseh (Wellhausen), but is the

distinctive work of Moses, which marks him out as a great man imbued with the prophetic spirit, insisting most of all on moral fidelity. The Monotheism of Moses is manifest, not as a theoretically new idea, but exhibited with the emphasis arising out of new circumstances. That "later personalities" should be characterised by a low morality is no reason why the lofty morality of the Decalogue or its implied Monotheism were not Mosaic. The morality and teaching of Christ rise high above the morality and ideas of Christendom. As to the Priestly Code, Dr Bruce seems to agree with Riehm that very ancient customs were in existence during the Mosaic age, which later on were fixed in writing, with the additions required by circumstances, and were called after Moses because their spirit and main features were Mosaic. Here we are on very debateable ground. Moses was both legislator and prophet, and was necessarily compelled by circumstances to organise the people just free from serfdom and the deteriorating religious influences of Egypt. Dr Bruce points out that the probable reason why the doctrine of a future state was not included in his teaching, was not that he and the people were ignorant of the existence of such a state, but that their minds might be entirely diverted from the gross ideas of it which were familiar to Egyptians, as seen in their "ritual of the dead." The same careful legislative temper might surely have led to the introduction of, at least, some fundamental regulations for the discharge of religious duties. The instinct which, later on, after the exile, Dr Bruce thinks, led men to prescribe rules for the preservation of what is good in worship, could not have been wanting in one so wise, and who could not but see that moral obedience is not unconnected with the proper maintenance of fellowship with God in acts of worship. Returning from Mosaism to Prophetism it is further pointed out that the prophetic optimism took the form of a coming Royal Man, and a Kingdom of the good to be brought about by the Royal Man becoming the Suffering Servant. Two chapters are devoted to Judaism as introduced by Ezra, and to the Legalism that grew out of it. The characteristic of Judaism is that it puts morality and ritual on the same level. Here, then, was apparently a descent, and hence there arises an apologetical difficulty, the solution of which is sought in Judaism being conceived as a "husk to protect the kernel of ethical monotheism." It is affirmed that there was much in the Code (post-exilic) that tended to subserve this purpose. It is also said that the Apologetic problem is easier than if the whole Code were held to be as old as Moses. But is that the only alternative? On the Literature of the Old Testament we have some excellent observations. On the question of the casting of ideas into the form of history, Dr Bruce says, "If the critics are right, Hebrew editors could do without hesitation what

we should think hardly compatible with literary honesty. . . . This may be crude morality, but it is not immorality" (p. 309). This is a large question, and those who affirm the *non-historical* character of much of the New Testament narratives may, I think, have to be checked from taking too much encouragement from this admission.

Space forbids entering on the fruitful subject of "Christian Origins," set forth in the *third* Book ; where Jesus, as the Christ, Founder of the Kingdom, Risen and Lord, and Paul and Primitive Christianity, together with the Synoptics and the Fourth Gospel, are the subjects of much profound thought, clear exposition, and forceful reasoning. The treatment of the Resurrection and of the Tübingen conceptions of Paul and Primitive Christianity are especially helpful. The origin and historic value of the Synoptics are dealt with in such a way as to justify all that was affirmed of Jesus in the early chapter on "The Christian Facts." The study given of the place, and apologetic value of the Fourth Gospel, is one of the most useful products of Dr Bruce's efforts. The statements on p. 480 will, I think, commend themselves to all candid inquirers on this interesting and important subject. The Christian Church is greatly indebted to Dr Bruce for this volume. It deserves a wide circulation. It will do much towards forming and sustaining a sound, healthy habit of mind in relation to crucial questions, and will tend to render the Church more calm and persistent in her work for the good of mankind and the glory of Christ.

CHARLES CHAPMAN.

### **Handkommentar zum Alten Testament.**

*Das Buch Jesaia von Bernh. Duhm, Professor in Basel. Goettingen, Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht. 1892. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xxii. 458. Price 8s. 6d., bound 10s.*

THIS is the first volume of another new undertaking under the editorship of Prof. Nowack of Strassburg. The Editor himself promises the Minor Prophets, and eminent hands have been engaged to co-operate with him on the other Books. Kittel undertakes the Kings, Giesebrecht Jeremiah, and Baethgen the Psalms. The last-named author's instalment has already appeared. Every one will rejoice that Budde, who has already made noteworthy contributions to the exposition of Job, has made himself responsible for that Book ; something in advance of all previous studies, particularly in the region of the criticism of Job, may confidently be expected. "Dr Phil. Theodor Arndt, prediger an St Petri zu Berlin," has been

entrusted with Ezekiel. Arndt has already written a tract, called "The Place of Ezekiel in Old Testament Prophecy," which is perhaps the most prejudiced and ill-informed thing ever written even on Ezekiel. At the time of writing it, however, he appears to have read only Smend's Commentary; when he comes to read the prophet's own writings he will do better. And, no doubt, the Editor will take care that notes of startling originality, like one in the tract, "The Ethical dative, an Aramaism," shall occur only in moderate quantity, in conformity with the idea of a Handcommentar.

There are many things in Duhm's work which few will agree with, a number of things which perhaps nobody will agree with, methods that will be considered wrong, and principles that will be held false, and as the result of them conclusions that will be absolutely rejected, but everyone will acknowledge the great ability of the Book, even the brilliancy of some parts of it. A more powerful exposition of Is. vi. has not yet been given. And everywhere the notes are full of body, and stimulating even when they will be thought misleading. The reader finds with thankfulness that there is no over-indulgence in textual criticism, and if the conjectures offered do not always commend themselves, they are seldom foolish. An undoubted blot on the book is the tone of arrogance pervading it both towards other writers and towards the text itself. Duhm does not see why he should not speak his mind freely, whether it be about a writer who wrote in Jerusalem, or about one who writes in Berlin; and as he baits Dillmann with incessant sarcasm, often clumsy enough, he tells his prophetic author that his imagination is "sterile," and that his Hebrew would disgrace a school boy. There are many minds whom such things will hurt, and some respect was due to them, though in justice to Duhm himself, the enthusiasm which he feels and expresses for the older parts of Isaiah should be thrown into the opposite scale. But apart from this, such overgrown self-consciousness and sense of superiority to everyone else, ancient or modern, betrays the author into a carping, supercilious criticism, always unpleasant, and sometimes decidedly in the wrong place. Thus on Ch. i. 4, "they have forsaken the Lord" (אֲחֲזִי), he remarks: "Surprising are the two nota acc. in 4 b, especially the first; in such trifling matters the older transcribers may have been careless enough." This insinuation as to the faultiness of the text is characteristic. Duhm would expunge *eth*, with a patronising reference to the carelessness of transcribers. But is it not the case that older writers, like Isaiah and Hosea, always use *eth* before the name Jehovah when the object of a verb, and that it is only in later pieces that the particle occasionally fails (xii. 5)? There is another class of criticisms, possibly springing from the same source, at any rate numerous and disagreeable, of which that on Ch. xvii. 7, 8 is an

example. These two verses are thrown out as spurious on this ground—"If Israel is so completely annihilated as ver. 5 seq. describes, and if its cities be desolated, according to ver. 9, it is superfluous to say that men, who are eradicated, will no more look to the work of their own hands, which are destroyed." Things like these, and there are too many of them (*e.g.*, notes on xi. 9, 10), almost provoke one to say that Professor Duhm would show to more advantage in a commentary on Euclid's *Elements*, than in one on a poet like Isaiah.

In his preface Duhm lays down three rules for his own guidance and that of all other commentators. The rules are unimpeachable ; the only peculiar thing is that the author appears to think them new. The first is that the commentator must assume that his author wrote his own language correctly. This is directed against those who defend the text at all hazards, and attempt to translate what is untranslatable. Nothing could be more perverse, and the thing has been too much practised under a mistaken reverence for the Massoretic text. The second is, that the metre must be carefully attended to, and may be used as a critical instrument for removing excrescences from the reading. And the third is, that the commentator must practise criticism ; that is, for example, he must take note of the religious sentiments and modes of thought occurring in a passage, as well as the phraseology in which they are expressed, and assign the passage to the age or period when such thoughts and language are from other sources known to have prevailed—and many other such like things. The principles are good, it is the application of them that raises questions. What a prospect of contentious matter, extending over the whole field of Old Testament theology and history, is opened up, for instance, by the third principle ! It is on this field that the most important of Duhm's critical results in Isaiah are gained, and here that the main interest of his commentary lies. Probably it is here, too, that a final judgment will be passed on it when the time is ripe. The second principle also is capable of great abuse, and does appear abused by Duhm. Even in formally poetical compositions writers allow themselves very considerable variety in the length of the line, as can be seen in the most artistic of all poetry, the Lamentations ; and such unevenness is much more to be expected in Prophecy, which is only half poetical in form. And under the reaction against former methods even the first principle is in danger of being carried to an extreme. The literature preserved in the Bible is but a scanty thesaurus of the Hebrew *language*. From the nature of the case, both forms and constructions will occur in single examples, which a more ample literature might have shown to be not uncommon. The cry of "*unhebräisch*" is becoming too customary. The critical gamekeepers who raise it are comparable

only to gamekeepers of another sort, who shoot down every creature of God which does not show the familiar grey of the grouse.

After all the proof of principles and the application of them is the results which are produced. Looking down Duhm's translation with its variety of type, indicative of the same or a greater variety of authors, we discover that there is hardly a chapter in Isaiah, and in some passages hardly a line which has not been patched and clouted by successive cobblers. One cannot but ask, Is there any literary analogy to this? Has any other literature been subjected to similar treatment? We know, for example, how it fared with New Testament MSS., the kind and the source of changes introduced into them, and no one would deny that similar comparison of Book with Book, and consequent amplifications of the text, perhaps even on a greater scale, might have taken place in Old Testament MSS. But this has no resemblance to the pervasive over-working of the ancient texts assumed by Duhm. The question is one which, of course, *à priori* probabilities or improbabilities will not settle. The grounds on which passages are denied to be Isaiah's, and ascribed to another hand or relegated to a later age, will have to be examined in each particular case. While in some cases these grounds are to be found in the methods and idiosyncrasies of this particular commentator, in most cases they will be found in the critical and historical axioms with which the author has approached his task.

The starting point of his critical operations, and the test or criterion employed in them, is a certain view of the religious history of Israel, and of the nature of the progress of religious ideas among the people. It is really here, as has been said, that the interest of the Commentary lies. For though the work be able, it is as a criticism of Isaiah rather than as an exposition, that it has meaning, and can be regarded as a contribution. It is the first continuous application to an ancient writing of modern principles, and the results are startling. It is allowable, indeed, to say, and this is what many will say, and what we should like to be able to say, that the extraordinary results are due not to the principles, but to an exaggerated or extravagant way of conceiving and applying the principles. An example or two in illustration is all that can be given. Isaiah iii. 10, 11, "Say ye of the righteous that it shall be well with him. . . woe to the wicked it shall be ill with him," &c., is thrown out of the text and relegated to a later age for this reason: "For Isaiah and the older time the righteous shall eat of the good of the land (i. 19), if they are more or less identical with the whole people; the doctrine of individual retribution, which is obviously the meaning of the present passage, could naturally only become prevalent when the state had lost its meaning for religion, and the individual," &c.—*i.e.*, the passage is post-exile. Assuming the cor-



rectness of the author's exegesis, does he not push the idea, true within limits, that the individual had significance only as part of the state, to an extravagant length? The woman of Zarepta said to Elijah, Art thou come to call my sin to remembrance, and slay my son? This heathen woman was familiar with the idea of individual retribution. And one would like to know what David thought of the relation of the death of his child to his sin. The passage, Am. ix. 9, 10, might be referred to, but, no doubt, Duhm would draw his pen through it. It is true the prophets deal with the state and threaten it with destruction from the Assyrian. But the Assyrian was not the only instrument in God's hand. And if the idea of the Kingdom of God and its destinies absorbed the prophets, this does not forbid that other ideas on different lines may have been contemporaneous. If Professor Duhm be right, Israel must have stood on a lower level than any nation under heaven, and Elijah's landlady had a much deeper religious insight than himself.

Another example, a type of many, is the author's treatment of Is. iv. This chapter is thrown out bodily, with numerous sneers at Stade, who sought only to reconstruct it, and relegated to the second century B.C., or at least to a post-Deuteronomic age. The chief reason for this is the occurrence of the word "holy," v. 3 (of course vi. 13, "the holy seed" has also been thrown overboard). To a reader without the author's preconceptions, the sense which he puts on "holy" will perhaps seem forced. In vi. 5, the prophet uses another word which also is technical in later books, viz., "unclean," the opposite of holy, and it is probable that he uses both more with a moral *nuance*, which may, however, suggest the close connection of the moral and ceremonial. But even if it were otherwise, would the use of "holy" be sure evidence for the spuriousness of the passage? The author conjures as usual with Deuteronomy. We know that given Deuteronomy and Ezekiel all mysteries are explained. But for ourselves the real mystery is Deuteronomy and Ezekiel themselves. Did they rise up suddenly "without hand," like a volcanic island in the midst of the sea? Religious thought is a stream which is continuous, and cannot be cut into zones by drawing straight lines after the manner of Ezekiel's holy land in the latter day. Was the chasm between Israel's early period and her late period of thought absolutely unbridged?

The author's general construction of the Book of Isaiah may be referred to, details being omitted. It must be said that his manner of dealing with historical evidence is arbitrary enough. The chronicler's reference to Jeremiah (Ezr. i. 1-3) is read as proof that the chronicler regarded Is. xliv. 28 as a prophecy of Jeremiah's. If this were so, it would be curious as well as unique in tradition. But Jeremiah is referred to merely as the author of the prophecy of

70 years, now about to come to an end, just as in Dan. ix. 2. It is by no means certain that there is in Ezr. i. 1-3 (2 Chr. xxxvi. 22) any reference to Isaiah whatever. Again, the chronicler (2 Chr. xxxii. 32) refers to the Vision of Isaiah, and cites the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel for it. This has reference to Is. xxxvi.-xxxix., which, Duhm argues, could not, in the chronicler's day, have formed part of the Book of Isaiah, or the chronicler would have cited it from there, as he evidently felt his obligations to the Book of the Kings to be burdensome. Those who think this reasoning cogent may do so. Further, Sirach (xlviii. 23 *seq.*) knows both ch. xxxvi. *seq.* and ch. xl. *seq.* as part of Isaiah. It is preposterous to argue, as Duhm does, that he knew *only* these pieces as parts of the Book of Isaiah. Obviously in Sirach's day (200 B.C.) the *frame* of the Book of Isaiah was the same as in ours, the early part was in some measure the same, the final part the same, and the historical section stood where it does, between them. The question is, does this imply that the early part was, in all its elements, the same? Or is it possible that insertions into the first part of individual pieces may have taken place later? Whether such insertion took place or not actually, the possibility of it can hardly be denied. Before Sirach's day there was certainly a collection of Psalms, but according to most scholars at least, it received additions, and even insertions, at a date posterior to his time. The general view is that the prophetic Canon was completed by 200 B.C., but so much uncertainty surrounds all questions of the Canon, that this view cannot be pleaded as an axiomatic bar to Duhm's theory of Maccabean prophecies in the Book of Isaiah. The patches with which the older pieces are covered being taken into account, not less than twelve or fourteen chapters of the first half of Isaiah are thrown into the Maccabean time, the principal being ch. iv., xi. 9 *seq.*, xii., xv.-xvi., part of xix., xxiv.-xxvii., xxxiii., xxxiv.-xxxv., some being as late as the early part of the first century B.C. Some other chapters belong to the time of Ochus, and some to the early Greek period. The evidence for this is that already referred to; the sentiments are not those of the age of Isaiah; the eschatology is not his, but that of later Judaism; the "*inevitable*" *on that day* characterises everything. Of course the consequence of this view is that it was not till the Maccabean age that *any* of Isaiah's prophecies were collected together, because it is not a question merely of the addition or insertion of new pieces, but of the patching of the most ancient, and this patching must have been done by the editors who gathered the pieces together. What a glorious view the Maccabean age presents to our admiring eyes. How rich the period was in literature. The great writers on the Psalter have shown us how every skirmish of the day had its poet, and how every rise and fall in the spirits of

the little army have been photographed in the Psalms which we sing. And now Professor Duhm draws the curtain aside and exhibits a company of Prophets no less numerous than the Poets we knew before. Now, we realise how that extraordinary prophecy, Is. xix. 24, came to be uttered: "In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth; for that the Lord of hosts hath blessed them, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria (*i.e.*, Syria), the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance." The occasion of it was that Jonathan the Maccabee was invited to the wedding of Alexander Balas, the Syrian usurper, with Cleopatra, daughter of the king of Egypt. Such a meeting of such a three could mean nothing less than that the kingdoms of the earth would speedily be the kingdoms of the Lord. One thing is difficult to understand amidst this wealth of prophecy, namely, how the people should be so often represented in the Book of Maccabees as complaining and lamenting that they had no Prophet. Had they, perhaps, the same opinion of their prophets as Professor Duhm has,—that they were sterile in imagination and solecists in style?

Professor Duhm's critical analysis of Is. xl.-lxvi. is very interesting. Briefly it is this: (1.) The author of ch. xl.-lv. is the Deutero-Isaiah, the great Anonymous of the Exile, though, of course, the chapters have not escaped considerable retouching, the amount of which may be about a fourth. (2.) But apart from this there is in these chapters an element that must be subtracted from them, *viz.*, the passages on the Servant of the Lord, ch. xlii. 1-4; xlix. 1-6; l. 4-9; and lii. 13—liii. 12. These are the work of a writer living not long after the Return, and the subject of them, the Servant, is a man of that time, a teacher and a martyr. (3.) The chapters lvi.-lxvi. have a single author, whom Duhm names Trito-Isaiah, a writer of the age of Ezra. The first division needs no comment. On the second, the Servant passages, it is satisfactory that Duhm regards them all to have the same subject, for the idea that the subject of ch. lii. 13 *seq.* differs from that in the two earlier passages must be regarded as particularly unhappy. Ewald held that the chief Servant passages existed once separately, but he considered that the author was earlier than Deutero-Isaiah, who worked the passages into his own prophecy. This, whether true or not, was a feasible hypothesis. But Duhm's idea that the author was later than Deutero-Isaiah, and that the passages must have been worked into his finished composition, is very improbable. No doubt a certain point of contact lay in the fact that Deutero-Isaiah also uses the term Servant, though of the empirical people; but that fact, instead of favouring Duhm's hypothesis, suggests an entirely different one, *viz.*, that there is only one author who speaks of the Servant, even Deutero-Isaiah himself.

Duhm's view that the Servant is an individual who lived after the Return is Ewald's view, with a change of date. But nothing will make such a theory probable. The glorification of an individual, even if he were in some degree an uncommon person, is so hyperbolic, and such effects are ascribed to his life and death, as to be altogether incredible. And we have a right to demand of history some account of this person. Its silence justifies our disbelief in him. Duhm's treatment of this point shows wherein his greatest weakness lies. We have plenty of logic from him, plenty of the abstract, plenty even of the vulgar concrete, which cannot imagine that a prophet should express a general conception, and which demands a definite particular occurrence, such as the marriage of Alexander Balas, or something in the reign of John Hyrcanus, as the basis of every prophecy, but a literary ideal he cannot understand.

The notes on chaps. lvi.-lxvi. have put more clearly than it has ever been put before, an important question raised by these chapters, viz., who the persons are whom the prophet assails with such violence in chapters lix., lxx., and lxxvi., and, according to Duhm, in lviii. ? Of course the answer will depend partly on the view taken of the date and authorship of the chapters. There are persons ready to stake their reputations, or, we suppose, their heads, that the chapters emanate from a number of authors, from the Return down to the end of the Persian period, they are so incompatible in sentiment and situation with one another. Duhm assigns them all to one author and one situation. We are thankful to him that he does not create historical situations out of nothing in order to explain the prophecy, and accepts the plain meaning. "Our holy and beautiful house, where our fathers served thee, is burnt with fire" (lxiv.), he refers, as a fair-minded person must, to the first temple and the burning of it (we doubt if "our fathers" ever means anything but the pre-exile people). A hypothetical burning shortly before Nehemiah, which history contradicts, or one under Ochus, on which history is silent, is not here. Professor Duhm assumes the situation of these chapters to be that of the people in the century after the Return, the time prior to Ezra's reformation. The persons whom the prophet assails are the bastard-brood born of the Assyrian colonists and the native Jewish inhabitants of the northern kingdom, afterwards known as the Samaritans. The practices laid to their charge (Isaiah lxx. 3 *seq.* ; lxxvi. 17), otherwise unknown in the Old Testament, are explainable as importations from the East. The theory raises questions regarding the relations of the returned exiles to the mixed populations already in the country, which make this division of the author's work really the most important part of it. There are many obstacles in the way of his theory. The closeness of relation between the exiles

and the natives of the land which he assumes, being for a time a virtual amalgamation, is difficult to reconcile with Ezra iv., and goes far beyond the occasional mixed marriages known to have taken place. The way in which God speaks of the idolaters, "I have spread out my hands to a rebellious people," and the words spoken of them, "Destroy it not for a blessing is in it" (lxv. 2, 8), are little natural, if the mixed population of the land be the subject. Further, chapter lvii. cannot be brought into the author's scheme without the usual violent excisions of parts of the text. And when he regards the words, "What manner of house will ye build unto me, and what place shall be my rest" (lxvi. 1), as referring to a project of the Samaritans to build a temple, the only difficulty being about the site of it, the reader is pleased to find that he can be humorous as well as sarcastic. Nevertheless, this part of the work is worthy of the closest attention and examination.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

### **Baethgen's Commentary on the Psalms.**

*Die Psalmen übersetzt und erklärt von Dr Frdr. Baethgen, o. Prof. d. Theol. in Greifswald. Handcommentar zum A. T., hrsgb. von W. Nowack. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xlv, 451. Price M. 8.20.*

IN approaching a work like the present, it is desirable to ascertain in what lines the author has already attained distinction. For though the preliminary researches of a critic afford no sure measure of his ultimate success, they do give an insight into his self-training and his modes of thought and study, which will prevent one from expecting the wrong things, and from applying an unfair standard to his work. Time passes quickly, but it seems not so many years since his dissertation on the Syriac Sindban announced to us that we had another able Syriac scholar eager for work. And again and again since then Syriac literature has furnished the staple of his communications, even when, as one is glad to add, a Biblical interest has also very clearly shown itself. To the works mentioned below<sup>1</sup> I would add Prof. Baethgen's articles on the ancient versions of the Psalter (*Jahrbücher für prot. Theologie*, 1882, p. 405 &c., and p. 593 &c.; comp. article in *Th. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1888, p. 750 &c.), and also his articles on the exposition of the Psalter by

<sup>1</sup> *Untersuchungen üb. die Psalmen nach der Peschita*; Abth. I.; Kiel, 1878. *Sindban, oder die sieben weisen Meister, syrisch und deutsch*; Leipzig, 1879. *Fragmente syrischer und arabischer Historiker*; herausg. u. übers. von F. B.; Leipzig, 1884. *Evangelienfragmente. Der griech. Text des Cureton'schen Syrsers wiederhergestellt*; Leipzig, 1885.

Theodore of Mopsuestia, a continuous body of extracts from which exists in Syriac; while fragments of the original Greek are to be found in Corderius and Migne (*Zt. f. die alttest. Wiss.*, 1885, p. 53 &c.; 1886, p. 261 &c.). To the former articles I have been indebted in *Book of Psalms* (1888), where I have ventured to propose Baethgen to our younger scholars as a model of a methodical text-critic; to the latter in *Origin of the Psalter* (1891), where I have throughout treated Baethgen's favourite author, Theodore of Mopsuestia, as the earliest of our historical critics, on the basis of Baethgen's critical researches. Lastly, I must mention Baethgen's latest work but one—his *Beiträge zur semit. Religionsgeschichte*—in which the old Semitic names of divinities are collected and discussed, with special reference to the data of the inscriptions.

We may therefore expect that the present book will at any rate be strong in text-criticism and in archæological illustrations, and also, perhaps, that the development of the Israelitish idea of God will have some interest for the author. Whether he has a head for grammatical difficulties, or for the connection of thought, or for taking a combined view of the exegetical data of a psalm, or for the complicated problems of "higher criticism," we cannot tell, without close study of this book. It ought, however, to be mentioned that the *Beiträge* reveals a very strong dislike to what Baethgen supposes to be the tendency of the school of Kuenen and Wellhausen, and consequently to the views which adherents of this school propound. I think that such a thorough student as the author ought to have been able to conquer this dislike, which, as we British scholars know, arises from an unnecessary identification of Kuenen's theology with his criticism. Orthodox in the old sense, of course, we none of us are, but we are for a continuous theological development, and not for revolution, and herein, as it would seem, we differ to some extent from Kuenen. All that excited declamation which mars some pages of the *Beiträge* proves that, in 1888, Baethgen the theologian was far behind Baethgen the linguist and the text-critic, and that he was not then well suited to discuss the problems of Old Testament criticism. Of such excitement there is but little trace in the present volume, though I shall presently have to remark that the fire of theological passion is not yet wholly extinct.

The book opens with an introduction, which, for the most part, has to deal with matters of fact and the author's critical theories. I cannot for a moment compare it with Professor Robertson Smith's article, "Psalms," in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, but it will nevertheless be helpful to students. Eleven pages of it are devoted to the question of the age of the Psalms, in which the author gives not only his results, but some insight into his critical processes. He is on the side of progress, and is willing to refer "by far the

larger half of the psalms to the post-Exilic age." Only one psalm, according to him, is certainly Davidic, and that is the 18th. But, alas ! it is only the kernel which is Davidic, and who shall tell us what this kernel is ? I understand Baethgen to say that David's original "song of victory" has been very much "worked over," and that, in its remodelled form, it expressed the sentiments of the Church-nation. How this is to be reconciled with the statement in the *Beiträge*<sup>1</sup> (p. 227) I do not know, but I welcome this important concession to advanced criticism, and though the author assures us that "the theory that a later poet put the psalm into David's mouth seems very improbable," I am not much disturbed by this harmless blast. That theory cannot be pooh-poohed, for it is in harmony with well-known facts (see *e.g.*, 2 Sam. xxiii. 1-6 and the Book of Chronicles). And when Baethgen asserts (Introd., p. xxiv) that "the proud words of Ps. xviii. 44, 45, cannot be explained from the time of Josiah (Cheyne), and, of course, much less from the post-Exilic period," he forgets that no one supposes that the political circumstances either of Josiah or of the post-Exilic people explain the expressions in these verses ; that if Josiah had clothed his dreams in words they would, of course, have been warlike ones ; and that in the post-Exilic period, even before the Maccabees arose, there were times when the old fierce longings flamed up again (*cf.* Baethgen himself on Ps. cx.). The author's treatment of the phraseological argument for the age of Ps. xviii. leaves much to be desired, nor can it be taken for granted at this stage of criticism that Hab. iii. is pre-Exilic.

Turning back, we find that Ps. i. is by a contemporary of Jeremiah, and Ps. ii. Maccabæan (the former theory is a piece of half-and-half criticism). Psalms iii. and iv. may, perhaps, be Davidic, but may equally well proceed from a later king. Baethgen, at any rate, "knows" that Hezekiah was a poet. One may grant to him the possible existence of Davidic elements in pre-Exilic or even post-Exilic psalms ; but what means have we of recognising them ? Baethgen thinks that we can point with certainty to thirty or forty psalms of pre-Exilic origin : *e.g.*, i., iii.-vii., viii. (?), ix.-xii., xiv., xv., xviii., xix. (first part), xx., xxi., xxiv. (second part), xxvi., xxviii.-xxx., xxxiii., xlii., xliii., xlvi., xlviii., l., lxi., lxiii., lxxvi. (?). Of uncertain period are xiii., xvii., xxxii., xxxiv., xxxvi., lii., liv., lv., lx. All the other psalms, Baethgen thinks, belong to the Exilic (*e.g.*, li., lxxx.) or post-Exilic period, and in

<sup>1</sup> "Upon both external and internal grounds Ps. xviii. cannot well be denied to David." In support of this view, the author of the *Beiträge*, refers to Riehm in his edition of Hupfeld. It is to be regretted that Nowack should have removed the square brackets in which Riehm expressed his opinions, and thus made himself responsible for Riehm's faulty criticism.

the two last books (xc.-cl.), not one can be assigned to an earlier period. To the Maccabæan age we may refer with certainty Psalms xliv., lxxiv., lxxix., lxxxiii., with probability, ii., cx., lxi., cxlix., and, with possibility, lxxv., cii., cviii., cxliv.

It will be seen that Baethgen confirms the view that there are but two views of the origin of the Psalter which are still critically tenable. Baethgen holds one (in a form which admits of much improvement); his references to myself force me to say that I still venture to hold the other. Baethgen virtually holds that there are no Davidic psalms; I, that there are no pre-Exilic ones. It appears to me that there is no such great gulf between these views as to justify the heat which he displays in his references to my book, to which, if it reached him so lately as he states that it did, he cannot have been able to give a thorough study. His attempt to glorify Prof. Robertson Smith at my expense seems to show, further, that he has not adequately studied my friend's article "Psalms," to which he refers. For in truth there is no writer on the criticism of the Psalms to whom I am nearer than to Prof. Robertson Smith, whose article I have conscientiously praised as "the best general introduction to the subject." I think, indeed, that his results, in so far as they are conservative, need reconsidering; the date of his article is 1886. But he has a grasp of Old Testament criticism, and in particular of Psalter-criticism, to which the author of the *Beiträge* naturally enough cannot yet lay claim, and it is easy to discuss difficulties with him with profit. How far Baethgen is as yet from being able to debate with other critics, is shown by his treatment of the Cambridge professor's theory with regard to Psalms xliv., lxxiv., and lxxix.,<sup>1</sup> and also, I am bound to add, by his treatment of myself. Bent on showing that Psalms xx. and xxi. cannot be post-Exilic psalms, and that my own explanation of an admitted difficulty is impossible, he takes two lines at the end of a long paragraph in my fifth Lecture, and a subsidiary argument in my linguistic appendix, and gives the combined result in a distorted form as my hypothesis. Far be it from me to weary the reader with a repetition of the data for a conclusion offered in my book. But when Baethgen says that I give a new signification to מֶלֶךְ, I reply, with regret, that this is not correct. The good old Hebrew sense of מֶלֶךְ is not "König oder Kaiser," but supreme judge, counsellor, and general. Hence שֹׁפֵט is synonymous with מֶלֶךְ in Am. ii. 3, Hos. vii. 7, Isa. xxxiii. 22, Ps. ii. 10 (post-Exilic, Baethgen); יְיָ, Mic. iv. 9, Job iii. 14 (late); מְחַיֶּה כּוֹסְמָתוֹר, Isa.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my notice of *OTJC*, ed. 2, in the *New World*, Sept. 1892; and cf. *Expositor*, Aug. 1892.



xxxiii. 22. To say that the use of מֶלֶךְ in sense of "ruler" might be facilitated in post-Exilic times by acquaintance with Aramaic may or may not be far-fetched, but unphilological it is not. I lay no stress upon this; Baethgen does, because it suits him, and ignores the point on which I do lay stress, viz., the good old Hebrew sense of מֶלֶךְ, found alike in early and in late writings. I maintain also, in independent agreement with Wellhausen (with whose *Prolegomena* Baethgen may not be familiar), that the post-Exilic high priest was possessed of much regal state and power, as the Biblical and other evidence proves.<sup>1</sup> I do not, however, dogmatically assert that it is a post-Exilic high-priest who is referred to, but would point out that no other theory as yet proposed is, from a plain reader's point of view, less difficult. Baethgen's theory, on various grounds, appears to me improbable.<sup>2</sup> Prof. Robertson Smith boldly suggests that Ps. lxxii. may be strictly Messianic. If that view be correct, of course Psalms xx. and xxi., lxi. and lxiii., may be so too, impossible as this seems at first sight. But they need not on that account be pre-Exilic. One more point and I have done with Baethgen's criticisms of my book. It is happily a point on which I have no great fault to find with this scholar. I think that though (Intro., p. xxvi) he quotes my own words, he does not perfectly understand them. For a fuller expression of my view upon *Elyōn* (which is, I believe, unassailable) I have referred in the book from which he quotes to my note in the *Book of Psalms* on Ps. vii. 18. There I have said that Geiger is wrong in taking this word as a sure sign of post-Exilic date, but that a subsidiary argument can be based upon it, because post-Exilic writers were specially fond of using it. I quite admit that if on other grounds Ps. xlvi. (for example) is probably pre-Exilic, the mere occurrence of *Elyōn* is no sufficient reason for giving it a later date. We should, in that case, group Ps. xlvi. with Num. xxiv. 15-19 (see v. 16) and Deut. xxxii. (see v. 8), both of which are generally regarded as pre-Exilic. Do "other grounds" exist? No one can answer this question with confidence who has not made a deep study both of the literature and the religion of the later age. The author will, I hope, pardon the doubt which is here implied. He has evidently made progress since the *Beiträge*, but has he as yet quite thrown off his theological prejudice against the theory of historical development which has been set forth, no doubt with many errors, but with consummate ability, by Kuenen? If he had done so, he would, I think,

<sup>1</sup> It may be noted that Prof. Robertson Smith explains the term "his anointed" in Ps. lxxxiv. 10 of the high priest.

<sup>2</sup> I am surprised at Baethgen's weak argument from xx. 8. How could such a pious king as is here described have had chariots and horses?

scarcely have said that as many as thirty or forty psalms are (in any real sense of the word) monuments of the pre-Exilic age.

I pass with a sense of relief to the text-criticism and exegesis of the book. To the Psalter we may apply the words which Ticknor uses, somewhere in his letters, of Dante. The Psalter is like the *mare magnum* of the early explorers; every voyage on it is sure to be rewarded by some fresh (real or supposed) discovery. On the whole the text-criticism is very able. At the same time, we must remember Kamphausen's caution.<sup>1</sup> The versions have in time past been comparatively neglected in text-criticism; now perhaps the pendulum will swing to the other side, and they will be overvalued. In 1888 I could not always accept Baethgen's corrections from the versions, nor can I now. I think that he has but little sense of rhythm, or even of a natural Hebrew style. Many a happy conjecture may, I think, be made even without the versions (which may themselves be full of conjectures), unless indeed we hold with Bentley, 'that in the sacred writings there's no place for conjectures.' It is sad to see that no notice has been taken of Lagarde's and Bickell's masterly corrections; Prof. T. K. Abbott's (in his recent *Essays*) he could hardly be expected to know. Still I heartily approve the freedom with which dots are used to indicate corrupt passages; indeed, they might perhaps have been scattered still more freely. As to Baethgen's exegesis, I am bound to say that it is weak in Biblical theology. It would seem that, just as in his text-criticism he is too much influenced by the versions, so in his exegesis he attaches too much weight to his old friend Theodore, who, after all, was a very early and also (in age) a very youthful interpreter. One of the psalms in the exegesis of which Theodore's influence is most perceptible is the 16th, which Baethgen interprets exclusively of the people of Israel. To me, I confess, the exclusive application of the nation-theory to this psalm seems rather difficult.<sup>2</sup> Mr Montefiore criticised me formerly for combining the two possible theories (in my *Book of Psalms*), but I am not sure that I was wrong. A double interpretation of certain psalms seems at any rate possible, and in the case of Ps. xvi. and xvii. it is specially recommended by the difficulty of explaining Ps. xvi. 10, 11, and xvii. 15, on the theory adopted by Baethgen and Wildeboer<sup>3</sup> from Theodore. Baethgen's commentary, however, is at any rate interesting. His correction of v. 3 (rejected by myself in 1888, but accepted by Nowack) involves making Ps. xvi. later at any rate than 2nd Isaiah. In

<sup>1</sup> Review of Nowack's *Psalmen*, in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1888, p. 577.

<sup>2</sup> Kuenen, according to Mr Wicksteed, admitted in his latest notes 'a presentiment of the belief in immortality' (*Jewish Quarterly Review*).

<sup>3</sup> See *Expositor*, January 1892.

v. 4 he leaves מוהרר untranslated ; in v. 5 he corrects תוּמִיךָ into תוּמִיךָ. On v. 4 he omits to refer to Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*, which might have assisted him in making out a pre-Exilic date. It is, however, rather perhaps his fellow-commentator Duhm who had occasion to go into this subject in commenting on Isa. lxx., lxxi.

I now propose to take a few psalms in order. There is, of course, more to praise than to blame ; the reader will kindly understand this. Biblical theology is not Baethgen's strong point ; I shall therefore not refer to it. On Ps. ii. 1, why is nothing said of רִנָּה ? ii. 4—The expression 'יִשָּׁב ב' is stated to be a mark of late speech, continuous habitation being expressed elsewhere by יָשָׁב with the accus. Is not this too subtle ? The observation might be difficult to prove. ii. 6—If the psalm is late, why object to the rendering 'anoint' ? ii. 12—Surely בֶּר 'son' is obviously wrong ; Lagarde's brilliant conjecture מוֹסְרוֹ (or מוֹסֵרוֹ) נִשְׁקָו 'Put on (again) his bonds,' ought to be accepted without hesitation. Ps. vii., introd.—To the allusions to Jeremiah add that in v. 15 to Jer. xviii. 20, 22, and on the heading, comp. *Expositor*, March 1892, p. 234 (should we not read 'Shimei, the son of Kish,' cf. Targum). vii. 18, עֲלִיָּן—A reference was called for to the *Beiträge*. viii. 2—Dots at the beginning of line 2 indicate the corruptness of the text. viii. 3—'This glory (of God) even the little children praise ; the other ages of life are of course not excluded.' Surely this is a poor explanation. The psalmist is struck by the strange contrast between the praise of 'children' and the noisy fury of Jehovah's enemies. Surely the 'children' must be the believers (cf. Ps. cxxxi. 2). On x. 3 no real help is given. x. 1-15 is, Baethgen thinks, a later insertion, harsher and more peculiar in style than the rest of Ps. ix. and x. A rather harsh emendation is given of x. 8, after LXX. ; Lagarde's correction in the *Agathangelus* is not referred to. xi. 5, B. agrees with Bickell (without naming him), but in xi. 4 he improves on that critic's supplement by inserting לְחַלֵּל ; this is one of Baethgen's best text corrections, and the argument is in his best style. In xii. 7 he retains בַּעֲלִיל לְאָרֶץ ; but how can this be right ? 'ב' is a gloss (see my critical note) ; לְאָרֶץ has arisen from dittography, and אָרֶץ is a corruption of חָרָץ. Render, 'silver well-tryed ; gold seven times refined.' In xviii. 2, Baethgen retains אֶרְחֹמֶךָ. Surely this is a mistake. The love of God is not a natural idea here (apart from the Aramaism). Must we not either omit the line (as lately Mr Addis, *Hexateuch* i., Introd. p. lx.) or better read אֶרְמֶמְךָ. In xviii. 12 he

reads (with 2 Sam.) *הַשֵּׁרֶת מַיִם*, rendering 'sprühendes Wasser' (post-Biblical usage). In xviii. 32 no note is given on *אֶלֹהֵי*. Yet this word is a mark of date, if, as Baethgen himself has argued elsewhere (*Beiträge*, p. 297), it was coined as a singular to *אֱלֹהִים* by the author of the song in Deut. xxxii. We may, of course, correct *אֶלֹהֵי* into *אֵל* (the reading in 2 Sam.). In the *Beiträge* Baethgen expressly does this, and perhaps he meant to do so here. But if he still adheres to this view, one must, I fear, call it an improbable one. *אֶלֹהֵי*, outside Job, is an exceedingly rare word; is it more likely that *אֵל* should be altered into *אֶלֹהֵי*, or *אֶלֹהֵי* into *אֵל*? There can, I think, be but one answer. At xxii. 2, Baethgen still adheres to his ingenious and certainly scientific, but surely very improbable reading. On the rendering of LXX., he should have compared Hatch, *Biblical Greek*, p. 191. xxii. 17—he reads *כְּאֵרִי* (*plene* for *כָּרִי*). Of xxii. 30-32 he gives a text and an interpretation which are equally original, and makes the last stichus *כִּי עָשָׂה*; can this be right? In his view of Ps. xxiii. he is a great heretic (with Theodore); he makes it (exclusively) a psalm of the nation. In v. 6*b* he gives, 'and I shall return to the house of Yahvè.' xxvii. 6—*סוֹבֹבְתִי*, very good. xxvii. 13—he keeps *לֵלֵא*, because he cannot see how the word can have been inserted. But will Baethgen wait till he knows everything? Alas for criticism! The author of Ps. cxvi. 10 borrows *הַאֲמַנְתִּי*, but not *לֵלֵא*. Whence came the *לֵא* in Hos. xi. 5? Will Baethgen venture to defend it? xxx. 8*a*—'Thou hadst founded strength for my mountain' (*i.e.*, Zion). Surely this is wrong. If to emend *הַעֲמַדְתָּה* into *הַעֲמַדְתִּי* is 'zu gewaltsam,' we had better leave all hard passages untranslated. I doubt, moreover, whether the 'mountain' (or 'mountains') is that of Jerusalem; is not this rather prosaic? (*cf.* lxi. 3). xxxi. 3—Does Baethgen really admit no distinction between *מָעַן* and *מָעוֹן*? xxxi. 11—B. reads *בְּאֵנִי* (LXX.); this removes the only direct reference to sin. xxxi. 12—B. actually retains *מְאֹד* ('wie sehr'), and in xxxv. 4 *גִּבּוֹר*. At xlii. 5, he resists the temptation of correcting the text; and yet, if the psalm be really pre-Exilic, he ought surely to have followed LXX., as Street did, long before Bredenkamp (see his translation of the Psalms, 1790). xlii. 5*b*—he adheres to his old emendation (after LXX.). I must confess that, if it really is correct, v. 5*a* must, in my opinion, be corrupt. For this view, however, no other reason can be offered; what is there against

Olshausen's proposition, except that it restores one word to v. 5a, to the great advantage of the rhythm? The reading of LXX. is, I believe, based on an erroneous conjecture. xlix. 15, last line, left untranslated. lvi. 5—"with God will I praise his word," comparing Isa. xxvi. 13. But this view of Isa. l. c., seems incorrect (see Dillmann); on both passages cf. my *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 333. lvi. 8—most unsatisfactory; dots would have been in place. פִּלֵּט must be corrupt; in xxxiii. 7, read פִּלֵּטִי (רִנִּי is merely ditto-graphy). lxv. 6—B. keeps the startling text-reading יָם, but in v. 2 rightly (though boldly) reads דְּוֹמִיָּה. His comment on v. 3 is admirable. On Ps. lxviii. not much help is given, nor could it well be expected. Nothing is said about the strophes or the rhythm of the psalm, important as this subject is. At v. 9b, he is attracted by the suggested emendation וְעַי for וְהַ (Grätz), and at v. 31 by בְּעֵלֵי עַמִּים ("Matthes bei Cheyne" should of course be "Matthes und Cheyne"), but he does not adopt either, and leaves a number of fine corrections unnoticed. lxxii. 9—"Die Aenderung צָרִים taugt nicht." I should have ventured to say, "'Steppenbewohner' taugt nicht." Correct עָרִים or עָרָיו. עָרִים deserved a fuller note. xci. 9—Surely rhythm and grammar alike require us to supply a word. xciv. 4—יְהִי אֲמָרֵנוּ, "es reden hin und her," a very difficult rendering. cvii. 3—Can the poet have put the west twice over? To me יָמִין seems the right reading here, but יָם in Isa. xlix. 12 (where omit צָפוֹן with Duhm, after LXX. cod. A). cxvi. 1—a simple correction is missed. cxvi. 10—if ה' is borrowed from xxvii. 13, the rendering "ich hatte Glauben" is not correct. cxvi. 14—a later insertion (as Hitzig). cxvi. 15, note worth considering (cf. Hitzig); and the same remark especially applies to the commentary on Ps. cxxxii.

On the whole, I must confess to much satisfaction with the book, considering the starting-point of its author. Cornill, who is now one of the leaders of the advanced critical movement in Germany, was once rather conservative on the psalms; it is not impossible that Baethgen may join him. Although the programme of the publisher has not been adequately fulfilled by this scholar's work, this comparative failure does but prove that the editors aim to be impartial in their selection of workers. The present volume will be of special value critically to conservatively inclined students, to whom it will give a salutary stimulus, while its general accuracy (except in controversy) will be appreciated by scholars of every school or party.

T. K. CHEYNE.

**The Memorabilia of Jesus, commonly called the Gospel of John.**

*By William Wynne Peyton, Minister of Free St Luke's, Broughty-Ferry. London and Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black. 8vo, pp. x. 513. Price 10s. 6d.*

THIS is a remarkable book in many ways—a book with plenty of faults, no doubt, but also not a few rare excellencies and beauties. For its own sake it ought to be widely read, but considering who is the author of it, we should expect that every student of theology would turn to it with interest and hope. For it is the criticism of an old Eastern writer by a modern Eastern thinker, who may fairly be expected to understand his subject better than it is well possible for the European mind to do. The idiosyncrasies of the East and West are very different, and we have long been convinced that Christianity will be presented in some fresh lights as soon as a competent Indian believer shall tell us how it appears to him. Mr Peyton, indeed, is only half an Indian, and his culture is strictly European and scientific; yet he seems to be, in many respects, singularly well qualified for this task. He is a genuine believer—at bottom even fairly orthodox. He is perfectly simple, guileless, and sincere. He is a man of genius, too, commenting on another man of genius, full of sympathy with him, and possessed of a singular felicity of expression, marred indeed by frequent Carlylisms, and not without other blemishes which might have been easily avoided. On the whole, however, the beauties of this book are far more than its faults, though he is likely enough to hear more about the latter than about the former. The critic need not be very captious in order to detect its weak points.

Having alluded to the faults of the book, it may be as well to deal with them in the outset, and be done with the unpleasant part of our task. The chief source, then, of these blemishes is, curiously enough, that which forms a main element of its interest and originality. Mr Peyton is a naturalist, thoroughly versed in modern science, fully convinced of the doctrine of evolution, and applying it as boldly to the facts of religious life as he would to the phenomena of Nature. This forms, we think, a great counterbalancing weight against the advantage he possesses as an Eastern in dealing with an Eastern faith. We should have felt more disposed to listen to him, had his culture been as Asiatic as his birth. But Mr Peyton is not only richly furnished with scientific facts and ideas, but these also are his main key with which he seeks to unlock the mysteries of John's Gospel. Now, apart from the question, how far the dis-

coveries of modern science may be used to illustrate the doctrines of an ancient religion, it must be evident that they afford no clue to the mind of the Apostle or his Master. They knew nothing of our science. It had no place in those Hebrew traditions by which their thoughts were naturally fashioned. The ideas of the Prophets and Psalmists were alien from those of Darwin and Huxley. We must not read the one into the other, then, and think that we have got at the mind of the elder writer by that process. This, we think, Mr Peyton has done more than once; and indeed his constant stretching of the Apostle's sayings on the framework of modern science, interesting as it often is, and at times highly suggestive, tends to create some distrust of the author as a legitimate interpreter of the mind of John.

In addition to his being an enthusiastic naturalist, Mr Peyton is also an avowed Mystic. That, however, is no disqualification to him as a critical expositor of John, for John had in himself, too, a good many of the elements that go to make a Mystic, and his Gospel has always been a kind of free field where men of that type may range. But it is curious that a man of this type should come out of a Scottish manse. The Scotch mind certainly is not given to Mysticism. Very few of our Theologians have even had a tinge of it. There may have been a faint strain of it in Leighton and Rutherford, a little more in Scougal, and also in the late Mr Wright of Borthwick. But it is rare to find even an echo of it in a Scottish pulpit. Mr Peyton is not a Scotsman, yet he has for quarter of a century ministered to a Presbyterian congregation, and nevertheless he is an avowed and out and out Mystic. To him all nature is radiant with the supernatural. The things visible are but a thin veil half-concealing the invisible. Miracle waits for a man of sufficient intensity of character to draw forth its powers. Much as he loves, and carefully as he has studied stones, flowers, and living creatures of all kinds, it is mainly as emblems of higher things that he lingers so fondly over them. As a result, the material and the spiritual are apt to get a little mixed now and then; and also, as it is with other Mystics, he is prone to treat with supreme indifference matters which are of no small moment to more commonplace minds. The question, *e.g.*, whether John wrote his Gospel about the year 90, or whether some one else penned it about A.D. 140, is dealt with as a pure "irrelevancy"—a fossil which should be relegated to a museum of curiosities. What does it really matter which view you take? In the one case you have the testimony of an eye witness to the character and work of Jesus; in the other you have a similar testimony to the religious life which He called into being. The one is a mere biography, and Mr Peyton has no very high idea of that kind of literature; the other is a biology,

illustrating the laws and forces of a well-established vital economy, which to his mind is a thing of far greater moment. Hence he says :—

“The Johannine Memorabilia is not historical literature, as is commonly understood, a recital of occurrences, or a portrait of a life lived, a mere biography. It is not a literal history in substance, or form, or intention. But it is a superior history—a biography such as should be written. It takes for granted facts and events which have been widely published, and gives to the biographies of Matthew and Luke the idea and the emotion which inspire the forces of history” (p. 14). And again at page 10 : “From the viewpoint of biology, a literature of life is more valuable and accurate in gauging its contents, and explaining the phenomenon (if) written in the second century. Life has had time to reveal itself, and to be a subject of thought ; thinkers have had time to study it. In the first generation the Christian life may (might ?) have been what a botanist calls a sport—an unstable variation to revert back to the type from which it started ; and indeed the Christian life was long regarded as only an outburst of Hebraism, and it even looked as if it would not extricate itself from Hebraism. In the second century the Christian life has had time to assert itself, to show its distinctiveness, to establish itself as a species, and be the subject of a literature. To the mind of a biologist the Memorabilia would be more valuable as a veritable account of a life written in the second century, more veracious, more trustworthy.” Mr Peyton began by pooh-pooing all questions about chronology and genuineness as mere irrelevances. He ends by preferring the later date and the unknown authorship, not on any scholarly grounds of fact, but simply for biological reasons, which fit into his way of thinking. Whether he expects people to agree with him in this or not, he himself is evidently convinced of its truth ; and it must be confessed that, in his exposition of it, he has uttered many wise and thoughtful words which, indeed, have failed to persuade us, but have succeeded in giving us not a little pleasure in the reading.

The central and ruling thought in this book is not, as in most theological works, Sin, and how to be delivered from it, but God, and how He is to be known and served. As an evolutionist he does not admit of any “fall,” or moral cataclysm necessitating a “scheme of redemption,” though, of course, he fully allows the existence of sin in the world, and the need of getting rid of it. All human history, however, has been steadily working out the original divine idea. There is “a light which enlighteneth everyone that cometh into the world,” and that light he traces even in the most unlikely quarters. In the nature-worship, of the Polynesian, *e.g.*, he sees “incipient forms of the Incarnation idea.” Indeed, he has



a kindly feeling for Pagans, and insists that in a proper science of religion all that is good in their systems shall be gathered up into the mystic Christianity which he finds in John. That mystical faith will see God everywhere—God immanent in Nature and in man; God transcendent, as Creator, being over all, as well as in all. But that vision can only come to perfection, first, by obeying the truth, and second, by using the light of biology to guide us. Under that guidance Mr Peyton certainly leads his readers into many “fresh fields and pastures new.” But it is not because he dislikes the old. “It is an unworthy feeling,” he says, “which I hear in the air, this railing at the old Theology. That theology has done well by us; it has brought us so far, and where we are. It was that interpretation of the universe by which our fathers lived nobly, and died bravely. No son despises his patrimony if he is a wise man. The wise son, however, does not keep his patrimony only, but increases it, and brings it up to date in the market.” And thereupon he shows how it is to be brought up to date by the facts and laws of biology. Christ and His cross form a new environment which necessarily tells on His creatures. “Every finer vision of God has come with new demands upon men. . . . The idea of God is a pressure of ideals upon us. It gives us a sketch of what man is to be—like God, like the divine original. Now that the crucifixion has been enacted, it has become a severe environment for us, giving us superior laws of life, calling us to a profounder sense of sin, to a spirit of love and sacrifice, to self-renunciation and self-effacement. It is a kindly force, but an exacting kindness. It asks for reciprocity. Meet the crucifixion with your sorrow and sacrifice, meet the love of God with an answering love; then their action upon you transforms you into a new creature. It is the birth of Christian character” (pp. 233-4).

Dr Marcus Dods has lately published a series of discourses on this same Gospel of John, and it is curious to contrast his work with that of Mr Peyton. They are both ministers of the same Church; both men of great ability and learning. Dr Dods' book is a scholarly production on the old lines, not without fresh thought and eloquent exposition, such as we might have expected from a man of his large calibre. But a mere glance at the headings of their several chapters indicates the radical difference of their books, and of the minds that produced them. Dr Dods deals naturally with such themes as “The Incarnation,” “The Miracle at Cana,” “Nicodemus,” “The Woman of Samaria,” and other themes suggested by the narrative of John. Mr Peyton does not ignore these by any means. But they are introduced under such headings as these—“The Evolution Idea,” “Mysticism,” “Natural Selection,” “Physiology,” and such like. There can be no doubt as to

the originality of his method, then ; though it may seem to be more curious than illuminative. It may be said, indeed, that both the records—that of Nature, and that of Scripture—come from the same source, and may be expected therefore to have close vital analogies. Why should not something, at least, akin to Natural Law have its place in the spiritual world ? Mr Drummond touched on that in his book, but Mr Peyton applies the idea in a much more thorough fashion, adding to it also the element of mysticism, which softens certain lines that would be otherwise hard and sharp. Of course, the Gospel as it is thus presented has a somewhat unfamiliar aspect, and will probably startle some good people. Yet, when we look narrowly into it, though it is not exactly the Pauline Gospel, it contains nearly all the Catholic truth as received equally by the different schools of Christian thought. The Incarnation, the Atonement, the Resurrection, if they are stated in terms of biology, are yet very distinct articles of Mr Peyton's faith, and if he does not believe in a personal Devil, except as a servant of God, working out the divine purposes like sickness and pain, yet he has, as we might expect from so pure a spirit, a deep sense of sin, and of the temptations which beset us. He is an original thinker, but he is also a loyal believer, and it takes some time to adjust the proper relations of originality and orthodoxy. If people do not judge in a hurry, but take a little time to think, it will probably turn out that, though Mr Peyton's book jerked them out of some old ruts, it has left the current of their thoughts about God to flow essentially in the old direction to the glory of His grace.

Had space permitted, we could have quoted largely from this book ; for it is full of beauty and freshness. One or two passages we select almost at random, that our readers may just have a taste of what abounds in it. Here is a defence of his mysticism : "To make ourselves conscious of the world within, is imperative upon us. It is the best of us. We are far too conscious of the world without us. It is in thought, in passion, in vision that we meet with God. It is not our temptation to be much in these parts. We have to force ourselves into those mystic regions. The quietist is blamed for being too much with himself ; but there is not much danger of the ordinary man overdoing quietism. To like our own soul, and enjoy the society we find there, and to tap the wealth which has stratified there, is a neglected duty, and the quietists are teaching us our duty. They like the silences of the soul and the stillnesses of Nature which speak to the inner silences, and the divine society found in them both. . . . O my soul, thou art not far from thy Christ. Christ is within thee. In thy breath is the breath of God. The stir of thy days is from the tides of the Infinite" (pp. 35-6). Here again is a sketch from Nature, bright

as with the dew of the morning, which might have come from the late Mr Jeffries: "Take a walk along a lake side . . . among the hills. It receives the streams that issue from the corries, and all the torrents which the rains wash down. The pretty face looks up to Alpine heights. It is like Mary sitting at the feet of Jesus, receiving thought and feeling for canticles of praise. As you walk along, a scud of clouds is caught and reflected on its glassy surface. Look round, and there is a huge boulder which glaciers have transported from a distant rock region; it is flecked with lichens, and the polypody fern peeps out from every crevice of it, and the bilberry with its blue vase-like fruit is growing on its mossy back. Move on, and the turtle-dove is cooing in the wood, and not far from you is the corn-crake, and the capercaillie is watching you from a larch bough. A few feet forward, and the veronica on the roadside, and the foxglove on the stony heap, and the grass of Parnassus in the ditch are in their best summer dress. In a bend of the lake you will see a trout leaping out to catch flies, and the moorhen dips down to shun you. A few more steps, and you will see the humble-bee humming to the flowers, who is out in all weathers, and has his errands to the clover and the broom, and the waterbank at all times" (pp. 58-9). Take one more word of a different type: "That is one of the highest moments of our being when we become conscious of a want which mere living has not slaked, and in this want become conscious of Christ. In this dearth we go beyond the law of right doing; it is not mere humaneness that we desire. It is the supreme of being to wake up, and seek to know about your upper and further relations with an unseen Universe around you. This want gives us our measurements. When we want God, we measure a space for which arithmetic has no numbers. It is the best and most of us, the stir of the spirit, the tumult of the Eternal. We move indeed, from the human basis to find God, to find the righteousness of God, which is by faith in Christ Jesus. We cannot rest in ethical practice, the dry and thirsty land where is no water. 'My soul thirsts for God. As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul for God.'"

But we must have done. There are innumerable passages of similar and even greater beauty, mixed up of course with biological and physiological ideas. To Mr Peyton these scientific views appear to be the chief contribution he has made to the exposition of John, but not a few of his readers will probably feel that the main charm of the book—and it has a great charm—lies in those passages which can be most readily separated from his special line of thought. In any case it must be acknowledged to be an original and suggestive contribution to the theology of the New Testament; and we do not

envy the intellectual condition of those who can read it, and fail to discover the wealth of beauty it contains—the rich veins of fine gold, any one of which would form sufficient capital to set up an ordinary reviewer.

WALTER SMITH.

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### Bruno Baentsch.

*Das Bundesbuch, Ex. xx. 22—xxiii. 33, seine ursprüngliche Gestalt, sein Verhältniss zu den es umgebenden Quellschriften, und seine Stellung in der alt-testamentlichen Gesetzgebung* (Halle a. S., 1892). London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. vii. 123. Price M. 2.80.

THIS is a study on the complicated problem which arises when the body of legislation, Ex. xx. 22—xxiii. 33, known as the "Book of the Covenant" (see Ex. xxiv. 7) is considered, partly in connection with the Decalogue, and the accompanying narrative in which it is embedded (Ex. xix. 3—xx. 21; xxiv. 1-14), partly in connection with Ex. xxxiv., where (vv. 10-27) the more distinctively theocratic ordinances of the Book of the Covenant re-appear, with slight variations of expression, in a duplicate form. Certainly, there is no question that the whole of the passages just quoted belong to the narrative of "JE"; there are also sections which may be referred with reasonable probability to J and E respectively: but the conclusions which are clear by no means exhaust all the questions to which these sections of the Pentateuch give rise; and in their endeavour to solve them, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Dillmann, and Jülicher have all been led to more or less divergent results. The phenomena which these sections present are, in fact, of a character which demands for their explanation a larger hypothetical element than is usual; and hence it is only what is to be expected if independent investigators, when they attempt to form a comprehensive theory of the narrative as a whole, should differ in the nature of the hypotheses which they frame for the purpose of explaining it.

The present monograph consists of three parts. After an Introduction (pp. 1-11), in which the author states his critical standpoint, there follows (pp. 12-58) a careful analysis of the contents of the "Book of the Covenant," an examination of its plan, and a discussion (p. 41 ff.) of the transpositions and additions by which (as other critics had previously observed) its original form appears to have been modified. The author's criticisms are moderate, and in the assumption of changes of this kind he does not substantially go beyond what has been already accepted as probable by Dillmann.

There is a good note (p. 29 ff.) on the meaning of *משפט* and *משפטים* (Ex. xxi. 1); and the distinction of form between the civil and the moral or religious provisions of the code is well brought out. Part ii. (pp. 59-91) contains the author's more detailed examination of the two codes, Ex. xx. 22—xxiii. and Ex. xxxiv. 10-27, his discussion of the question to what source each is to be referred, and his theory of the relation which they hold to one another. He shows satisfactorily (pp. 60-68) that the grounds which have been adduced for the purpose of showing that the "Book of the Covenant" is the composition of E, are insufficient; and upon linguistic and material grounds alike it is clear that it is not the work of J. As, then, it is not the composition of either E or J, it follows that it must be an independent body of laws, which has been incorporated, with the modifications that have been pointed out previously, into the narrative of one or other of these authors; and here Baentsch decides with Wellhausen, against Kuenen and Dillmann, in favour of J (pp. 68-73). Did it, however, always hold in the narrative of J the position which it now occupies? At present xxiv. 3 stamps it definitely as comprehending the terms of a *covenant* concluded between Jehovah and Israel at Sinai; yet this term is never used in the code itself, and by its contents, consisting principally of enactments relating to civil and criminal law, it is ill adapted to subserve such a purpose. On the other hand, the code in Ex. xxxiv. 10-27 is expressly termed a "covenant," and its provisions, consisting almost wholly of theocratic ordinances, specifying how the national God is to be honoured, are in entire harmony with such a designation. Accordingly Baentsch argues that Ex. xxxiv. 10-27 is the true "Book of the Covenant," to which, originally, xxxiv. 1-5 in a briefer form (involving no reference to the "first" tables) was the introduction, and xxiv. 4-8 the sequel. E's original account of the Sinaitic legislation comprised Ex. xix. 15-19, xx. 18-21, xx. 1-17,<sup>1</sup> xxiv. 3 (in its original form, without "and all the judgments," relating how Moses communicated the Decalogue to the people); J's original narrative of the Sinaitic legislation comprised Ex. xix. 20-22, 25, xxxiv. 1-5 (in a briefer form), xxxiv. 10-27 (in its original form, consisting of ten commands, with a brief introduction), xxiv. 4-8. (These last verses are usually (*e.g.*, by Wellhausen and Budde, *l.c.*, p. 222) assigned to E; but the marks of E's style are mostly confined to the second part of v. 4, and this Baentsch allows (p. 72) to be a notice derived from E.) The redactor of JE was desirous of combining the two narratives, but felt that the

<sup>1</sup> In this order: for Baentsch, like Wellhausen, *Composition des Hexateuchs*, p. 327 f., and Budde in the *Z.A.T.W.*, 1891, p. 229, agrees with Kuenen in supposing xx. 18-21 to have been transposed from its original position.

Decalogue in Ex. xx. 1-17 was of a character that did not readily admit of being followed immediately by another Decalogue so similar in form as the original draft of xxxiv. 10-27 must have been: a longer and more special body of law did not, however, seem to him to be open to the same objection; hence he substituted after the Decalogue, in lieu of Ex. xxxiv. 1-5, 10-27, the code Ex. xx. 22—xxiii. 19, accommodating it to its new character of a "Covenant" by the addition of xxiii. 20-33, and at the same time facilitating the transition to xxiv. 4-8, by the retention of xxiv. 3, which was modified so as to refer to the legislation of xx. 22—xxiii. (instead of, as had originally been the case, to the Decalogue), by the addition of the words "and all the judgments" (p. 77 f., 85; cf. p. 57 f., 73). It is impossible to state here the subsidiary arguments by which the author supports this theory: it must suffice to say that they are generally, taken in themselves, reasonable, and the observation that xxxiv. 10-27 is better adapted than xx. 22—xxiii. 33 to form the basis of a "Covenant" is certainly a forcible one. At the same time, when a theory depends for its validity upon a series of independent stages having been passed through, even though each separate step be not in itself an improbable one, the probability of the *combination* having taken place may be but slight; and where the phenonema to be accounted for are varied and numerous, it is often possible to frame more than one theory, which (in the imperfect state of our knowledge) may be apparently capable of explaining them. The narrative of JE in Ex. xix.-xxiv., xxxii.-xxxiv., affords many indications that it has passed through more hands than one, before it reached its present form, so that complication alone is no conclusive objection against a theory of its origin; but where many alternatives seem to be possible, the complicated character of one will make us hesitate before we yield it our unconditional assent. Baentsch's study on the *Bundesbuch* contains many just and true observations, and he can claim the merit of having made a clever and ably reasoned endeavour to solve the problem which JE's narrative in this part of Exodus presents; but his conclusions presuppose too many changes and transpositions, and involve generally too large an element of conjecture, to come home to the mind with cogency, or to satisfy it of their truth.

The third part of Baentsch's essay (pp. 92-123) consists of a comparison of the contents of Ex. xx. 22—xxiii. with the other codes of law contained in the Pentateuch, with the object of ascertaining their relative age. The comparison with Ex. xxxiv. 10-27 brings the author to the conclusion that while in its present form this code bears the marks of a later age than Ex. xx. 22—xxiii., in its original form, as Wellhausen, for instance, sought to re-

construct it (see the present writer's *Introduction*, p. 37), it is the work of an earlier age (p. 101). Deuteronomy expands and develops the provisions of the Book of the Covenant, in accordance with the more advanced religious standpoint which its author occupies (p. 108). Certain parts of the "Law of Holiness" (Lev. xvii.-xxvi.) display an affinity with Ex. xx. 22—xxiii.; but the connection is far less intimate and organic than that subsisting between Ex. xx. 22—xxiii. and Deuteronomy. The Priests' Code exhibits scarcely any points of contact with it (pp. 111-117). The main stock of the "Book of the Covenant" is, at least, as old as the ninth century B.C.; it formed the foundation both of civil law and also of the moral and religious life of Israel during the pre-exilic period; it was also the basis on which the further progress of Hebrew legislation rested (pp. 117, 120 f.).

Baentsch's essay is lucid and readable. The first and third chapters are, we think, its most useful parts: if the theory propounded in the second chapter fails to convince us, we are, nevertheless, grateful to the author for his reconsideration of a difficult problem, and for the creditable and meritorious endeavour made by him to solve it.

S. R. DRIVER.

### **The Soteriology of the New Testament.**

*By William Porcher du Bose, M.A., S.T.D., Professor of Exegesis in the University of the South. London: Macmillan & Co.; and New York. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. 391. Price 7s. 6d.*

If any one should be led by the title of this book to expect a contribution to the Biblical Theology of the subject, he will be disappointed. An exact and scholarly examination of the different types of New Testament teaching on the subject of Salvation, how it was procured for men, and how it is applied to them, would be a welcome addition to our slender stock of English works of this class. But the present book is of another class altogether. It is not inductive; it is not exegetical; it is not even specially Biblical. Of course the author, like other theologians, believes his system to be the one taught in the New Testament; and here and there he is at pains to explain in harmony with it certain leading New Testament texts. For all that, his method is essentially dogmatic. He lays down his guiding lines at the outset and builds on them his system. "Soteriology" is a title which may be made to cover more or less: with Dr Bose it covers a great deal. In a short compass he knits together a coherent scheme, embracing the Incarnation, the Person

and Work of Christ, the application of His Salvation to the individual, and even the Sacraments. The thinking is fresh, expressed in a style not always graceful or easy to read but always exact and intelligible. Essentially a suggestive book; which perhaps provokes dissent as much as assent; but which at all events provokes the reader to think.

Defining salvation at the outset to be the deliverance of man from evil by attaining all the good of which human beings are capable, the author finds human good to consist in three particulars, answering, not exactly to the usual trichotomy, but to the words, "nature," "personality," and "spirit." Natural good is Life, which is simply Happiness in the realisation of Selfhood; Personal good is real ethical freedom in obedience to moral law, or Righteousness; Spiritual good is Holiness, or the personal union of man with God as a son with a Father. On this threefold scheme of human good (to which the evils correspond, of death, bondage, and sin), the whole of Dr du Bose's soteriology is reared; and yet the scheme does not seem to be by any means beyond criticism. No doubt we are meant to think of these three, Life, Righteousness, and Holiness, as rather distinct aspects of what is essentially one indivisible "good" than as three separate or separable blessings. Still, it excites misgiving as to the clearness of our author's thinking, or the correctness of his analysis, when he is forced by his system to speak of "sin" as the antithesis of holiness, but *not* of obedience; or when he has to limit the words "life" and "happiness" to the natural pleasure of a completed "selfhood." Already, at all events, one begins to find his use of terms a little confusing.

On the above triple division, taken backwards, Christ's work arranges itself as (1) *Reconciliation*, or the spiritual reunion of man to God as son to Father by imparting holiness instead of sin: in other words, as Sanctification; (2) *Redemption*, or the liberation of the personal will from bondage to sin in the nature so that it freely obeys the true law of its moral being: in other words, as Justification; and (3) *Resurrection*, or the destruction of death by the recovery of the full and healthful activity proper to man's nature: or in other words, as Regeneration. The inconvenience of our author's arrangement surely becomes more conspicuous here; where he is obliged, for example, to separate the new birth from the sonship which results from it; and to give to sanctification a sense which has nothing to do with obedience to the divine will. Passing over, however, this perplexing employment of old terms in new senses and connections, what the reader notes is that every term is taken to denote a real change in man's state, and none of them at all any change in his relations to God. "Christ is our reconciliation and atonement with God in the sense and to the extent that in



Him we are more or less actually sanctified" (p. 57). "There is no real reconciliation but holiness, for the reason that as sin is the only separation from God and enmity with Him, so holiness is the only union and oneness with Him of which we are capable. And in the same way there is no redemption but righteousness, because righteousness is the only freedom of a moral being, and all unrighteousness is bondage or slavery; and redemption means deliverance from bondage or bringing into freedom" (p. 62). Students of theology will know what to expect from a view of salvation so onesidedly subjective as this. There being no objective reconciliation of God to man or man to God precedent to sanctification, and no forensic justification or accounting of the sinner righteous, but only a making of him righteous by degrees as he learns a new obedience; one is prepared to find little here about the Reformation problem how a "fearful conscience," shaken by the sense of guilt, is to be assured of the forgiveness of sins. That is an aspect of "soteriology," conspicuous enough in the New Testament and in evangelical teaching and in devout experience, but of which such a theology as this finds nothing to say.

Coming now to enquire how salvation, such as the author conceives it, has been brought about, we reach the central thought of his whole system: which is this—"Jesus Christ is our Salvation simply because He *is so*; i.e. because He is in very actuality and reality just that, and all that, which our salvation must be defined to be. This He is, first, objectively or in Himself, and, secondly, subjectively or in us" (p. 33). He means nothing less than this, that our Lord as a man *saved Himself* precisely as other men are saved. This implies, of course, that He shared, to begin with, in the fallen condition of humanity; and Dr du Bose does not shrink from this position, startling and even repellent as it must be to Christian feeling. None the less does he fully accept the fact of the Incarnation of the Logos. He conjoins with it, indeed, certain theories, about the gradualness of the Incarnation process, which was completed only at the Ascension, and about the possession by the Divine Person of a human as well as a divine Personality or mode of personal life: theories on which a good deal would have to be said did our space permit of detailed criticism. But a true incarnation of a Divine Person in human nature he firmly holds. Only the condition in which human nature was assumed by the Logos, he takes to have been its fallen or sinful condition as it exists in other men. In fact, this is the only sense in which he admits that our Lord "took" or "bore" the sin of humanity at all; and He thus took it in order to save Himself and other men from it. Dr du Bose confesses that it never "would have occurred to him to say that our Lord in assuming our fallen nature took sin," or

indeed, that "the so-called sin of nature is sin at all," unless the Scriptures "in their fearlessness" had not hesitated to do so. This one can well believe. Scripture calls the sin of our fallen nature sin, because it is so; whereas Dr du Bose sees in the "*sarx*" or nature of fallen man apart from acts of the will, not sin in any proper sense, but only "temptation to sin" or "the weakness of the nature for sinlessness or holiness" (pp. 232-3). The weakness amounts, he tells us, to "a natural inability of the spirit in the flesh to obey its law." "But though the spirit is unable, it is not inconceivable or impossible that it should be *enabled*." And this is what happened in the case of our Lord. "He overcame the weaknesses and the temptations of the flesh, not by His human ability to do so, but by the power of the Divine Word incarnating Himself through His human faith in His human sinlessness or holiness" (p. 234). The design with which the christology of Menken has been thus revived, is that one may get a view of redemption which the author himself confesses to "savour" of Adoptianism. Christ achieved sinlessness for Himself by setting free His own spiritual human personality from the bondage and death of the flesh. And this He did in order that through our union to Him by faith the same process might be repeated in us also. This is the whole of His redeeming work, as set forth in this book. Of past sin to be atoned for, indeed of such a thing as past sin at all, the author will not hear. Of acquittal from guilt he can find no trace in the New Testament; of vicarious penalty or objective satisfaction to justice, none. But the sole idea is, that the power over us of our inherited impure nature as a consequence which sin has left upon us, be broken; and so much Christ effected, at least in His own case to begin with, when He saved Himself by His faith in God from the tendencies of His human nature, or, in other words, made Himself perfectly holy in spite of the infirmity of His flesh.

To this work of "undoing or throwing off of that flesh of sin" belonged His passion. He needed to die *in* the inherited impure nature and *to* it, in order to be sinless; and in this sense He can be said to have borne the curse and penalty, not of our past sins to be sure, but of sin as a power present in human nature. Yet the author feels himself constrained to seek after some sense in which Christ did die for the guilt of past sin. He finds it here:—"Inasmuch, *i.e.*, as all death is not only the natural but the judicial and penal consequence of all the spiritual, moral, and natural transgression which has produced it. In *this* sense, all the sin of the world, all the curse of the law, and all the wrath of God, were visited upon Him: that He had to crucify, and to be crucified in, a nature which was made what it was in Him by the sin of the world,

and in which He could only be sinless and be saved by its condemnation and destruction" (p. 324).

We need hardly say that this view of the redeeming work of our Lord appears to us to be as defective as the author's Christology, verging on a Nestorian division of the personality, is hazardous, or his ascription of inherent sinfulness to the Lord's humanity, objectionable. They all hang together consistently enough. Their common origin or starting-point in thought is probably to be sought for in a deficient apprehension of sin. A theologian must have begun by seriously underestimating the true character of those evil tendencies which now inhere in our fallen nature before he can speak as this writer does of our Lord's humanity. And if he will give its due weight to the fact of guilt or the necessary relation of sin to law, he will scarcely suppose that he has exhausted the "salvation" needed by the sinner, so long as no satisfaction has been made for past transgressions.

The subject of our Lord's Sinlessness receives pretty full and suggestive treatment at our author's hands. Of course, on his view, the achievement of ethical perfection by the Human Personality of our Lord, being in itself our atonement or objective salvation, acquires in his system central importance, and merits a corresponding measure of attention. He claims that in this way the humanness of Christ's ethical development and character comes out as it cannot do on the orthodox view. Those who have felt the difficulty, on the Church's christology, of doing justice to the human faith of Jesus in the Father or to His ceaseless dependence upon the Holy Ghost dwelling in Him, will be glad to see what Dr du Bose has to say on the "self-perfecting" of our Lord's human nature. This problem of "Sinlessness" has not less interest for favourers of traditional theology than for the newer school to which this writer belongs; for is it not the problem of Christ's "active obedience" which has always been a "loose stone" in "orthodox" theology?

When we turn from this perfecting of fallen humanity as Christ effected it in His own case, to ask how it is to be effected in our case, one is prepared to find it said that our Lord is to be received by the believer "as God's revelation, assurance, and pledge of what I am to be through faith in Him" (p. 86.) At the same time, Professor du Bose sees that it is a poor evangel which makes Jesus *no more* than a "perfect example of what we must be in order to be saved." He sees that there must be power in Him to cause that other men become what He is. And our author is able to extricate himself from a Socinian salvation through mere example, by the help of his Trinitarian Christology. It is a personal operation of the living Christ in the disciple which brings about saving changes. At this point there come in somewhat high views of the sacraments.

Baptism and the Eucharist are what they signify. "To every baptized person Jesus Christ is wholly given [not wholly *received*] in all His death to sin and in all His life to God. That divine act constitutes our *regeneration*. Baptism is the instrument of 'adoption and grace,' whereby we are 'made children of God'" (p. 364). But, of course, it is added that this coming of Christ to the individual, while it is the efficient cause of regeneration, must be met on the man's part by a subjective receiving and realizing of Christ's act through faith.

In spite of much which I must regard as seriously defective or at fault in the author's theories, he exhibits an attractive sympathy with evangelical experience, being, as one assuredly gathers, a man of spiritual piety. This reveals itself, for example, in such a fine passage as that on present peace in believing, which stands on page 108. It is true that the believer's present peace cannot, on his system of thought, repose on anything more than an assurance that he will by-and-by attain to real peace with God, that is to say, when he has actually been made holy. An appeal to the consciousness of advanced Christians would probably show that this explanation falls short of the facts. Still the passage breathes a devout and reverent spirit which may, more or less, be felt all through, and which makes the perusal of this volume a wholesome exercise for the spirit as well as stimulating to thought.

J. OSWALD DYKES.

## Riddles of the Sphinx.

*A Study in the Philosophy of Evolution, by a Troglodyte.*

London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. 8vo, pp. 495. Price 12s.

THE anonymous author of this work is a metaphysician, who, being dissatisfied with the attempts hitherto made to solve the problems of the relations of man to God, to the universe, and to immortality, has endeavoured to construct a philosophic system of Evolution on a basis of Idealism.

The first part of his task consists of a destructive criticism of the results of the Positivist tendency of thought at the present day, a tendency which is unsatisfying to the human mind. From our constitution we must constantly raise questions concerning things which are beyond the region of the tangible, and it is inevitable that these should have some place in our system of philosophy.

Positivism, by asserting that a philosophic system is impossible, leads directly to Agnosticism; which, as it explicitly asserts, but implicitly denies, the impossibility of a transition from the known

to the unknown, the author characterises as "the vagary of an insane logic." The doctrine of the unknowable, which he calls scientific Agnosticism, based on the inference of an unknowable region from the seemingly infinite expanse of knowledge, is founded on a paralognism, as the known can suggest the unknown but not the unknowable. He regards Mr Spencer's arguments as, for the most part, metaphors rather than arguments, and shows that they are drawn from a mistaken comparison of knowledge and space.

The epistemological Agnosticism of Kant, founded on the consideration of the relativity of knowledge to the knowing faculty, leads us to despair of knowledge, owing to the limitations of our own powers of cognition. It involves the assumption that the form and matter of knowledge are separable. It also assumes that the mind as a machine has a determinate limitation which is inconsistent with the evolution hypothesis. Agnosticism, when thus threatened to be overthrown by metaphysic, can only take refuge in scepticism, or the denial of the possibility of knowledge, and this must lead to Pessimism.

To the same goal of Pessimism tends the Pantheistic Monism in which some have taken refuge, but which, by its predication of a real Infinite, is open to serious objection. There is to the author no escape save in the system which, in his second part, he proceeds to build up.

The fundamental postulate in this reconstructed philosophy is the reality of self as the basis of all cognition. It is essentially a system of the plurality of real existences which are "ultimate spiritual entities." Thought and feeling are parallel, and all thought because human must be anthropomorphic. The method in this philosophy is a concrete metaphysic, proceeding from the phenomenally real, that is, science, to the ultimately real, that is, metaphysic. On the one hand his method differs from the abstract metaphysical of the Platonists, which, while attempting to explain the lower by the higher, assumes a discontinuity and a completeness of dualistic separation. On the other hand he rejects the pseudo-metaphysical method, which, admitting continuity, endeavours to explain the higher by the lower. By the adoption of this concrete method, he conceives that he delivers himself from the denial of the phenomenal characteristic of the Eleatics, and from Hegelianism, which he regards as a system of epistemology "which never anywhere gets within sight of a fact, or within touch of a reality." He aims at the construction of a system of doctrine whose elements are supplied by science, and whose construction will satisfy the aspirations and hopes of humanity. The ultimate test of the success of this philosophy is the completeness with which it fulfils this condition.

The evolution, which forms the basis of this system, started from

the pre-existence of absolutely independent spiritual beings, which preceded the "World-process," and, consequently, time. The Divinity is distinguished from these other existences as the Un-become and the Non-phenomenal, while they are the Becoming and Phenomenal. This divine spirit originates the "World-process" by determining to produce a perfectly co-ordinated Cosmos, and this determination is the starting-point of time. Consciousness is the product of the interaction of the Divine Being on these separate existences, and in the human spirit this shows itself in the recognition of the Ego, and its differentiation from the non-Ego—or the world outside. In the interaction of these entities in the process of co-ordination there is resistance originated in these independent egos, and this resistance is the origin of evil, which is a necessary concomitant of evolution. The ultimate goal of this evolution is the development concurrently both of the individual by the building up of its parts into a whole, and of the society through the individual. In this process the resistance is being steadily overcome; so evil will be transitory, and the perfected society will consist of harmonious individuals. When this result is attained, Time, which is the measure of the rate of Becoming, will be at an end, and Being and Eternity will characterise these post-cosmic existences.

The pre-cosmic existences postulated are, in effect, dynamical monads. As the author throws aside all but the phenomenal, he passes over, without analysis, the conception of Substance. Matter is to him "the mechanism of arrangement of the interaction between God and the spirits, a labour-saving apparatus setting free the Ego for consciousness."

The interacting monads impress each other to a varying degree, and it is this "memory" of impression, which is continuous and permanent on all monads, that, when the stage of consciousness is reached, rises to the degree of an everlasting sense of identity, which is the essence of the immortality of the soul.

The conceptions of space and time are boundless, but with him there is no real infinity of space or time corresponding to our conceptions. The idea of infinity he rejects absolutely because it is inconsistent with evolution; and as, from his pluralistic standpoint, all the existences must be coexistent, there can be no infinity even in the Deity, for, intellectually, the idea of an infinite whole is inadmissible, being inconsistent with the attributes of personality, consciousness, and power, and necessarily making all things the manifestation of God, who, therefore, becomes the author of evil.

The easily flowing style and lucidity of the exposition masks here and there the weak points in the setting forth of the system, which is rather a system of ontology arrived at without clearly definite

method than a complete philosophy. There is also throughout a tendency to make human faculty the measure, not only of our conception of the phenomenal world, but of the universe itself. It is a merit that he has for the most part thought out this system of idealistic speculation for himself, and although he often travels along tracks in which he has had many predecessors, yet he writes with the freshness of a discoverer. But the patient reader at the end will find himself not much nearer the solution of the great fundamental problems than he was at the outset. ALEX. MACALISTER.

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**Evolution and Scripture ; or, The Relation between the Teaching of Scripture and the Conclusions of Astronomy, Geology, and Biology, with an Inquiry into the Nature of the Scriptures and Inspiration.**

*By Arthur Holborow. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Limited. Cr. 8vo, pp. 339. Price 6s.*

It is one of the gravest anxieties in the training of the young at the present day to know the exact light in which the earlier narrative of the Old Testament should be held up to their view. Mr Holborow has written this interesting work, feeling deeply that in much of our religious teaching there is a large admixture of the tares of an erroneous traditionalism with the truth concerning Divine things, and he has endeavoured therein to show his method of harmonising the truth of the facts of evolution with the cosmogony and earlier world-stories of the hexateuch. The main features of his scheme, as far as they are new, are the unqualified assent which he gives to the theory of evolution as the process whereby the world, man, and human beliefs have originated, drawing the line only at the origination of the human soul, of whose genesis he adopts Mivart's view. Emphasising strongly the distinction between man's views concerning God and the real nature of the Deity, he traces the stages whereby a Monotheistic Theology was developed. The evolution in all its stages is teleological, and is the direct working out of the purposes of God, who has ordained these laws as His method in Creation and Providence. The record in Genesis is the divinely inspired history of man's early groping after God, put in such a form as was most fit for the comprehension of man in the days of its delivery to the race, and should now be read in that light. In illustrating his theme he has laid under contribution the popular literature in which is embodied the Chaldæan and other traditions of the primitive history. Indeed, the extent to which he

has overloaded his work with long quotations, often from second-rate works, is the principal weakness in his treatment of the subject.

There are probably many in the Christian Churches who occupy the position of the author, without having his range of knowledge, and who desire to believe in the inspiration of these narratives as part of the Word of God, but are troubled with doubts springing from the popular sceptical works and magazine articles now so abundantly disseminated. To such this book may prove a useful eirenicon, but we doubt that it will be much appreciated by those who do not approach the Bible in the attitude of faith.

The style is a little heavy, and in many places obscure. It is his misfortune, not his fault, that in dealing with some parts of his subject, such as the Deluge, he follows one of the greatest masters of English prose, Hugh Miller; but he has endeavoured to bring his criticism and science faithfully up to date, and his work is free from serious scientific blunders such as unfortunately disfigure too many of the writings of those who treat of science from the standpoint of believers in Revelation.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

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### **The Church in Relation to Sceptics: A Conversational Guide to Evidential Work.**

*By the Rev. Alex. J. Harrison, B.D. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 8vo, pp. 570. Price 7s. 6d.*

THIS work might well be called Practical Apologetics. It is the statement of Christianity and its evidences in relation to the actual doubts, difficulties, and objections of real men. What these objections are, Mr Harrison has learned by actual intercourse with those who held them. Thus the book is real, bears the impress of actual fact and life, and is not the Apologetic of the chair or of the study, but of reality. We do not mean that Mr Harrison's book is not learned, nor able; but we mean that he has brought learning and judgment of no ordinary kind to bear on the actual doubts and difficulties of real men. We have been much impressed with the power of the book, and with his arguments we largely agree. But in some cases we are constrained to dissent. Was it necessary, for instance, to make that attack on St Paul which is contained in the fifteenth chapter of the Book? We are not sure whether the views set forth are the views of Mr Harrison or not. They are put into the mouth of the ideal doubter; but, as a matter of fact, they are not answered, and we are left with the impression that the teaching of Paul was in some respects antagonistic to the teaching of Christ;



while of Jesus Christ it is said, "I can find no scientific evidence that Christ's words must be interpreted in that sense; but should such evidence be forthcoming, I should feel that I should honour Him more, and be truer to His teaching as a whole, in believing that on that point He was mistaken, or that He had been misrepresented by the evangelist." It seems a strained situation, and Mr Harrison's words seem to lay undue stress on his own powers of judgment. It seems an undue exercise of self-confidence to speak as he has done. We have been sorry to find some other things of the same kind; for, as a whole the book is good and true and helpful. It manifests a unique acquaintance both with the actual state of things at the present hour, and a singular power of prompt and cogent dealing with real doubts, perplexities, and objections.

JAMES IVERACH.

### **Revelation and the Bible.**

*An Attempt at Reconstruction.* By Robert F. Horton, M.A.  
London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 412.  
Price 7s. 6d.

### **Inspiration and the Authority of the Bible.**

By John Clifford, M.A., D.D. London: James Clarke & Co.  
8vo, pp. 154. Price 1s.

### **Geist und Schrift bei Sebastian Franck.**

Von A. Hegler, Privatdocent der Theologie in Tübingen. Freiburg, i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xii. 291. Price M. 8.

THESE works make manifest that a grave problem is presented to all the churches, and that many people are earnestly seeking to find an adequate solution. Mr Horton puts the question thus: "As the traditional view of the Bible gradually fades in the clear light of knowledge and truth, those who reluctantly surrender the antique dogma naturally ask for a definite faith to take its place: they want to know at once how they can admit the truth and yet retain their Bible, how they can grant the human handiwork, and yet grasp the Divine substance of the Book?" How is the problem to be stated? For there are many ways of stating it. Shall we, with the distinguished American divines, Dr A. A. Hodge and Dr B. B. Warfield, say, "The historical faith of the Church has always been that all the affirmations of Scripture of all kinds, whether of

spiritual doctrine or duty, or of physical or historical fact, or of psychological or philosophical principle, are without any error when the *ipsissima verba* of the original autographs are ascertained and interpreted in their natural and intended sense"? There are many obvious reasons why that position should not be taken. For the *ipsissima verba* of the original autographs are not within our reach, and no statement can be made regarding them. There is little use in making affirmations about a hypothetical Bible, when the question is one concerning the actual Bible we have. Have we at present an errorless Bible, and if not, does the existing error (supposed to be existing) destroy the truth of the Bible as a rule of faith and practice? Recognising, then, the existence in our present Bible of difficulties and discrepancies—errors, if one should insist in calling them so—what are we to do with them? Clearly it is no answer to this question to lay down such a rule as that stated by Dr Hodge and Dr Warfield, for they simply affirm a proposition which, in the nature of the case, is incapable of proof.

We turn to Mr Horton for help and guidance, and we do find much to help us. His book is one worthy of himself and of his great theme. It is able, scholarly, reverent. He has read widely and thought deeply on the question. We have on every page proof that he has made himself well acquainted with the facts and the phenomena of Scripture, and the successive chapters in which he deals with particular books of Scripture are of great value. In particular, we have found much to interest and to instruct in those sections which deal with "The Memoirs of Jesus," with "The Pauline Letters," and with "The Johannine Writings." In the chapter called "The Summit of Revelation" there are many things finely said, *e.g.*, "It is necessary to conceive distinctly that the Crown of God's revelation is a Person; and that the continuance of this crowned and perfected revelation is secured by a supernatural operation of God on human hearts, which is very appropriately described as the baptism of the Holy Ghost" (p. 216). While we find much that is wise, good, and helpful in Mr Horton's contribution to this great subject, what are we to say with regard to his general principle? How does he discriminate between what is Revelation and what is not? "Revelation," he tells us, "is that truth which the human mind cannot discover." "Revelation, in the strictest sense of the term, is that body of truth which is made known to man in a special way, because the ordinary methods of discovering truth would not suffice. Broadly speaking, then, the Revelation in the Bible is precisely that which, apart from the Bible, not only would not, but could not, have been known" (p. 9). "When we say that the Bible is a revelation, what exactly do we mean? We mean, not that it is a general encyclopædia of information, a text-book of biology, a primer of physiology,

a synopsis of history, a prophetic forecast of the future, but that it is a compilation of writings through which God is revealed to us, not in a moment of time, but in a historical evolution, not in a few proof texts, but in the whole connected mass of the two literatures of which the book consists" (pp. 12, 13). Mr Horton draws a broad distinction between Revealed truth and other kinds of truth. "Historical truth and Revealed truth are essentially distinct. Historical truth is not *ipso facto* revelation. Revelation is not necessarily historical truth." Scientific fact is not a subject of Revelation. "Scientific Truth and Revealed Truth are essentially different." Mr Horton insists on the distinction, and repeats it until we can have no doubt as to his meaning.

We have, then, to ask, Is this distinction valid? Is it a distinction so real and clear as to make it fit to bear the stress of the burden laid on it by Mr Horton? We observe, in the first place, that Mr Horton always uses the word "truth" when he speaks of Revelation. What is revealed is "truth," according to his statement. Perhaps it is, if we know what he means by truth. But the word itself is ambiguous. It may mean such truth as can be embodied in language, stated in propositions, and embraced in a system. Does Mr Horton mean by "truth" merely that which can be apprehended intellectually? Well, he does not say so, and yet many of his propositions seem to imply it. And yet again, when he says, "Thus they are not far wrong who say that the only thing *revealed* in the Bible is God," he evidently implies that what is revealed is not a truth but a Person. We therefore submit that he ought to have made his meaning more clear, and less ambiguous. Is "truth" the right word to use when we speak of Revelation and of what is revealed? Mr Horton says, "By *Revelation* is meant a truth or truths received from God into the minds of men, not by the ordinary means of inquiry, such as observation and reasoning, but by a direct operation of the Holy Spirit" (p. 4). Now this description is mainly negative, and a negation is not a good foundation on which to build a superstructure.

We ask again, Does not Mr Horton place himself among those described by Dorner? "Many, with too intellectual a tendency, regard instruction as the only purpose of Revelation, either the contents, the truth (which is there usually described as a body of suprarational propositions, 'mysteries'), or certainty. If the former sum up revelation in the repletion of the intelligence with higher truth, the latter sum it up in proof, and both classes honour in Revelation, the means by which certain propositions, known or unknown, are proved: both in a one-sided way put knowledge first" (*System of Christian Doctrine*, Clark's Translation, vol. ii. p. 200). Has not Mr Horton put knowledge first? It would seem so when he speaks

of "truth or truths received from God into the minds of men, not by the ordinary means of inquiry." It would appear also that he sets his readers to accomplish an impossible task. He unconsciously sets us to construct a chart of the extent and limits of human knowledge. Can we say how far the ordinary means of inquiry may lead, and whether what was at one time a matter of revelation, may not be at a different stage of human culture a matter to be reached by the ordinary means of human inquiry? He seems to imply this when he says, "that a truth may have been a startling revelation twenty centuries ago which has become to us a commonplace; it is a very common observation that an original genius is often less appreciated by posterity than might be expected, just because he has been so successful in inoculating subsequent generations with his ideas." If truths of revelation can become "almost a commonplace," is it possible for us to say that it was a truth that could never have been reached by the ordinary means of human inquiry? We submit, then, that the merely negative distinction between what is revelation and what is not is insufficient for the purpose which Mr Horton has in view, that by limiting revelation to the communication of truth he has imparted too intellectual an aspect to it, that he has made it necessary for us to ascertain the extent and limits of human knowledge before we can vindicate the reality of Revelation, and finally, that he has unduly limited the meaning of Revelation.

For what is the relation of the contents of Revelation to historical and scientific truth? Mr Horton tells us on the one hand that "historical truth and revealed truth are essentially distinct," and on the other hand, "God is revealed to us in a historical evolution." It seems difficult to reconcile these two statements. For this historical evolution must have some relation to historical truth. What is that relation, and how are we to maintain the validity of a revelation contained in a historical evolution, if we assert that the two are essentially distinct? If Revelation enters into history it must become historical, and facts of history must become part of Revelation.

But the gravest defect seems to me to be that Mr Horton is constrained to limit the Revelation of God to that special form of it which is contained in the Scriptures, and to that form of truth derived from the Scripture. It is a commonplace to say that nature reveals God, that history reveals God, that the complex facts of human nature, character, and destiny reveal God. What is the relation of these earlier revelations to the Revelation of God which culminates in Christ? By his sharp distinction between scientific truth and revealed truth he takes the former out of the category of Revelation altogether. Now the God of nature is the God of Scripture also. As Butler says, the laws of nature are God acting

uniformly. But the uniformity does not destroy the fact that they are a revelation of God. From the uniform modes of action we may learn something of Him who thus acts. It is true, no doubt, that we get the revelation in Nature and history, and in the life of man, in concrete fashion, in action. We get the facts and we have to make our science. But is it not so in Scripture also? What we have in Scripture is analogous to what we get in Nature and history; we have Divine action. God acts, God speaks, God works for the redemption of man, and works in concrete fashion. As we have to make our science so also have we to make our theology. In neither case do we get a body of ready-made truth. But the question comes back, How are we to distinguish between the manifestation of God in Nature and history, and the manifestation of God as set forth say in Scripture? Mainly in two ways: that in the latter God manifests Himself more personally, more directly, and manifests Himself for the purpose of Redemption. Scriptural Revelation is a form of God's redeeming energy; and in this redeeming work He has revealed Himself in a special way. But the necessary limits of this notice are exhausted. All that can be done here is to refer to the discussions of Rothe and Dorner on this great subject.

The work of Dr Clifford is full of interest and most helpful. He begins with telling us how to study the Bible. He grapples with the difficulties of Inspiration, and tells us of the four ways in which men meet them. Then he tests these four ways by science, and faces the question, If there are errors in the Bible then what and where is its authority? He shows us how Jesus treats the Old Testament, recounts the service of the Old Testament in the making of man, shows us the best defence of the Bible, describes the battle of the Sacred books, and ends with a vivid picture of present-day Inspiration. It is a book which almost disarms criticism; it is so fresh, full, reverent and strong, that we are carried away with it. We quote his description of how the Bible appears to a student of science:—"Again, on the face of the volume, it appears to this student of science that the *Revelation is a history*, a history of God's work in and for men, for their redemption from evil, and participation in His holiness. The truth is *acted* rather than spoken. The light shines in elect souls. The Divine mind is manifested in the faith and failure, aspirations and sufferings, discipline and prayers of a God-led and God-governed people; and the ever-broadening revelation partakes of the vicissitudes of their manifold life. They vary, and so does the interest, and meaning, and power of the story. Sometimes they are on the heights of transfiguration, and the blaze of inspiration fairly dazzles the beholder with its

supernal glory: but again, they are in the valley, defeated by the gathering demons, and the record being historically accurate, the inspiration is painfully low. The Book of Esther is not cast in the same mould as the Gospel of Luke. Ecclesiastes is unspeakably inferior to the First Epistle of John. One is a cowardly moan, the other is a confident and piercing soldier-summons to battle for truth and life." Such is Dr Clifford's description of one of the ways in which men look at the Bible. We have quoted it, because of its felicity of expression and because of the accuracy of its description. We quote one other bit, because it conveys a needed warning. "The web of history is woven of one piece: it reflects the unity of the human life, of which it is the record: we cannot isolate any group of facts and consider that no links of causation connect them with their predecessors or their contemporaries. Again, how confusing is the division of life into 'spiritual and secular,' and into what fearful misjudgment it leads us. Nor is the mischief less which so completely detaches the Bible, not only from the sacred books of the world, but from all other literature, as to preclude the incalculable gains which proceed from the scientific method in the investigation of its history and contents, purposes and achievements." The merit of these two books lies in the attempt made in them to grasp the facts and phenomena of Scripture, and to allow them to have their due weight in the formation of opinion. The authors do not lay down at the outset the marks of a book which contains a revelation from God; they set to themselves the humbler and more profitable task of studying the book which God has actually given to us. On the whole, they amply and satisfactorily vindicate the authority and sufficiency of the Scriptures to guide men into the way of life.

Herr Hegler, who is a Privatdocent at Tübingen, and, we think, the author of a work on "The Psychology in the Ethics of Kant," has given us a competent and worthy study of that interesting historical character Sebastian Franck. It is one of those monographs of which we get so many from Germany. The historical situation is vividly set forth: the writings of Sebastian Franck have been profoundly studied; the influences which moulded him, his personal characteristics, and his literary quality are described in masterly fashion. We have a picturesque account of what Herr Hegler calls the Radical Reform movement of the time of the Reformation, and of Franck's place in it. He traces the process of Franck's development, and shows how he was led to separate himself from the Protestant Church. The first occasion was given by the controversy between Luther and Erasmus concerning Free-will. This controversy revealed a radical difference between the mere religious and the mere

literary elements within the Reformation. The Peasant war and the action of the Princes gave another impulse to the divergence between the leaders of the Reformation and Franck; and a third cause was the controversy between the Lutheran and the Swiss Reformers regarding the Lord's Supper; and a fourth cause was that Franck thought that the stress laid in preaching on Justification by faith alone tended to lower the standard of moral living. Franck found himself separated from the Protestant Church. He held that the cause of all the errors he ascribed to the Church lay in the position she assigned to the Scriptures.

Franck set himself to construct a true doctrine of the Scripture, and in the work before us we have a most interesting account of his views. Franck held that the Scriptures were not used rightly, that from their very nature they could not be the highest standard of authority, that there were errors and discrepancies in them, and that God had purposely furnished the Scriptures with contradictions in order that we may be impelled deeper into the Scriptures and out of them back again to Him and into the Spirit. But there is, Franck thought, an Inner word, of which the Scriptures are only the shell, cradle, lantern, veil, &c.; he uses many metaphors to set forth this distinction. The Inner word is a Divine power. We have no space to unfold his doctrine of the Divine word, and its relation to God; but the exposition of it by Herr Hegler is worthy of study. But the Divine word, as transcendent and as Divine power, also is a human possession; and man has a natural capacity for the reception of the Divine word. Thus we are led into a psychological discussion which has its value. Then follow chapters in which are set forth the Spirit as the Principle of religious and moral renewal; the revelation of God in Christ and beyond Christ; and the Spirit as the meaning of Scripture. Finally Herr Hegler uses the Spiritualism of Franck as the principle whereby he is to criticise Religion in the past and in the present. Such is an outline of the able work before us. It is a worthy study, and may be useful in the crisis to which we have come. For there may be elements which we have overlooked, and which ought to be taken into account ere our doctrine of Scripture can be said to be complete. Some of these we may get from a study of Franck. But his main contention is one which is not helpful. It is too mystic, has a touch of Pantheism in it, takes but little account of sin, has no conception of grace, and generally, it contradicts both the consciousness of the natural man and the evangelical consciousness of the renewed man.

JAMES IVERACH.

## Das Alte Testament übersetzt, eingeleitet und erläutert

*Von Eduard Reuss; herausgegeben aus dem Nachlasse des Verfassers von Lic. Erichson und Pfarrer Lic. Horst; Erster Band. Allgemeine Einleitung zur Bibel. Ueberblick der Geschichte der Israeliten. Die Geschichtsbücher, Richter, Samuelis, und Könige. Braunschweig: Schwetschke und Sohn; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 389. Price M. 6.50.*

It is possible to look back upon the career of Reuss with the same sense of restful satisfaction that has been felt with regard to Tennyson. In both cases the life-work was finished, and the latest of a long series of productions showed the veteran still wielding the powers of maturity. Kuenen says of him: "In the lecture-rooms of Strassburg, then, we might look, in no small measure, for the ultimate source of Graf's and Kayser's inspiration, and Reuss had the satisfaction of seeing the views he had enunciated in his youth taken up and elaborated by his distinguished pupils, and commanding ever-increasing assent as he incorporated them, matured and consolidated into the works of his old age." The works Kuenen refers to are "*La Bible*," and "*Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Alten Testaments*;" to these may now be added the present work.

The preface tells us that after the completion of the similar work in French, Reuss devoted his energies to this German edition of the Bible, which was to make the results of a century of growth in theological knowledge accessible to the general public. At his death the translation, &c., of the Old Testament was ready for the press. The present volume, containing nearly 400 large octavo pages, is the first of seven; the complete work will deal not only with the Old Testament, but also with the Apocrypha, and is to be finished in 1894. Each volume contains a group or class of books, and the arrangement clearly indicates the views of the author. Nothing can well be more significant of the revolution that has taken place in Old Testament Criticism than the publication of an edition in which the *first* volume is "the Historical Books (Judges, Samuel, and Kings)"; the *second*, the "Prophets"; the *third*, "Sacred History and Law (Pentateuch and Joshua)," &c., &c. This first volume contains—A General Introduction to the Bible, A Review of the History, from the Conquest to the Fall of Jerusalem, and the three historical books, with special introduction to each. It is popular in character, giving results for the most part briefly and firmly, without discussion, citation of authorities, or use



of technical terms. The student will be much helped by finding that the instances in which data are insufficient to lead to a certain conclusion are frankly recognised, *e.g.*, the origin of the concluding chapters of 2 Samuel. Possibly, however, in some cases the desire to be cautious has led to a slight vagueness. As the first part of a large and comprehensive work, this volume was probably finished some time since, and has not received the final revision of the author. This will account for some of the omissions which will be noticed below.

The general introduction is a very short sketch in thirty-two pages of the History of the Canon of the Old and New Testaments, the latter part of which is virtually an abstract of the author's larger work on the Canon in the Christian Church. The formation is traced through the stages of Law, Prophets, Psalms, and Hagio-grapha, the members of the latter class not being fixed beyond controversy at the beginning of the second century A.D. It is not clear whether Reuss would still adhere to his position that the Canon was not *practically* closed in the time of Josephus, as against Buhl and Ryle. In the concluding part of this section we have a lucid sketch of the progress of religious thought in regard to the Bible. Special stress is laid on the difficulties of the Reformed doctrine that the Bible is the seat of authority, and it is shown how this opened the door to the rigid and unspiritual theology of the eighteenth century from which we are now recovering. He contrasts the old and new attitude towards the Bible thus: to the old theology the aggregate of biblical ideas was a collection of oracular utterances, to the new theology, the series of scenes of a magnificent spiritual drama. Briefly discussing the use which is to be made in popular teaching of modern critical results, he maintains that the change of position from the traditional to the historical is nothing but gain, and that "the Hebrew literature shines forth in clearer splendour from the night of heathen antiquity, when its light is no longer obliged to pierce the theological cloud." In these few pages there is very much that is most helpful and inspiring, but our space does not admit of more than the instances given above.

The next fifty-seven pages contain an equally brief and compact sketch of the history from the Conquest to the Fall of Jerusalem; about half the space devoted to the same subject by Wellhausen in the "Encyclopædia Britannica." The sketch is for the most part general, dealing with principles and tendencies, giving a philosophy of the history, and eschewing as far as possible details of time and place and person. First, there is the period of the heroes ending with Saul; the history begins with the Conquest, apparently because there is no history before the Conquest. The discussion of this point is, however, reserved for the special introduction to the

Pentateuch. This is an instance of a somewhat irritating feature in this section. Reuss is evidently anxious to avoid anticipating the introductions of the later volumes. His sketch of the history necessarily involves some notice of the origins of Hebrew literature. But Reuss virtually declines to state here his views on some of the leading controversies of literature and history,—e.g., the Psalter and the origin of Prophecy,—because they are treated later on. The student, however, would have found this conspectus a useful guide to his further reading of the book, if the main results to be afterwards established had been briefly stated. We may note with regard to this first period that it is questionable whether in view of recent archaeological discoveries we can still say that Jerusalem was so named by David. The second period, extending to the close of the monarchy, is that of the Prophets. We may note two points on which Reuss insists,—viz., that the religious and political importance of the Northern Kingdom was much greater than that assigned to it by the Judean books of Kings and Chronicles; and that after the captivities both of Israel and Judah a very large proportion of the poorer people was left behind; or, in other words, in each case it was not the nation but the *élite* of the nation that was carried into captivity. We doubt if Reuss makes sufficient allowance for the successive captivities and the repeated devastations of the country. The third period which extends to the re-dedication of the Temple in 164 is that of the Priests. The final period is that of the Scribes. This sketch of the history again is lucid and suggestive, and forms, with the exception mentioned above, a clear and useful summary of recent results.

In the introductions to the separate books, Reuss gives an analysis of the same general character as those adopted by Budde, Kautzsch, Cornill, and Driver, but it is less definite and detailed. The most striking omission is the absence of any attempt to connect the sources of these books with the documents of the Hexateuch. On the other hand we have a very clear and interesting argument to show that our present Book of Judges combines in its chronology two independent systems, each of which worked on the theory of 1 Kings vi. 1, that twelve generations occupied the interval from the Exodus to the Building of the Temple. We may also note the following: the Song of Deborah dates from the twelfth century at the latest; the Books of Samuel and Kings are two originally distinct works, belonging to different periods and edited on different principles; the elegy on Saul and Jonathan is a genuine poem of David (so most critics); the Book of Samuel is older than the Book of Judges.

The translation and notes occupy about two-thirds of the book, the notes are brief and pointed, and do not occupy more than about

the same space as the translation, but are in smaller type. The main sections of the books, as given by the analysis, are separated by lines; but Reuss does not follow many modern editions in indicating the details of the analysis by different type. It is only rarely that the translation departs from the Massoretic text, important variants are mostly given in the notes. Many of the notes, however, are evidently specially intended for popular readers, and are such as the advanced Bible student could easily supply for himself. The various poems in these books are arranged in lines and stanzas, and some of them translated into German verse of a suitable character, a literal translation being sacrificed to the necessities of rhythm,—e.g., the utterance of the rough hero Samson, Jud. xv. 16 :

“ Mit des Esels Backenknochen  
Hier ein Pack und dort ein Haufen  
Mit des Esels Backenknochen  
Mach' ich tausend Philister laufen.”

No attempt, however, is made to imitate the striking word-play of the Hebrew :

*haḥāmôr ḥāmôr ḥāmôrāthāyim.*

Our space will only admit of a few references to details in the translation. “Appearances of Yahweh” for “Malakh Yahweh” gives quite a wrong impression. In Jud. vi. 26 “fence” (Umzämun) for *Ma’ārākhâ* (R. V. “in the orderly manner”) is virtually equivalent to Bertheau’s “Bastion.” In 1 Sam. xv. 29, Agag comes “cheerfully” (gutes Mutes) as in R. V. The passage, 2 Sam. v. 7, about the blind and lame at the capture of Jebus is “corrupt beyond restoration.” In 2 Sam. xii. 31 the note mentions with a ? an unnecessary and improbable aggravation of David’s conduct to the Ammonites, viz., that he put them under the saw and the harrows as a sacrifice to their own false gods. We miss in 2 Sam. xxiv. 6 any reference to the probable emendation “land of the Hittites unto Kadesh” for “land of Tahtim-hodshi.” In 2 Kings xxiii. 5. *Mazzālôth* (R. V. planets) is rendered as R. V. mg “Signs of the Zodiac.” Doubtless these few specimens will encourage students to refer to the volume for renderings of other difficult passages. This work will be welcome to German Bible-readers as a compact exposition by a leading critic on the lines of modern Bible-study. It will be valued in England for its own sake and for the sake of its author, and the appearance of the remaining volumes will be awaited with much interest.

W. H. BENNETT.

**La Morale de Spinoza.**

*Examen de ses principes et de l'influence qu'elle a exercée dans les temps modernes, par René Worms : Paris, Hachette. 12mo, pp. 334. Price F.3.50.*

THIS volume opens with the assertion that Spinoza derived his moral teaching from the Jewish religion. "The metaphysics of Judaism," says M. Worms, "are contained in a single phrase, 'God exists, he is one ; and he is great' : all its ethics may be summed up in a word, 'obedience to God.'" But Spinoza was not only a pupil of the Rabbis, he was also a disciple of Descartes ; and while Descartes developed no system of morals, the germ of an ethical system undoubtedly lies in many passages of his works—notably in his letters to the Princess Elizabeth, and to Queen Christina. The rôle of Spinoza—who, in all his reasoning, pushed logical deduction from Cartesian principles further than his master—was essentially to construct a scientific morality. He owed the idea of this to Judaism, and the form to Descartes. The love of God, and the blessedness of man, are the gifts of Judaism ; but the orderly reasoned argument, which characterises the *Ethics*, came from Descartes. To bring these differing elements together needed the powerful mind of Spinoza, and in that synthesis lay the inspiration and the originality of his work.

Not only, however, did he understand "la vie morale," but he lived and practised it. M. Worms gives a short but interesting resumé of the facts of Spinoza's life, and of its great crisis, when he realized that "the things which are seen are temporal," and that the supreme aim of life must be the infinite and eternal good ; in other words, when he saw that he must quit the uncertain and the perishable, that the struggle for pleasure, fortune, honours, with their resultant quarrels and hatred, their sorrow and pain of mind, must be abandoned. Spinoza's life and labours are traced by M. Worms with sympathetic appreciation ; while a parallel, and at the same time a contrast, is drawn between Spinoza and Pascal. Both passed through a moral crisis by an act of faith, and a cry of hope to the Eternal. But whereas Pascal taught asceticism, Spinoza inculcated a full and a free life. While Pascal dreamt of death, Spinoza taught that wisdom lay in a meditation of life. Pascal secluded himself in the contemplation of an immutable and terrible God, the soul of Spinoza expanded in admiration of a living and joyous universe ; Pascal turned his eyes to the past, Spinoza to the future (p. 22).

After a somewhat rhapsodical introduction, a criticism of Spinoza's

"Morale" follows. To relate his life, says M. Worms, is to define his work. The search for the chief good for others, and for himself, was his sole aim. All his writings, from the *De Emendatione* onward, tend to the same conclusion. Nothing is more certain to ensure happiness than that man should know the true method whereby he may arrive at scientific facts. Many political and theological treatises had been written for this purpose; and when Spinoza condensed his ideas on the nature of God and the soul into one work, it was because he believed that speculative knowledge was indispensable as a guide to conduct and action. This work, in which the moral part of the teaching is the strongest and best, he calls *Ethics*. Its first two books are devoted to the metaphysical problem, the three last to the moral; and he expressly declares that the consideration of the former is solely for the better understanding of the latter, viz., the knowledge of the soul, and its chief good. Whereas metaphysics, mechanics, and medicine were placed by Descartes in the same rank as ethics, to Spinoza they were its humble servants.

Most philosophers distinguish between three classes of ideas, (1) logical, such as bare concepts, and mathematical ideas; (2) physical, ideas of tangible objects; (3) moral, ideas of the good and the beautiful (which possess the perfection of the first, and the reality of the second). Hence ensue three kinds of knowledge, deductive, experimental, and intuitive. M. Worms is of opinion that one of the fundamental ideas of Spinozism is the negation of any profound difference between these three kinds of knowledge. To Spinoza, all that is conceivable is real; and all that is real—in the measure in which it is real—is perfect. A remarkable passage bearing on this will be found in the preamble to the third book of the *Ethics*. Spinoza's doctrine of the will (which, as a part of Nature, is amenable to inflexible laws) is set forth by M. Worms with much clearness, and he points out that Spinoza's method, being identical with that of mathematics or geometry, all oratorical digression, or purely critical reflection on the ordinary conduct of mankind, is conspicuous by its absence from the *Ethics*. Praise or blame do not exist for him, but only the law which regulates moral action; and he quotes a memorable saying from Spinoza's Introduction to the *Tractatus*, that he is careful not to turn the actions of humanity into derision,—neither to pity nor to hate—but only to understand.

Again and again M. Worms emphasises the indebtedness of Spinoza, both to the rationalism of Descartes, and to the theology of the Jews. With Descartes he affirms that all that which the understanding can "clearly and distinctly" conceive is true; but, whereas extension and thought have a real existence—and yet are

so radically different that one cannot conceive reciprocal action between them—neither body can move spirit, nor spirit move body. Experience nevertheless shews that there is a bond between them, and a parallelism in their developments. This bond, says Spinoza, is not in themselves, but in God.

But the God of Spinoza is not the God of theology,—personal, intelligent, wise, and good—not the God in whose image man is made. “The intelligence and will of God,” says Spinoza, “are as different from those of man, as the dog-star is different from the dog.” The God of Spinoza is, at the same time, *essence*, the infinite and eternal substance. He has an infinity of attributes of which we know but two—viz., extension and thought; and these we know, not in their infinity, but only in the finite modes in which they subsist. How then and why does the divine substance thus modify itself? Simply because such modification is inherent in its nature, and it cannot do otherwise. Thus both the existence and the action of God are necessary, and are an absolute necessity, or (as Leibnitz would say) geometrical. It follows that all things are necessary, because all things are modes of God. The workings of the human soul are necessary, and it is a chimera to believe that by supposed free action, man can break the chain of determinism and escape the universal law.

In Spinoza's system God is in all things, and all things are in God; but God is an independent reality, while the modes of existence are not. The universal is logically sufficient in itself, to itself, and for itself; but the law of its being is to produce the individual; and so the individual only exists while it possesses, and represents, the universal. There is no doubt that Spinoza denied free-will to man. Man, it is true, imagines that he possesses certain faculties, which are powers both of understanding and of action. He believes these faculties to have an independent existence, and names them reason and will.

How is this? How is it that men, acting from necessity, believe themselves to be free? It is because they ignore the cause that determines them. Incomplete knowledge of their surroundings, and of their action, produces this belief. This incomplete knowledge Spinoza calls Imagination. The illusion is, however, produced of necessity: a limited intelligence is condemned to error. A falling stone, could it think, would believe it fell freely, or of its own good pleasure. Thus, while man boasts of his liberty, he is really the thrall of circumstance. This conflict we recognise when we say that we would keep silence, but are forced to speak.

The whole of M. Worms' chapter treating of Spinoza's doctrine of the Will may be described as a vigorous and lucid treatment of a profound subject. Whether it is equally valuable to scholars as to

the ordinary reader may be doubted ; but the precision with which it treats the subject of the Will makes this volume an acquisition to those numerous readers who, without being profoundly speculative, enjoy an easily comprehended presentation of great thoughts. M. Worms proceeds to note an observation often made—viz., that, when we are most conscious of the motives of our actions, we most thoroughly believe ourselves to be free ; and that, when we reason out our acts, we feel most completely master of them ; a psychological fact that, in his opinion, does not militate against the determinism of Spinoza. On the contrary, it coincides with the theory of the *Ethics*, that liberty consists not in independence of all motive, but in an inner determinism ; for it is natural to believe one's self free, when one is determined to act by motives clearly conceived.

There is no doubt that, as M. Worms says, Spinoza desired to reconcile responsibility with determinism. If man be not free, it may be said, why punish him for evil conduct ? To which Spinoza answers : " If evil and good are produced of necessity, and not of free will, does that make good less desirable, or evil less reprehensible ? Not at all. We have the right to kill a reptile that injures us, although it acts unconsciously ; and so, in like manner, Society has a right to remove the criminal." That it has the power is evident, but has it the right, you ask ? Yes, says Spinoza, but punishment would do better could it *prevent* evil. Imagined punishment, he thought, would act upon the evil-doer as a deterrent, before he committed the crime, and prevent the commission. Free or not free, it is fear and hope that influence our actions. But may we not argue, in strict justice, that the condemned is not deserving of punishment ; he is to be excused, for he is not the author of his own being, nor of his action ; but God, or the Divine Substance, which, by the laws of his development, caused him thus to act. Not at all, replies Spinoza, we are inexcusable, because we are in His hands, as clay in the hands of the potter. We have no more the right to accuse God because He has given us a weak nature and a powerless spirit, than the triangle has a right to complain that it has not the properties of the square ; for, in the one case as in the other, God has acted of necessity.

In a lucid and direct manner M. Worms expounds Spinoza's theory that evil is an incomplete development of life—not the privation of good, or of life—but only an inferior existence, a lesser good. Supreme good and supreme virtue are alike the knowledge of God. God loves man, and this love is the source of our happiness ; for, with an infinity of love, God must love Himself and His "modes." But how does God love Himself, in a system which denies Him passion and even consciousness ? Spinoza

helplessly replies, "God, as all other things, tends to persist in his being."

Quoting largely from the Fifth Part of the *Ethics*, M. Worms criticises what he considers its author's curious theory of immortality. He comments on the assertion of some critics that Spinoza retained a belief in immortality to avoid persecution, and on the belief of others that this theory is an unintentional inconsequence. He mentions a more appreciative criticism, which, however, he also rejects. If in life the individual has known no other joys than those of sense, extinction alone is possible to him ; if, on the other hand, he has sought his chief good in the absolute and eternal essence of things,—if he has realised in his consciousness a clear conception of infinite and perfect being,—if in this life he has risen to a higher one, viz., to the knowledge and the love of God,—then it is just that such a man should enter into the better part of himself, and exist eternally. This interpretation of Spinoza's position is also put aside by M. Worms, who says that the immortality of Spinoza is quite impersonal. What will remain after death is not consciousness, but idea. The human soul is not a substance always identically the same ; it is composed of ideas which are modes of the infinite thought, united during the life of the individual, but dissociated at his death. What is debased dies ; what is great and fertile lives, and inspires future generations. Thus losing in death all consciousness, all individuality, we are immortal by our works, immortal in our race. It is a wholly impersonal immortality that he admits.

The second part of M. Worms' book deals very fully with the influence of the philosophy of Spinoza in various countries, and with its remarkable *renaissance* at present in Germany. The following passage is worthy of note:—"De tous les penseurs modernes, Spinoza était le seul qui pût répondre au double besoin de l'esprit germanique ; Descartes était peut-être à la fois trop clair dans la forme et trop peu décidé au fond pour satisfaire l'esprit à la fois nébuleux et systématique des Allemands ; Berkeley était un métaphysicien plus subtil et plus conséquent, mais trop entaché de christianisme aux jeux de ces philosophes libres penseurs ; il ne restait donc que Spinoza, qui unit à la hardiesse la profondeur, et c'était lui par conséquent qui était tout désigné pour devenir le Dieu de la nouvelle école" (p. 270).

There is also an interesting remark, in the chapter on England in the nineteenth century, to the effect that it is through these German philosophical writers that Mr Herbert Spencer owes—unknown, doubtless, to himself—a debt to Spinoza.

Although it cannot be described as a specially new or original criticism, there is much to praise in this book of M. Worms.



Perhaps its chief merit is a quality of which Spinoza himself would have approved, viz., that throughout it is, in a high degree, "clear and distinct."

WILLIAM KNIGHT.

### A History of Æsthetic.

*By Bernard Bosanquet, M.A. (Oxon.), LL.D. (Glasgow). London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 8vo, pp. 502. Price 10s. 6d.*

OF the score of books now announced by Mr J. H. Muirhead to be included in "The Library of Philosophy," the majority have the field to themselves in English ; and this, the third of the issue, is one of them, for Professor Knight's very useful handbook has a different intention. As we should expect, Mr Bosanquet's History is as far as possible from being a chronicle of opinion ; it is a history of the elements that determine the present state of æsthetic doctrine. You cannot turn to its pages and find a summary of the work of any "æsthetician." You will find what he said that had not been said in the same way before, why he had to say it, and what is the value of it. "I have regarded my task," the preface reads, "as the history of æsthetic, and not as the history of æstheticians. I have not paid much attention to the claims of historical justice." So native writers come off with about a twentieth part of the five hundred pages. But Mr Knight gives them a good third.

A historian of æsthetic is never in want of variety, and, if he takes a fairly coherent plan, the reader does not much object to taking a somewhat longer road than he finds the conclusion to require. Mr Bosanquet's plan is fairly clear. The history of æsthetic—of "the analysis of the æsthetic consciousness"—concerns itself with two moments of progress. In the first place, the analysis of an æsthetic consciousness of any given sort has a history, like every interpretation in philosophy ; in the second place, the æsthetic consciousness has itself had a history. There is a history of what beauty is, and a history of what is felt to be beautiful. The real question is the former, but it has to wait for a definite answer on the answers that are given to the other. At the outset of the book we have an abstract definition of beauty, and the rest of the book may be fairly described as giving the progress of this definition to definiteness, concreteness, or truth. But this progress required a development of the æsthetic consciousness itself, for æsthetic is made to wait on the artist to give it a world to explain. And then this

development of the æsthetic consciousness is traced to forces which are——what are they not, when the means for developing the feeling of beauty are given by every new idea in religion and philosophy, and every advance in moral and social welfare? Add the gradual discovery of the means of artistic expression in each of the arts, the reason for the development of particular arts at particular times, the degree of appreciation of art-products already existing, and some idea may be had of what Mr Bosanquet sets down merely as the basis upon which his philosophic structure is to be raised. It would obviously be absurd to talk of omissions, and we do not object to an author being thorough; but it will be readily understood how the main road of the book often seems lost in the description of a country for it to travel through.

And the development of art-production and of æsthetic consciousness is, as we have said, only one element in the development of theories of beauty. A historian of æsthetic has also to encounter the difficulty that meets the historian of any particular department of philosophy; he must treat it by reference to the doctrines held by the several writers upon, at least, the theory of knowledge. That is the only legitimate ground of exposition and criticism, and it is given to few to make it clear and adequate, and at the same time subordinate to its purpose. Mr Bosanquet seems to have succeeded within his limits—and certainly in the method he has adopted for showing the development of the æsthetic problem in Greece, and in his introduction to Kant's Critique of Judgment.

All that variety of influence acting upon the æsthetic consciousness, and this necessity of occupying the points of view from which the several writers looked at beauty, demand a unifying principle to give coherence to the narrative. For this the historian must have an æsthetic system of his own,—at any rate, the logical conditions of a system,—and he must set the problems that comprise it to each author in turn. Then, if the story is to have progress as as well as coherence, it is necessary to distinguish essence from accident. In all his work Mr Bosanquet gives one the impression of carrying out a mission, and here he mixes himself with every page. We take exception to the piece-meal way in which his criticism is carried out, but his general method is the logical one, and the best for mastering the heterogeneous elements of the story. It is, as we have indicated, to represent the whole history as a progressive determination of beauty.

In the first chapter he defines the beautiful as "That which has characteristic or individual expressiveness for sense-perception or imagination, subject to the conditions of general or abstract expressiveness in the same medium." Or, extending the word "characteristic" to embrace what he calls abstract expressiveness—the

formal element of unity in variety,—we have the definition of beauty given as “the characteristic in as far as expressed for sense-perception or for imagination.” If one objected that this is so vague as to be nearly meaningless, Mr Bosanquet would no doubt reply that that is its virtue, that it says all that can be said without introducing ideas which did not form part of the concept for early writers. But the “intelligent lovers of beauty” referred to in the Preface must find it sufficiently repellent to be offered a definition like this at the outset. It is not a definition of beauty, but at most the first factor or predicate of a definition, and saying as nearly as possible nothing,—nothing, we mean, to distinguish the notion from any other with which it may be confounded. For the same thing can be said of the comic and the sublime. Mr Bosanquet may very well mean the term beauty to cover these, but is it to cover what is ugly too? It certainly applies to a large part of what is ordinarily called ugly, and it does not exclude on the face of it even real ugliness,—“positive negation or falsehood aspiring to the place of beauty” (p. 397). Finally, we should suggest that “æsthetic quality” and not “beauty” is the term defined, were it not obvious that the definition is true of all sense-perception. Mr Bosanquet says in his *Logic* (vol. ii. p. 233): “an æsthetic whole is, so to speak, a universal made easy,” using the term æsthetic in the same sense as in his *History*. The definition we have quoted above really says no more, and of course it is true of all percepts that they are universals made easy.

All reference to pleasure is excluded from the definition, and almost indeed from the whole volume. Beauty is treated in the same manner as truth and right, which don't wait to be truth and right till they are recognised by this one or that. And rightly, we think. At the same time, the individuality of the artist and the observer is much more prominent here than in knowledge or even in practice. It is not so easy to mistake truth and right as to mistake beauty. That is because one's feeling for form, colour, rhythm, harmony is so little modifiable. We do not object that Mr Bosanquet neglects individuality in this sense of idiosyncrasy,—even though there are national idiosyncrasies. But we do fail to see that he has succeeded, any more than others, in identifying the explanation of the two “characteristics” of his longer definition. There, and in his treatment of “exact æsthetic,” he seems to explain the feeling for rhythm, form, and the rest, as he explains the feeling for the content of the poem or picture. Of course Mr Bosanquet would agree that, just as a man may understand the laws of optics without being able to see, and may know the right without doing it, so he may understand the principles of æsthetic and have but a poor feeling for beauty. But what we maintain is that the element

wanting in this last case is, like the want of eye and will, quite a different affair from the thing he possesses. An artist does not recognise the reason of the delight he takes in the "infinite" shading of the sky at night-fall, when he is told that it is due to his feeling of "delightful horror," or any other, for what is infinite. It is notorious that people with equal appreciation of music read different ideas and emotions into the same piece. Is it a contradiction to say that an exquisite poem may have "nothing in it"? And how are we to interpret the different æsthetic values of simple tones and colours? In all these cases, even the last, it is possible to point out how they may be media for expressing an ideal content, but they are felt to have beauty before it is read into them, and the content is then read and felt as an addition to it. We do not say, of course, that the connexion between form and content is as arbitrary as that between words and their meaning; formal beauty is not indifferent to the content it may be made to express, now it has become, so to say, the mother tongue of our race. But it is too soon to infer that this language has been formed on the principle of onomatopœia.

Mr Bosanquet's view of the relation of æsthetic to art—of theory to practice—is eminently sane, not merely by way of opinion but as a historical inference. At the outset he turns away the wrath of the artist by disclaiming the "impertinence" of setting up as his critic. "The æsthetic theorist desires to understand the artist, not in order to interfere with the latter, but in order to satisfy an intellectual interest of his own." The view is not so simple as it looks; we cannot take artists and try to understand their works, as we take the laws of nature and theirs. If æsthetic does not interfere with the artist after it has found him, it interferes to find him. We do not see that the disclaimer means more than an honest intention to avoid the traditional errors; no science accepts its matter without verification. But the intention is everything, if we reflect that it has been the habit of æsthetic to think itself complete, and so turn itself upon the artist. Æsthetic criticism has developed by the revolt of art against it. As we should expect from Mr Bosanquet, the story of the revolt is as prominent in his *History* as the continuity of the principles that overcame it by assuming its force. The development of æsthetic from Socrates to Plotinus is in the main a development from within the science itself. We have already remarked on the clearness of these chapters. But it is different when the story is told of the forms in which the romantic spirit expresses itself. The limitations imposed by the traditional æsthetic died hard; it is not so very long since the *Edinburgh Review* declared the forms of verse to have been fixed like the canon of scripture, not to be added to nor subtracted

from. Nowadays, "the soul has won its intellectual liberty, and with it an infinite capacity for making mistakes, and this it will never surrender" (468). It is genius, not æsthetic, which must be left to mediate between idea and form. "The man as he is when his nature is at one with itself, or, as Schiller says, when he is at play, is the needed middle term between content and expression" (457); and genius is "the peculiar endowment by which the rational content is given in a state of active and productive feeling" (453). And so, to Mr Bosanquet, æsthetic resigns the rôle of prescribing, and, becoming a social reformer for its own sake, demands that the workman, the real artist, be set free to undertake the burden. "Never," says Mr Morris, "till our own day has an ugly or stupid glass vessel been made." In the happy time to come æsthetic will have its world of beauty given to it like nature to sense, and will be able to demit the invidious business of criticising the artist, and confine itself to the pleasant one of understanding him. It is a pious opinion.

But having made these objections we would the more emphatically express our gratitude to Mr Bosanquet for undertaking so desirable, so difficult, and, at the same time we fear, so thankless a task, and for executing it so thoroughly. Our strongest objection, indeed, is that the book is written in a language that few care to encounter, so that it will not have so many readers as it deserves. Mr Bosanquet seems to say that he cannot write in a more popular style; we could convince him to the contrary out of his own mouth. It is his method that is at fault. On every page, and often in a single sentence, we have exposition, alternative meanings, historical comparisons, all packed together and tied with criticism and considerations. In this matter the reader is probably a better judge than the author, and we are confident that nothing is so much wanting to make the book attractive as an explanatory and constructive chapter on æsthetic at the outset, to take the place of the piece-meal argumentation that is everywhere scattered about. But, in any case, it is certain that, for many a day to come, our writers on æsthetic will warmly acknowledge their indebtedness to it.

W. MITCHELL.

**Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien.**

*Textkritische und Quellenkritische Grundlegungen von Alfred Resch. Texte und Untersuchungen herausgegeben von O. v. Gebhardt und A. Harnack. X. Band. Heft 1. Leipzig: Hinrichs. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 160. Price M.5.*

DR RESCH is already favourably known to English readers through Dr Sanday's valuable articles in the *Expositor* of 1891 (Feb.-June) as one of the most laborious even of German scholars. He has traversed, perhaps more minutely than any other one man, the entire field of early Christian literature; and this, with the constant design of discovering indications of quotation from the New Testament Scriptures, and especially from our four Gospels. His investigations have led him, as he believes, to many important results, of which two claim attention at the outset. 1. That there are in the writings of the early Fathers many more sayings than had hitherto been noticed, which are ascribed to the Lord Jesus, but which do not occur in the Canonical Gospels. These Dr Resch has already published, under the title of *Agrapha: extra-canonical fragments of the Gospel*. 2. That there was a Semitic Gospel, written before our present Gospels, of which the *Agrapha* formed part: that this was made use of by the three Synoptists in the form of a Greek translation: in this Greek form circulated extensively in the primitive Church, and is repeatedly quoted in early Church literature. The small volume now before us is the introductory section of a much larger work to be entitled *Extra-canonical parallel-texts to the Gospels*, and is devoted to the statement of facts or theories, which the further work is designed, as I believe, to illustrate and establish.

The first chapter is devoted to the New Testament Canon, which, inasmuch as it is "a Church-book," "the ripe product of ecclesiastical tradition" is, "notwithstanding its great dignity," a legitimate object of criticism. This "right" has been exercised by the Church at three periods. 1. In the early Church, when the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament were excluded from the first rank of canonicity; and when several works by Christian authors which had circulated widely and had been highly esteemed in the second century, were left out of the Canon entirely. 2. In the Reformation period, when, from theological motives, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistles of James and Jude, the Second Epistle of Peter, and the Apocalypse were relegated to a deuterocanonical rank, *i.e.*, while permitted to be used in the Lutheran Church for practical purposes,

were not admitted for the purposes of dogmatic Theology, as a *norma normans* of the Church's creed. Dr Resch rightly regards this as "a fatal step" taken by Luther and his followers. 3. The third period was opened by F. C. Baur, who initiated the Historical Method. This must, in Dr Resch's esteem, ever be admitted to be Baur's great merit, though "his solution of the problem was one-sided, and his reconstruction of primitive Christianity faulty."

Chapter II. takes up the subject of the Canon of the Gospels, and directs attention to three stages in its formation. 1. The collection of our present Gospels into a fourfold unity—*τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*, or as Resch calls it, the Archetype. 2. The attainment of paramount authority by our present Gospels, to the exclusion of the many previous records of Christ's words and deeds which had circulated in the Church. 3. The fixing and final purifying of the "text" of the Canonical Gospels.

In Chapter III., which is entitled "Canonical and Extra-Canonical Texts," Dr Resch undertakes to dispel the dense darkness in which even the early Church authors "groped, in reference to the origin, the further development, and the final redaction of the canonical text of the New Testament." We are again asked to distinguish *three epochs*: 1. In the former half of the second century, when the hypothetical author of the Archetypal Gospel collected the four Gospels to a unity, and in doing so introduced sundry alterations into the text. 2. In the former half of the third century, when a recension took place, under Origen as prime-mover. 3. At the time of the final fixing of the Canon in the opening years of the fourth century, when the third and final recension of the text took place. In an obscure passage in Jerome this is associated with the names of Lucius and Hesychius, but incorrectly so. In this connection Dr Resch advocates the claims of Codex Bezae, and assigns to its text an antiquity and authority which will certainly not be allowed to pass without challenge. He is of opinion that we have not near so original a text in A, B,  $\aleph$ , as in D; and though not prepared to go so far as de Lagarde, who called the "recensio" of the text attested in A B a "contaminatio"; and the redactors "falsifiers" (for Resch considers that there were wise and justifiable reasons for making the alterations which appear in "the canonical text" of A B), yet our author has no hesitancy in affirming that every Greek uncial, except D, bears constant marks of the work of the *διασκευασταὶ ὁρθόδοξοι*; in other words, that Codex D is our most reliable authority for arriving at the readings of the original autographs of the Gospels.

In chapter IV. we have Dr Resch's views as to the history of Codex D. He admits that in its present form the MS. belongs to the sixth century, but as some Cursives present us with an ancient

text, so it is with the important Codex before us. In this connection Dr Resch is more sparing than one could wish with his *proofs*. "Assertions" abound, many of them startling, and foreign to our usual conceptions, but for the "proofs" I suppose we must wait for the appearance of the volume to which the one before us is the Introduction. But in a work devoted to "foundation-laying" one might have reasonably expected an array of evidence, linguistic or otherwise, for the following statements concerning Codex D:—In its original condition it is the work of the scholar who about 140 A.D. compiled the Gospel-canon from the fourfold Gospels we now possess. This great unknown was, however, not merely a transcriber; he had in his possession a copy of the Semitic Gospel translated into Greek, closely resembling the version used by the first evangelist, and following this, he introduced numerous alterations into the autographs of the four Evangelists. The *Second Stage* in the history of the text of D occurs in the third century, when some transcriber introduced into it some of the readings of Origen's recension. Resch agrees with Credner that the Codex was preserved in Jewish-Christian circles, and thus was kept free from readings which had their origin in orthodox circles more or less influenced by Paulinism. The *third period* of the history of D is in the time shortly after Euthalius about 500 A.D., when for the first time the parallel Latin version was added, and when, as proved by Prof. Rendel Harris, some readings crept into the text, which were due to an alteration of the Greek, to bring it into harmony with the Latin. Before this time the Codex had found its way into Southern Gaul, where it was again preserved from orthodox recensions. The present Codex was written some years later by an ignorant scribe who allowed many senseless blunders to appear in the Greek text, and who seems in some passages to have written from dictation. There are certainly some remarkable *assertions* in the foregoing lines, and if Dr Resch is able to substantiate them, he has scarcely done himself justice in not giving us some inkling of the line of proof he intends to pursue. Towards the close of the volume Dr Resch does give us some reasons for maintaining that the first scribe used a Greek version of the Hebrew Urschrift. These I will shortly place before the reader, and leave him to judge as to their cogency.

As satellites round Codex Bezae and bearing witness to the same pre-canonical text, Dr Resch points to the old Latin Version, the Syriac Versions—especially the Curetonian, the Diatessaron of Tatian, the citations of the Gospels in the early Fathers, the New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and the Liturgies of the ancient Church. After this, we have presented to us the *criteria for arriving at the original text*. The agreement of D, Itala and Cur. Syr. yields, beyond a doubt, the text of the Archetypal Gospel.



Itala and Cur. Syr. yield the same result. D and Cur. Syr. yield a text a little less reliable. This must certainly come as a surprise to our illustrious scholars Westcott and Hort,<sup>1</sup> as well as to the company of our revisers who share their reverence for B C  $\aleph$ . Turning to *The New Testament in Greek*, vol. ii. p. 120, we find that the authors just cited say :—"On all accounts the Western text claims our attention first. The earliest readings which can be fixed chronologically belong to it. As far as we can judge from extant evidence it was the most widely spread text of Ante-Nicene times. But any prepossessions in its favour that might be created by this imposing early ascendancy are for the most part soon dissipated by continuous study of its internal character." So far as one can forecast, it is because of this early extensive diffusion of the Western text, of which D is the chief representative, that Dr Resch defends the originality and purity of the readings of D, when its agreement with the Vetus Itala and the Syriac shews that the reading has not been tampered with. "Continuous study of its internal character" has not in *his* case "dissipated the prepossessions in its favour caused by its imposing early ascendancy."

In chapter V. Resch avows himself a thorough disciple of Dr Bernhard Weiss in his criticism of the Text of the Gospels; especially in his views as to the priority of Mark to the other Synoptists; as to the existence of a "Source" originally composed in Hebrew or Aramaic, which was made use of by the Synoptists: the circulation of Greek translations of the Semitic Gospel, and also in his allocation of the different sections, verses, and clauses in the canonical Gospels to the source from which they were derived.

Chapter VI. is entitled "the pre-canonical Gospel." With great minuteness Resch lays down the principles in accordance with which it may be reconstructed, and discovers—in this respect differing from B. Weiss—that it covered generally the whole period from the Baptism to the Resurrection.

Chapter VII. is devoted to the point at issue between Dr Resch and myself as to the language in which the Urevangelium was written—whether in Hebrew or Aramaic. Dr Resch speaks very kindly of the deep interest with which he has studied my articles as they appeared in *The Expositor*; and alludes very fittingly to the fact that "in vollständiger Isolierung" we should simultaneously have arrived at the result that "there is a *Semitic* Gospel embedded in our present Synoptic Gospels." He has, however, three objections to urge against my work :—

1. I adopt as my starting-point—my basis of operations—a late text, viz., the text attested by B. C.  $\aleph$ . I do not adhere step by

<sup>1</sup> One of them, alas! taken from us as this passes through the press. By Dr Hort's death Textual Criticism loses its greatest master.—ED.

step to the results obtained by Weiss, as to which phrases and clauses originally belonged to the Semitic Gospel; and in consequence I sometimes perpetrate the blunder of translating into Aramaic, clauses found in parallelism in our present Gospels, whereas one or other of these clauses has been proved by Weiss not to have belonged to the Semitic "Source" at all, or else is due to later orthodox recension. In reply to this I have simply to say that I do not consider Weiss infallible, and therefore cannot feel myself condemned, because I differ from him. Indeed, in a letter which I received some eighteen months ago from perhaps the foremost theologian in Scotland, this sentence casually occurs: "Weiss seems to have satisfied no one but himself." Further, I may surely be acquitted for using the Revised Text as my basis, until the authority of the Western Text is a little more generally admitted; especially when, on turning to the page cited above from Westcott and Hort, we read that "the eccentric Whiston" and Bornemann are perhaps the only two who have "in modern times set up an exclusively or even predominantly Western Greek text as the purest reproduction of what the apostles wrote." If I err, therefore, in these respects, I err in good company.

2. Dr Resch objects to the Method I have employed in attempting to trace parallel Greek words to the same or similar Aramaic words. He correctly cites my plan of procedure in explaining the divergences in the Greek to be due to differences in the Aramaic text, caused (a) by different vocalisation of the same consonants, (b) the confusion of similar consonants, (c) omission of a letter, (d) transposition of adjacent letters. He quotes with approval the entire list I gave in the *Expositor* of February 1891, of instances in which the divergences between the Hebrew text and its citation in the New Testament may be explained in one or other of the above ways. He employs the method two or three times himself, as, e.g., in Luke x. 7=Matthew x. 10, where he explains the difference between  $\tau\omicron\upsilon \mu\iota\sigma\theta\omicron\upsilon \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  and  $\tau\eta\varsigma \tau\rho\omicron\phi\eta\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  by a various Hebrew reading  $\text{מחירו}$  and  $\text{מחיתו}$ ; and yet he thinks that the extensive use I have made of the method is "a questionable experiment," and asks if it is credible that as many various readings would creep into Aramaic codices of the Gospels, as confessedly found their way into Hebrew codices, as is attested by the versions. One might reply that antecedently it is *more* probable. When we consider the reverence of the Jews for their Scriptures, the wealth at their command, which enabled them to procure the best parchment and the best scribes, and contrast this with the extreme poverty of the Jewish Christians, which would imply poor writing-material and poor scribes, it is *less* surprising that clerical errors should find their way into MSS. of the Aramaic Gospel than of

the Hebrew Scriptures. But the question is not one to be decided by antecedent probability, but by linguistic evidence. Is it a *fact* that precisely parallel, but divergent, words in our Synoptic Gospels yield, when translated into Aramaic, words very similar? Are these instances so numerous as to eliminate chance? Is it a fact that the divergences in some parts of the Gospels do not admit of this explanation? Is it true that there are evident traces of the type of Aramaic known as Galilean, the author being, according to tradition, a Galilean? If so, we have here a *vera causa*, to which antecedent probabilities must submit, and here we have a clue to guide us as to which parts of the Gospels belonged to the Aramaic Gospel, and which did not. Consequently the only legitimate line of attack on my position is to try to show that the above are *not* facts.

3. These remarks constitute also my reply to Dr Resch's third objection, that I do not include in the Pre-canonical Gospel the account of the Passion, which he maintains did belong to it.

This, then, is my rejoinder to Dr Resch's objections, which he himself sums up in the words : die Marshallschen Untersuchungen sowohl nach dem Ausgangspunkt als nach der sprachlichen Methode als nach ihren vorläufigen Resultaten zu einer befriedigenden Lösung der Frage noch nicht geführt haben.

Chapter VIII. is entitled, "Greek Translations of the Pre-canonical Gospel." Our author's theory is that the original Hebrew Gospel was translated repeatedly into Greek, and that these versions were used by our Synoptists in the composition of their Gospels. This he seeks to prove (1) by the Hebraisms found in the Gospels, especially in the first; and (2) by the numerous synonymous words that occur in parallel passages in the Synoptics. I here subjoin a specimen of what, in the small volume before us, occupies many pages, and, in the volume to come, will, I suppose, be multiplied manifold.

VARIANT TRANSLATIONS BETWEEN LUKE AND MARK.

LUKE.		MARK.		HEBREW.
vi. 9.	ἀπολλύναι	iii. 4.	ἀποκτείνειν	הָמִית
viii. 28.	προσπίπτειν	v. 6.	προσκύνειν	הִשְׁתַּחוּת
viii. 39.	διηγείσθαι	v. 19.	ἀπαγγέλλειν	הִגִּיד
x. 4.	βαστάζειν	vi. 8.	αἶρειν	נָשָׂא
xiii. 19.	αὐξάνειν	iv. 32.	ἀναβαίνειν	עָלָה
xviii. 22.	λείπειν	x. 21.	ὑστέρειν	הָסַר
xxi. 4.	ὑστέρημα	xii. 44.	ὑστέρησις	מְחֶסֶר

But Dr Resch's strong point lies in his remarkable acquaintance with the literature of the early Church, and in the way in which he detects allusions, not only in the Epistles, but also in very early authors to phrases in the Synoptic Gospels. For these researches Dr Resch is entitled to lasting gratitude. To say that *some* of the allusions are fanciful or doubtful is simply to say that our author is human. After all deductions, he has unearthed a mass of very useful information. The point at which I must differ from my learned friend is when he thinks he has *proved* that these variations necessarily involve the existence of a Hebrew original. For instance (to select two of the more probable parallels), when, in Rom. viii. 26, "We know not what we should *pray* for," Resch sees an echo of Matt. xx. 22, "Ye know not what ye *ask*," and contends that this variation *proves* that the words were translated from a Hebrew original containing the word  $\text{שָׁאַל}$ ; this is certainly not the only *possible* solution. Similarly, when Clement of Alexandria, in quoting Matt. v. 17, uses the verb  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\iota\kappa\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  for the canonical  $\epsilon\rho\chi\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ; and, in Matt. xi. 30, gives  $\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\rho\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  for  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\phi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ , and, in Luke x. 40, gives  $\iota\pi\eta\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$  for  $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ , there seems to me a decided deficiency of evidence to *prove* that Clement must have used a Version that had been translated from the Hebrew primitive Gospels, even if the cases above-cited are multiplied tenfold.

My objections to Dr Resch's "Sprachliche Methode" are two :—  
 1. There are not more than one or two of all the cases which Dr Resch adduces in favour of a Hebrew original in which an Aramaic word might not with equal or greater propriety be substituted for his Hebrew word. 2. The occurrence of synonymous words is not of itself *sufficient* to prove translation from a common original. Such instances may equally well be explained from oral tradition. In quoting or transcribing from memory, the fault into which we regularly fall is to use words equivalent, but not identical. In the *Expositor* of May 1891, I threw out to our author the challenge : "Let Dr Resch adduce instances in which the diverse vocalization of the same *Hebrew* consonants, or the change of one letter, or the omission of a letter, or the transposition of two letters will produce the divergent Greek readings. . . ." This he declines to do, and, I am persuaded, cannot do ; for, as Dr Resch correctly opines (page 105), I started my investigations under the hypothesis of a *Hebrew* original, but was obliged to change my cue, not "sichtlich, durch den Vorgang von Neubauer," but solely because Hebrew did not lend itself to the conditions required.

It is by the application of this same Method that Dr Resch seeks to prove that Codex Bezae manifests indications of having been revised by some one who had in his possession a translation of the Hebrew original. On page 145 we read : "Codex D in Luke iv. 5,

instead of τῆς οἰκουμένης, reads with Matthew, τοῦ κόσμου; Luke xiii. 24, instead of ἰσχύουσιν, reads with Matthew, εὐρίθουσι; Luke xx. 23, instead of πανουργία, reads with Matthew, πονηρία," &c. Now, if some one were to maintain that the scribe was far more thoroughly acquainted with Matthew than with Luke, and allowed his recollection to dominate in his transcription, what could Dr Resch reply? I must again repeat my conviction, and leave scholars to adjudicate between us, that the occurrence in two documents of words almost or quite synonymous, though it may corroborate other evidence, is not sufficient, standing alone, to prove translation work from *any* foreign language.

In conclusion, I beg to thank Dr Resch for his kindness in sending me an advance copy of his work, which has enabled me to place his views before English readers at the earliest date; and I am sure they will all heartily endorse the wish with which he closes one of the letters I have had the pleasure of receiving from him: "Ich schliesse mit dem herzlichen Wunsche dass die gemeinsamen Forschungen zum Segen und zur Erbauung des Reiches Gottes dienen mögen."

J. T. MARSHALL.

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### Sermons on Subjects Connected with the Old Testament.

*By S. R. Driver, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, etc., Oxford.*  
*London: Methuen & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xix., 232. Price 6s.*

IN his "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament," Canon Driver was precluded by the plan of that work from touching "otherwise than incidentally" on certain important questions affecting the Old Testament, particularly on its value as a source of moral and religious instruction for the Christian Church of to-day. In order, therefore, to show "in what directions the Old Testament may be fruitfully and intelligently studied, and be made practically useful at the present day," and more especially to show how this may be done on the lines of the critical results set forth in "the former treatise," the sermons in this volume have been selected for publication. As an introduction to these, we find the paper which was read by Dr Driver to the recent Church Congress at Folkestone on "The Permanent Moral and Devotional Value of the Old Testament for the Christian Church." It was a happy thought to place the paper where it is, for the reader is thus enabled to see more clearly the point of view from which the discourses that follow have been written. The paper itself, it is hardly necessary to say, is

excellent so far as it goes, but the subject is one of which it is impossible to do more than touch the fringe in twenty minutes, the maximum time allowance. We are carried rapidly along from one topic to another, over each of which we would willingly linger: the persistent emphasis with which the performance of "the primary moral duties incumbent on man as man" is demanded in the Old Testament; the uniqueness of its models, the inspiration of its ideals, and the purity and spirituality of its religion. Turning from the moral to the devotional value of the Hebrew Scriptures, the author dwells chiefly, of course, though not exclusively, on the value of the Psalter in this respect. Notable as is the whole paper as a specimen of successful condensation, the author has excelled himself in his brief but comprehensive characterisation of the Psalter on pp. 15 and 16.

The sermons that follow are twelve in number, and cover a tolerably wide range of subjects. A considerable difference is discernible also in the mode of treatment, as may be seen by comparing the severely-learned study of the "Growth of Belief in a Future State" (of which more presently) with the simpler exegetical sermons (VIII.-XII.) in the latter half of the volume. As becomes one who is seeking rather to inform the minds than to move the feelings of his audience, the preacher aims chiefly at clearness and directness of statement, although on occasion—witness the fine passage in sermon II. on the glory of the Creator as manifested in Nature—he can rise even to eloquence. It is impossible to do more than call attention to one or two of the more noteworthy of the discourses. One of these is certainly that with which the series opens, entitled "Evolution compatible with Faith." The mutual relations of religion and science, and the limitations of their respective spheres, are evidently among Canon Driver's favourite topics of discourse, sermon VIII. (The First Chapter of Genesis) dealing with a different aspect of the same great problem. Both are due to the preacher's conviction that "a readjustment of the relations subsisting between theology on the one hand and criticism and science on the other, is beginning to be recognised as one of the pressing needs of the time" (p. 25).

In the sermon that follows on "The Ideals of the Prophets," I would bespeak the attention of the reader for the relation into which the Messianic hope is here brought to the famous prophecy of Nathan to King David. As regards sermon IV., already alluded to, it will be found with the accompanying notes (pp. 95-98) to be one of the most valuable of the series. "The Growth of Belief in a Future State" is traced stage by stage from its first appearance in the later books of the Canon, through the Apocalyptic Book of Enoch and the Targums, until we reach its full enunciation in the Gospels..

Nowhere else will the student find, in brief compass, so full, clear, and reliable a presentation of our present knowledge of this important subject. No mention is made in the notes or elsewhere, however, of Canon Cheyne's treatment of it in his Bampton Lectures.

Many readers of Canon Driver's book will probably turn eagerly to his treatment of "Inspiration" (pp. 143-162), for few will be found to dispute the fact that among the doctrinal needs of our time there is none more pressing than the need for a re-statement of the doctrine of Inspiration. Now there is much in this sermon that is suggestive and well-timed. I would instance the exposition of what our author felicitously terms "the relativity of inspiration," the emphatic statement of the danger "to the just claims of Christianity of a false theory of inspiration," and the equally emphatic demand for "an examination of the books that are described as inspired, and an impartial study of the facts presented by them" as the indispensable preliminary for a truer conception of inspiration. But the impression made by the sermon as a whole is vague and unsatisfactory. The fault lies less with the man than with his method. In other words, Professor Driver has put us off with a sermon, when he ought to have given us a volume.

The last five sermons, as their author informs us, "are of simpler structure than the rest," but here too the student of the Old Testament will find much that will help him to a better understanding of the ancient scriptures.

ARCHD. R. S. KENNEDY.

### **The Early Narratives of Genesis.**

*A Brief Introduction to the Study of Genesis i.-xi. By Herbert E. Ryle, B.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, x., 138 pp. Price 3s.*

PROFESSOR RYLE's little book is a reprint of a short series of papers which appeared recently in the columns of the "Expository Times." In the familiar purple cloth of the Messrs Macmillan, they are now accessible in a form which makes their perusal more pleasant to the reader. "The object with which they were written was to discuss the contents of the opening chapters of Genesis in a simple and untechnical style, with special reference to the modifications of view which the frank recognition of the claims of Science and Criticism seems to demand" (preface, p. x.). No one surely who fully recognises the revolution in men's ideas as to the origin of the world and man, which half-a-century of scientific discovery has brought about, will say that the task which Professor Ryle here undertakes is premature. Even had that task been accomplished

much less successfully than it has been in these papers, he would still have deserved the thanks of all who would see an acknowledged impediment to belief removed from the path of many. It is moreover a matter for congratulation that this should have been done by one who is at once evangelical in his sympathies and competent in his scholarship; who combines a praiseworthy tact and a due reverence for the inspired narratives with a fearlessness which does not shrink from emphasizing the unhistorical character of these early chapters. Himself frankly accepting the teachings of science and the results of criticism, he here seeks to convince the most timorous and hesitating that such acceptance "is but a step forward in the recognition of God's way of making known His will to men."

I cannot attempt, in the space at my disposal, to do more than indicate very generally the method which Professor Ryle has adopted in these papers. The results of the literary analysis of Genesis i.-xi. are fully accepted; the double accounts of creation, the flood, &c., thus brought to light, are exhibited; the similarity between the Hebrew narratives and the corresponding legends of Babylonia is pointed out; and, finally, care is taken to emphasize the lofty spiritual tone and teaching which so sharply mark off the Hebrew version from its Babylonian counterpart. As regards the obvious connection between the two, this is shown to be due to their common origin. "Both the Hebrew and the Assyro-Babylonian traditions are derived from a primitive and pre-historic Semitic original" (p. iii.). It is also shown that, could we get behind the prophetic and priestly narratives in these chapters to the older sources from which they drew their materials, we should find a still stronger resemblance to the Babylonian legends, particularly as regards the polytheistic element which is so conspicuous a feature in the latter. Professor Ryle is repeatedly at pains to point out how the later Hebrew writer under the leading of divine inspiration, selects only those parts of the earlier narrative that suit his purpose, being extremely careful to "qualify, abbreviate, or omit that which did not seem suitable to or was in actual disagreement with the revealed religion of Israel." To this fact there can be little doubt that the abruptness and fragmentariness of the narratives in their present shape are mainly due. So much, then, for the outward form of these narratives.

The great truth, however, which our author would enforce in these pages is, that the early chapters of Genesis were never meant to be the medium of *scientific* instruction to our or to any other age. The lessons they convey to us now are the only lessons they were ever intended to convey, and these are purely *spiritual*. "Saint and seer shaped the recollections which they had inherited from a forgotten past, until legend too, as well as chronicle and prophecy



and psalm, became the channel for the communication of eternal truths" (p. 137).

By confining myself to what I take to be the author's general aim and method, I have sought to give a more just impression of his work than by entering, in the space at my disposal, into his treatment of the individual narratives. May he succeed in leading more of his own and other communions, "to treat science as the friend and not as the foe of divine revelation."

ARCHD. R. S. KENNEDY.

### Texts and Studies.

*Vol. ii., No. 2. The Testament of Abraham, by M. R. James, M.A., with an Appendix containing Extracts from the Arabic Version of the Testaments of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, by W. E. Barnes, B.D. Cambridge, University Press. Pp. viii., 166. 8vo. 5s. net.*

As to the quality of this instalment of "Texts and Studies," it is enough to say in general that it is not unworthy of the co-editor of the *Psalms of Solomon*. Here, of course, the work to be done is different. A pioneer's watchfulness joined with boldness is needed in an untrodden district. And such is this portion of the Pseudepigraphic Judæo-Christian literature. This branch of study is one about which the scholar is often inclined to have two minds. On the one hand it is full of the *bizarre* and fanciful, whose direct human value seems almost *nil*. On the other, its collateral results are momentous; because it gives him new eyes with which to see old features in the New Testament itself, and creates for him a new atmosphere, as it were, in which to study them. Towards the pressing yet most delicate task of discriminating the distinctively Christian elements from their accidental setting in the records of Christianity, Pseudepigraphic study has yet most valuable contributions to make.

What, then, are the topics broached in this particular collection of Patriarchal "Testaments"? In his preface Mr James answers as follows:—"Within the sphere of that literature they claim kindred with two important groups of books—the Apocalyptic and the Ethical. In respect of apocalyptic literature, important information is afforded by the Testament of Abraham as to the relationship subsisting between the various visions of the unseen; in particular, both the origin and the widespread popularity of the Apocalypse of Paul are illustrated. The ethical group of pseudepigrapha is enriched by the publication of the Testament of Isaac, the relation

of which to the *Didache* and to the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs will, I hope, be recognised and investigated by others more fully than it has been by myself."

Were one inclined to criticise so excellent a gift as the present edition, one would perhaps single out as the weak point the omission of a discussion of the ethical affinities just glanced at, in an Introduction which can find room for an estimate of the influence of the Testament of Abraham upon a mediæval vision, like that of Thurchill.

To guide our thoughts, where a discussion of the point is impossible, it will be well to bear in mind the editor's general conclusions as to this "Testament." He says (p. 55): "My own deduction . . . is that the Testament was originally put together in the second century by a Jewish Christian: that for the narrative portions he employed existing Jewish legends, and for the apocalyptic, he drew largely on his own imagination (*cf.* the Ascension of Isaiah—perhaps, also, the *Test. xii. Patriarch*). The original compilation was re-edited, perhaps in the ninth or tenth century, by two different people;" the result being our Rescension A and the common basis of Recension B and of the Arabic version. The recensions here mentioned are discussed at length in the introduction, and Mr James concludes that "A presents us with what is on the whole the fullest, clearest, and most consistent narrative," though with some mediævalisms. "B is an abridgment whose language is on the whole more simple and original than that of A. It omits much, and in several places adulterates the narrative with insertions from the Apocalypse of Paul. It is not an abridgment made from A." The Arabic "is an independent abridgment, . . . though, as a rule, more nearly related to B than to A. It, too, shows similarity to the Apocalypse of Paul. It inserts matter not found in A or B, and is shorter than either." "We should probably do right in following A in the main." From this it is evident that much care must be used in speaking of the original contents, at least for the present; though there seem to be some good data for comparative criticism,—*e.g.*, the Apocalypse of Paul, and others may subsequently be ascertained. Meantime our editor has printed the substance of the three versions in parallel columns, for purposes of internal comparison; and the result may be given as follows:—

Abraham is now aged. His hospitality has been his glory; but now "the bitter cup of death" is nigh to him. Michael is sent to bid him prepare, and finds him in the field. Abr. greets him as a stranger, and offers horses to carry them home, which M. firmly refuses as alien to his habits [B gives the story of Abr.'s name]. On the way a (cypress or tamarisk) tree speaks (of Abr.'s end, A *cf.* B). Arrived at home Abr. sends Isaac (who adores

M. as ἀρώματων) for water, and, amid tears of foreboding, washes M.'s feet (M.'s tears become precious stones, A, B; Sarah asks the cause of the weeping, B). Just before the meal M. ascends to God (as all angels do at sunset, B), and, touched by Abr.'s hospitality, begs that the news may be broken to him by a vision sent to Isaac (M. also enabled, though ἀρώματος, to eat with Abr., A). After supper (and wonted prayer, A), Isaac, though loath, departs to his own chamber; but during the night returns to his father in distress. Sarah hears them weeping, but is reassured by M. She recognises him to be an angel, and tells Abr. that he is one of the prior three strangers (Abr. agrees, having recognised M.'s feet when washing them, A, Ar. (?) ). Isaac dreams of the Sun (Abr.) and Moon (Sarah) being taken away from him, the rays (their bodies) alone being left; M. interprets, but Abr. refuses to go with him (M. reports this refusal, and returns with God's message, A). Abr. begs to see all creation, while yet in the body. This God grants. Borne on a cloud Abr. sees the varied lot of men and their sins. On certain sinners he calls down death, so that God has to bid M. divert him to the contemplation of the celestial penalties, that he may learn pity. [A, B, though B transposes the visits to the lower and upper firmament, while Ar. omits the former]. Abr. is taken to the East (so A; to Oceanus, B, Ar., with *Apoc. Pauli*), and sees Two Gates (and Two Ways, A), one narrow, the other broad. Between them, outside, sat One on a throne, alternately weeping and laughing, though in the ratio of 7 : 1 (so B; "Twelve times doubled," Ar., cf. 1 saved in 7000, A). This is Adam watching his posterity enter the path of Life or of Perdition. Abr. fears lest, being a broad man, he be unable to get through the narrow gate, but is reassured by M. (so B, Ar.). Many souls (60,000 B, Ar.) are seen, driven by (two fiery, A) angels through the Broad Gate. Inside is a shining man upon a crystal throne, and in front of him a crystal table supporting a book six cubits thick by ten broad: on each side an angel recording. In front an angel with scales, and a fiery angel with a trumpet full of fire (A; variety of detail in B and Ar.). A soul, whose sins and good deeds exactly balance, is left "in the midst" for the present. M. explains. The judge is Abel (A, B). All souls are judged (1) by Abel, (2) at the Second Coming, by the twelve Tribes (or the twelve Tribes by the Apostles, A, *codd*), (3) by the Lord God [so A; B, Ar. give case of a soul convicted of *deceit* before the Judge by Enoch, "the Scribe of Righteousness": this *may* come from *Apoc. Pauli*,<sup>1</sup> as B shows a confusion with the former soul]. The soul

<sup>1</sup> Though James says (p. 26) that the *Apoc. of Peter* may be a source common to the two works.

"in the midst" needs one good work to turn the scale. Abr. and M. intercede. It vanishes, and M. says it is saved. Those before destroyed at Abr.'s instance, are now restored to life (A ; now follows in B the visit to the lower firmament, while A continues). Abr. is brought back home, but again demurs to die. M. consults God, who summons Death, and bids him assume a fair form and take Abr.'s soul gently (here A, B, again). Death does so, and greeting Abr. explains who he is, and why so glorious. Abr. retires to his chamber: Death dogs his steps (so A), and at Abr.'s request assumes his proper guise of fear, of which varying details are given (*e.g.*, Ar. mentions Death's son, Atarlimos). The servants die, but are revived at Abr.'s prayer. Abr. lies down: Death persists, and in answer to a query explains the symbolism of his guises, adding that there are seventy-two kinds of death. Abr. craves delay, but waxes faint (A). Death invites him to kiss his hand; he does so, and his soul cleaves thereto (so A ; B, Ar. leave Death no part). M. and a host of angels carry the soul in a heavenly robe to Paradise.

Such, according to the consensus of A with B or Ar., is an epitome of this Testament. The one probable omission on part of A is Abr.'s fear of the narrow gate, which may well have seemed to the editor unworthy of Abr., just as his refusal to die seemed so to B. The following points seem worthy of note. (1) There is a strong Hebraic cast of thought about the whole, so that it serves to illustrate the New Testament, time and again. The names of God are varied and Hebraic in type. While we may justly recognise the Apocalyptic section in which the author gives his views upon the judgment of souls (cc. x.-xiv.), as the kernel of the book ; yet there is strong emphasis of the Patriarch's characteristic virtue of "hospitality," as in the original basis of the *Test. xii. Patr.* (2) The juxtaposition of Two Ways with Two Gates in A (c. xi.) gives rise to some confusion in the text at least ; and it is quite possible that B, which "preserves the greatest proportion of the original *language*," and has, in the first instance, simply a "little" and a "great" gate (so Ar.), presents the original text, which would be liable to modification under the influence of Matt. vii. 13, and the prevalent "Two Ways" idea. (3) The editor seems right in reading (c. xiii.) "at the Second Coming every breathing thing and every creature shall be judged by the Twelve Tribes of Israel," according to the best MS., the rest supporting "by the (12) Apostles." To his arguments one might add the analogy supplied by the *Test. xii. Patr.* (Judah, 25.; Benj., 10), where the patriarchs are represented as coming to life to rule their tribes, and through them the world ; as also *Test. of Isaac*, which speaks of the throne prepared for Isaac and Jacob, as well as

Abraham, who shall together be "above every one in the kingdom of the heavens" (p. 140). (4) The Christian element seems really very slight, and withal so veiled in Apocalyptic fashion as to suggest, by comparison with the Christian patches in the *Test. xii. Patr.*, a date early rather than late in the second century. A purely Jewish basis, if made out, might be even much earlier. But this cannot be properly discussed apart from the *Test. xii. Patr.*, to which, indeed, it and its fellows seem a sort of logical antecedent.

It is time now to say a few words on the cognate Arabic Testaments of Isaac and Jacob, extracts from which have been added by Mr Barnes. They are slighter productions, and written on the same lines. The extracts given deal mainly with the unseen world of final award. But that of Isaac has special features calling for separate notice. In his case we get something deserving the name "Testament." For in response to the desire of those around him at his last hours, Isaac delivers a "discourse" unto "consolation" or exhortation. This contains much akin to the *Two Ways* (e.g., "beware of these sins *and what resembles them*"); but its affinities with the Essene ideal are quite remarkable. Thus it insists on purity, saying, "take heed to thy vile body that it may be pure and sanctified;" also, "bathe in water when thou wouldest draw near to the altar," bringing "thy offerings to God." The features, too, of the priestly life recall the picture of the Essenes in Josephus (*B. J.*, ii. 8). There is something strange about the way in which the discourse is introduced, and the same may be said of its close. Indeed, the book throughout stands in need of much ampler annotation than the editor has so far been able to supply. One feels as if we may be dealing with a patchwork, derived in part from documents like "the spiritual books of God," or "the ancient book concerning our Holy Fathers," mentioned in the *Test. of Jacob*. The title, moreover, of the Arabic Testaments runs as follows:—"A discourse pronounced by the religious father, our father Athanasius, . . . wherein he tells of the departure of the pious fathers . . . to their rest . . . from what is found in the Treasury of Sacred Knowledge" (cf. Bezold's *Schatzhöhle*). Signs of the idea that Isaac, in his latter days at least, enjoyed priestly skill, may perhaps be seen in the *Test. of Levi* (c. ix.), where Levi goes to Isaac for instruction in his future office. A Jewish or very primitive Jewish-Christian nucleus, to say the least, is suggested by several features. Thus "the kingdom" is intimately bound up with Patriarchs (not Apostles), to remember whom by "an offering on the memorial day," or even by "naming one's son after Isaac," is a condition of entering that "kingdom" by inclusion in their "covenant." Again, the Divine

names, varied as they are, and including titles like "the Living One," "the Creator the Merciful," "He who holds ( $\chi\omega\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}$  ?) all," "Who is not comprehended, Who cannot be searched out, the Lord of Might, the Treasury of Purity"—these seem of fundamentally Jewish—possibly Essenic, mould. The phrase, "the first hour of the banquet of the 1000 years" belongs to a Jewish circle of thought, as does the statement that "God shall abide upon Him (Jesus the Messiah) till 100 (? 1000) years be fulfilled." As to locality, if we may trust its type of "Trisagion" as evidence, probability looks again to Egypt.

As to Jacob's Testament, it is enough to say that its features are "the scanty remains of a vision of Paradise and Hell," and "the ethical discourse, or Testament proper, which is so prominent in the Testament of Isaac, and in those of the Twelve Patriarchs." In view of the fact that this latter is lacking in Abraham's case, the suspicion occurs that some such section of an archaic type has dropped out of our present recension.

Editorial oversights seem to be few (*e.g.*, p. 39 *l.* 3-4, 21; 45 *mid.*, *l.* souls). To both scholars our best thanks are due for this breaking of fresh ground; and the more so, that the Preface contains an assurance on Mr James' part that he has other finds of the same sort in store for us.

VERNON BARTLET.

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### **The Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland Historically Treated.**

*The 14th Series of the Cunningham Lectures. By Charles Greig McCrie, Ayr. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. 8vo, pp. xxi., 465. Price 10s. 6d.*

MR McCRIE deserves much credit for having selected for his lectures a subject rather remote from popular interest, but worthy of careful study, and for having bestowed on it a treatment so thorough and scholarly as to make his book a real contribution to our literature. Though somewhat remote from popular interest, it is a subject which, in its practical bearings, has come to be regarded by an increasing number both of ministers and laymen as one of profound importance. The day is surely past when the one object of churchgoing was to hear a sermon, and when "half-day hearing," as it was called, was the great sin of irregular worshippers. We would fain hope that the enhanced sense of importance now assigned to the exercises that are more strictly (though not exclusively) parts of divine worship, is

due to a higher appreciation of divine fellowship, and of the inestimable blessings that flow from the gracious presence of God in His ordinances. And yet one cannot but feel that with another class the motive is different; they are fond of solemn forms, and relish all the contributions which external attributes can bring to the services of the sanctuary; if they cannot enter into her true glory of spiritual service, they desire the counterfeit to be as imposing as possible.

Mr M'Crie has very carefully defined and limited his subject; his aim is purely historical; it is to give "a statement of the legislation and a description of the service-books which have determined the usage and practice of Scotland when free to carry out her chosen and beloved Presbyterian policy and ritual." He does not even contend with Episcopalians, and in matters still disputed among some of our Presbyterian sections, he is as impartial as a judge. He thinks that in a silent way the facts he has recorded will not be without their influence in moving men's minds—he hopes in a right direction, but is not very sure—but it shall not be by him that they are pointed to any particular conclusion. As much as lieth in him he will live peaceably with all men. While we esteem the motive that has led him thus to suppress himself in order that his facts may do the whole work, it is impossible not to feel that it has made his book somewhat cold and colourless, and we confess we have sometimes longed for the man himself to burst through the historian's fetters, and tell us what he deems the lessons of the whole. Or if such an impetuous outburst would have been unsuitable, a calm, judicial summing up of the bearings of his historical investigation might have been a not unworthy conclusion.

Mr M'Crie's subject begins properly with the Reformation, but that we may get the right point of departure for the movement then, he deems it right to lay before us the scanty scraps of information we have as to the devotional services in the early period of the Scottish Church—the age of Ninian and then of Columba, and more fully of the Roman Church of later times. Whatever may have been true of the early Columban Church, it is certain that liturgical forms were familiar to the Culdees of later times, and it is possible that this fact was not without its influence on John Knox, in preparing his Book of Order for the use of his countrymen. But Mr M'Crie is at great pains to point out that Knox's Book of Order was not a liturgy, and was not designed to be used as liturgies are used. He is angry at David Calderwood, who set the example of calling it by that name, whereas all that was designed was, that it should be a sort of practical directory for public worship, to be used occasionally as occasion might require, but by no means to be imposed as a compulsory form. The whole circumstances connected with its origin

and use are gone into, and as a sort of set-off to the zeal of Knox in this direction, emphasis is laid on his stern opposition to the attitude of kneeling at the Lord's Supper, and to the fact that Knox was the author of the "black rubric" in the English prayer-book, in which the notion is repudiated that any act of adoration is done by kneeling either to the sacramental bread and wine, or to the corporeal presence of the Lord Jesus Christ.

There can be no doubt that several liturgical practices were observed in the Reformed Church of Scotland during the first century of its existence, that for various reasons were afterwards dropt. Often in ignorance practices have been denounced as "innovations" which were really restorations. In this respect it has fared with the Church of Scotland as it has fared with the English language. Professor Freeman has shown that many of the expressions which we are accustomed to regard as Americanisms, and to ascribe to a coining tendency with which we credit the Yankees, are really obsolete forms of English that used to be employed readily in the old country, and after becoming extinct there, survived across the sea. Whether the restoration of such ancient practices as the singing of the Gloria Patri be proper or not, all persons who do not wish to be branded for ignorance should take care not to expose those who are in favour of them to the invidious charge of introducing innovations.

It is almost amusing to observe how in the seventeenth century that charge used to be applied not to persons who introduced new customs, but to those who abandoned the old. The innovators were those who omitted the doxology, abstained from kneeling for silent prayer on entering the pulpit, and objected on principle to the reading of prayers. The old practices were abandoned out of deference to the feelings of English independents and others, who seem to have had a greater dislike to anything that was practised in the Church of Rome than even the Scottish Presbyterians.

Mr M'Crie has been at great pains to show what was the character of the service held in the churches of Scotland during those periods when episcopacy prevailed. He has made it very plain that in few places was the service liturgical, and that the use of the English prayer-book was almost wholly unknown. He will not allow Dr Robert Lee to maintain that the exceptional case of liturgical worship in Banchory Devenick was a criterion of the general practice. As for Sir Walter Scott, his strange error in introducing the English prayer-book in the days of the Covenanters was exploded long ago by Mr M'Crie's grandfather. But there are probably many who still suppose that the book which Laud sent down, and which was produced by the Dean of Edinburgh on the famous occasion when Jenny Geddes became so frantic, was the English liturgy.



Scotland was then too independent a kingdom, and the memory of Wallace and Bruce was too fresh to admit of an attempt being seriously made to reduce her, through an English book, to the rank of a province of England.

The slovenliness of the worship during the period of "moderate" ascendancy comes in for a just rebuke in these pages. The only thing the moderates did in the interest of public worship was to introduce the paraphrases. It is evident that Mr M'Crie has no particular admiration for them. And indeed as a whole, the collection is not of much value. The "survival of the fittest" principle has made great havoc of the list, and if we count how many of them are to be found in the latest collection of hymnology,—the "Home and School Hymnal of the Free Church of Scotland," we find but three. Beyond all doubt there is much more of the Gospel in most collections of hymns than in the paraphrases as a whole. Yet the idea of the paraphrases was a good one—to turn into verse, and adapt for congregational singing, lyrical and other poetical parts of Scripture outside the book of Psalms. It is hard to understand on what ground the most devoted lover of the Psalms should object to sing in public worship the songs of the Apocalypse, and especially to join the church above in that sublime song—which is certainly not less incumbent on the church below—"Worthy is the Lamb that was slain."

Certainly no such view found favour with the early Seceders when the Associate Synod, having determined on an enlargement of their psalmody, "recommended to the Rev. Mr Ralph Erskine to have under his consideration a translation of the songs of Scripture into metre, except the Psalms of David, which are already translated." A paraphrase of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, a new version of the Song of Solomon, and Scripture songs in two books, from the Old Testament and the New, which were at one time extremely popular, appeared from the pen of Erskine, but though their use in public worship seems to have been at one time contemplated by the Synod, the matter was allowed to drop, and even now, in the Hymnal of the United Presbyterian Church, only one of Erskine's pieces is found. In the Testimony of the General Associate Synod, issued in 1804, it is maintained, in regard to worship, "that the psalms contained in the book which bears this name, and other Scripture songs, were given by divine inspiration, to be used in the ordinance of praise under the Old Testament. That these psalms and songs are by the same authority under the New Testament, and that these as well as others contained in the New Testament itself may be sung in the ordinance of praise." Again, in 1827, when the United Associate Synod, formed by the union of two sections of the Secession, issued a testimony, it was

declared, that "as Scripture doxologies, and the divinely appointed petitions of saints may be warrantably adopted in our devotional exercises, both public and personal, so may the Lord's prayer be used by itself, or in connection with other supplications." And in regard to praise, "that other parts of Scripture may be used in praise, but we reject the principle that the book of Psalms is not suited to the Christian dispensation." So early as 1794, the Relief Church adopted a selection of hymns for the public praises of God, and in the preface to the volume it was asked, "Are not the psalms or songs of Moses, of Isaiah, of Paul, of Peter, of John, and of other sacred writers, as sacred and important as those of David, Asaph, Heman, &c. In particular, can any just reason be assigned why Christians should not sing the songs of their own dispensation, but still confine themselves to those of the ancient tabernacle and temple? They very properly use passages of the New Testament in their prayers, and why not also in their praises? Our psalms were reduced to metre by uninspired men, and may not other passages of Scripture be formed into metre by uninspired men likewise, and be every way as beneficial for the edification of Christians?"

Mr M'Crie gets on more delicate ground when he proceeds in his last chapter to record all that has been done recently in Presbyterian Scotland, with a view to the improvement of worship. But the same painstaking anxiety is manifest here to give accurate and thoroughly authenticated narratives of what has taken place in each of the Scottish denominations. The Scottish Church Society of the Established Church, called by the *Scotsman* the High Church Society, had just appeared above the horizon as his volume was passing through the press. It might have proved a serious temptation to him to break through his rule of restraint, as it certainly would have been interesting to his hearers to know his view "whereunto this thing should grow," but he has contented himself in the last appendix with reprinting the official account of its constitution and objects.

One cannot close the book without admiration of its careful, workmanlike character, which is the more to be esteemed in an age of so much rapid writing and hasty compilation. In this point of view, as well as in respect of other considerations, it is very appropriately dedicated to that veteran and venerable Presbyterian investigator—Professor A. F. Mitchell of St. Andrews.

W. GARDEN BLAIKIE.

**What and How to Preach. Lectures delivered in the  
United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh.**

*By Alexander Oliver, B.A., D.D. (Edin.), Minister of Regent Place  
United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow, &c., &c. Edinburgh  
and London: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier, 1892. 8vo,  
pp. 189. Price 3s. 6d.*

THESE lectures are admirable alike in matter and in manner. Dr Oliver does not profess to cover the whole field of homiletics; nor does he attempt to elaborate any theory of preaching. That he has decided views of his own, and that on occasion he could give substantial reasons for them, one feels at every turn; but under "the instructions of the Synod," Dr Oliver "has kept a practical end in view" throughout the series of eight lectures. He brings to his task a mind rich in evangelical sympathies and in saving common sense. He has read widely in homiletic literature, English and French. His lengthened ministry has given him ample opportunity for observation and reflection. He knows the difficulties and perplexities of the modern minister. He understands and sympathises with the earnest student, anxiously attempting to forecast the conditions of a ministry still in the future. And he has given us a book which for insight, sympathetic treatment, good sense, and breadth of view will bear favourable comparison with any homiletic manual of its size known to me. The book is all the better for the entire absence of any approach to the *ex cathedra* manner. Dr Oliver's great object is to stimulate independent thought. "I am," he says, "to submit to you what experience and study have taught myself, and to ask you to canvass it thoroughly; to look at it all round, and then to accept what commends itself to your judgment." He begins with a succinct statement of the duties and difficulties of the Christian ministry, and then discusses successively the matter and form of preaching, the manner of preaching, the choice and treatment of texts, variety in the pulpit, and speculative difficulties in the pulpit. Occasionally the style shows traces of haste; and the reading for the press is not so careful as it ought to have been. A quotation from Vinet on p. 131 is utterly spoiled. Perhaps Dr Oliver overdoes quotation; some of his pages are loaded with inverted commas. At times we are at a loss to know to whom he refers. *E.g.*, who is "the Bishop of Oxford" mentioned on p. 134? Some of his recommendations I think very questionable. He says, "the old method of careful writing and careful committing is to be commended. That will yield, in the average, the best results." To my thinking, "mandating," however careful, is to be recom-

mended only in very exceptional circumstances or as a stage in the training for pulpit work. Some of the speculative difficulties here discussed belong more to the past than to the present, and Dr Oliver's method of dealing with them is in some cases too abstract. But nothing could be better than his treatment of sensational preaching, his remarks on "preaching to the times," and his advice to young preachers on the choice of texts. The same might be said with regard to his treatment of many other topics. Altogether, this is one of the most helpful and useful books that could be put into the hands of a young preacher.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

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## A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament.

*With an Appendix containing the Biblical Aramaic, based on the Lexicon of William Gesenius as translated by Edward Robinson, late Professor in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. Edited . . . by Francis Brown, D.D., of the Union Theological Seminary, with the co-operation of S. R. Driver, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford, and Charles A. Briggs, D.D., Union Theological Seminary. Part I (Aleph). Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1892. 88 pages, 4to. 2s. 6d.*

THE want of a standard Hebrew lexicon, embodying the varied results of philological and critical investigations since the days of Gesenius, has long been pressingly felt. Though attempts, more or less successful, have at different times been made, not only in Germany, but also in this country and America, to revise and amend the lexicon of the great Hebraist, the vast and unexpected accumulation of materials gathered during recent years through the labours of many investigators in the field of Semitic study has now rendered the preparation of a satisfactory lexicon by one man an utter impossibility. But it is gratifying to find the work conjointly undertaken by such scholars as Drs Brown, Driver, and Briggs, whose names alone inspire confidence and guarantee the highest excellence in the execution of the task.

Some idea of the enormous labour involved in the preparation of the materials utilised may be gained from the fact that the table of abbreviations used for the sake of economising space, and largely containing references to authorities quoted, occupies fully three pages, each containing three columns and printed in minute type. Actual examination of this first part now published only deepens the first impression, and fills the reader's mind with gratitude for the noble service here rendered. These eighty-eight pages contain

an account of all Hebrew root-words beginning with the first letter of the alphabet, together with their derivations: Aramaic words occurring in the Bible have been wisely relegated to the end of the volume. While it is but right to wait till the completion of the work before forming very definite opinions regarding it, this specimen sufficiently enables one to see what may be expected from the whole.

That the work issues from the Clarendon Press vouches for the highest excellence in typography, while admirable skill and ingenuity have been displayed in taking full advantage of manifold variety of type for indicating much within little space. It may fairly be questioned, however, whether condensation and brevity have not been carried rather too far; we certainly think that especially in the case of verbs, it would have given considerable relief to the eye of the student, and would have saved some little time in consulting the lexicon, if a new line had been begun in passing from the Qal to Niphal, Piél, and other parts. Judging, indeed, from the first page of the work, it would almost appear as if some change of plan had been made in this respect just after the start.

From a perusal of what is found under such words as אָבֵל and אֶבֶן, under אָדָם and אֶרֶם or again under אָחֵר and אֲחֵר, one is glad to find sober conclusions and excellent material for another great work still in the future, viz., the preparation of a critical edition of the Hebrew Bible which shall more nearly approach the original text than that presented by the Masoretes. And from such remarks as are found on p. 14, where reference is made to E, D, J, and P, the reader will perceive the general position of the editors in relation to the newer criticism.

While the citation of illustrative passages under the several words discussed is admirably full, and frequently, indeed, exhaustive, we have now and then felt somewhat disappointed at finding an occasional want of precision in stating the meanings of words. As there happen to be several nouns in Hebrew meaning "dust," it would have been well, under אֶבֶן, to state that it signifies "fine dust," or powder. Similarly, inasmuch as the Hebrew language is somewhat richer than the English in words meaning a "fool," it might have been stated, more distinctly than has been indicated, that אֲוִיל mostly signifies a fool who is at once ignorant, self-conceited, and irascible. And under אֲרִי it might have been mentioned that this word, as distinguished from others bearing a like general sense, means a full-grown lion. Perhaps in the remaining portions of the work more attention may be given to such distinctions, so as still further to enhance the value of this great work.

JAMES KENNEDY.

## A Practical Introductory Grammar.

*By Edwin C. Bissell, Professor in Hartford Theological Seminary.  
Hartford, Conn., 1891. 8vo., 134 pages. 7s. net.*

THE tasteful and even beautiful style in which the work is printed might well be sufficient inducement to study the Hebrew language. Genuine pleasure is afforded by the whole appearance of the book which is an excellent example of highly-developed typographical skill. Nor has the author spared labour and pains in his preparation. Much care has been bestowed in collecting and arranging the materials in the order deemed most likely to aid students in making sure and steady progress. With this end in view, the statement of grammatical principles is constantly accompanied by brief illustrative examples, while each lesson is followed by sentences for translation into Hebrew. Further consideration is shown for the convenience of the learner in the gradual introduction of a good working vocabulary; in the lists of words, those from a common root are associated with it, and practical lessons in derivation thus quietly given. This procedure might have been felt burdensome, especially because many of these words are not turned to immediate account; but the author has made constant endeavour to establish a bond of connection between the Hebrew and some word in English which might suggest the other. Sometimes, however, the association appears somewhat forced, and apt to mislead rather than guide aright; certainly the likeness is often purely formal. מָשַׁל "to rule" bears but an accidental resemblance to "marshal" (p. 32); and though we may concede that the "heart" (לֵב) needs "lav-ing" (p. 47), we are not convinced of any real connection subsisting between the Hebrew and the English words here indicated.

Fuller treatment of the syntax could have been wished, and even in the classification of nouns a simpler arrangement is desirable and possible. Care should be taken, before the appearance of a second edition, to remove non-existent forms such as שָׁמַח (p. 7), מְלִיץ and מְלִיץ (p. 15), צִנִּי and צִנִּי (p. 13), מְפִיר (p. 28), &c., to correct the quotation from the Greek of Mark v. 41, given on p. 40, as well as misprints in the Hebrew found on pages 43, 77, and 103.

JAMES KENNEDY.

**The Hebrew Verb: A Series of Tabular Studies.**

*By Augustus S. Carrier, adjunct Professor in M'Cormick Theological Seminary. Chicago, 1891. 8vo, 33 pages. 2s.*

THIS work, in a simply and ingeniously arranged series of tables, presents the student with a view of the origin and development of the Hebrew verb, beginning with what were probably the primitive forms, and tracing these, through their various modifications, to the final stages reached in the language of the Old Testament. The whole may thus be regarded as the rationale of the Hebrew verb, presented in the shape of graduated illustrations accompanied by brief explanatory notes. It is not every teacher who can afford the time necessary for setting before his pupils this philosophy of an important factor in the Hebrew language, and most students may find it quite enough to master the verbs, as these are given in the ordinary paradigms; but those who wish to see the probable genesis and growth of the forms before their final crystallisation, may find much help in this unpretentious but valuable work.

JAMES KENNEDY.

**"The Making of a Man."**

*By Rev. J. W. Lee, D.D. New York: Cassell Publishing Company. 8vo, pp. 372. Price not stated.*

It is pleasant in these days, when the almost universal tendency is to account for all that is by brute force and physical law, to see an attempt made to find the interpretation of the universe in mind, spirit, intelligence. The volume before us is such an attempt made by a thoughtful man of some culture and literary ability. The object of the book is to show, as the author remarks in one of the many felicitous sayings scattered throughout its pages, that "the meaning of creation is not understood till dust stands erect in a living man"; that man is the *raison d'être* of the external universe; that all else that exists, exists for the sole purpose of the "making of a man." There may not be anything very original in this position; but Dr Lee looks at it from a point of view of his own, and expresses himself in language which is always intelligible, and often pointed, and even eloquent, reminding us of Emerson, of whom we seem to catch frequent glimpses during the perusal of the volume.

The author begins by combating, in his Introduction, the theory

that man is only a part of nature, an animal among animals, a vertebrate among vertebrates, a mammal among mammals. So far from this being the case, according to Dr Lee, nature—the whole of nature—is there just for man, who, alone of all created beings, has needs that correspond in number and variety to the numerous and varied powers of nature. For the oyster "a little basin in the sea" is enough of this vast and beautiful world; for the elephant, "a few acres of Asiatic jungle"; for the bird, "a tree, and a worm, and a small circle of sky to fly around. *But man needs it all.* . . . He is related to it all, and to be completely furnished must be able to use it all."

How he is related to it all; how each of his many wants corresponds to some aspect of the universe in which he is placed—this is the subject-matter of the seven following chapters, each of which deals with one of the needs of human nature and the provision made for it:—The first, "Bread," treats of the physical nature of man and the provision made for it; the second, "Power," of his social nature; the third, "Truth," of his intellectual nature, and so on. Perhaps the best chapters are those on "Bread" and "Truth." In the first of these, the author is particularly happy when he contrasts the lower animals with man, and shows that however marvellous instinct in certain animals may be, it differs from human reason in that it never developes, never grows, never learns. "The first bird, bee, or beaver ever created had as much sense as the last"; and again in another place: "The beaver cuts his tree and builds his dam to-day just as the beaver did in the first year of his existence. The bee that built his cell in the trees of paradise, and gathered his honey from the flowers that grew in the garden of Eden, knew as well how to construct a cell according to mathematical principles, and to pack it with honey, as the Italian bee of the nineteenth century, who stores his honey in a painted gum prepared for him by man."

This difference Dr Lee traces to the absence in the lower animals of what in man he calls "social power." If an individual man were to grow up from infancy apart from his fellow-men, "he would be more destitute than the brutes," whereas, "a squirrel gains no element of squirrelhood by companionship, and loses no element of it in isolation." If the author were more familiar with his Hegel than he appears to be, he would no doubt have stated the distinction to consist in the fact that man possesses the Universal, while the brutes have only the Particular. But Dr Lee is always careful, perhaps too careful, to avoid becoming abstruse. Indeed it is the exoteric character of the present volume that we would object to: to spin a theory of the universe out of one's own brain in a series of graceful easily written essays is a somewhat too ambitious



undertaking. Still the book is very good of its kind ; and to those who are regularly engaged in the writing of sermons or moral lectures it will be found to yield much useful suggestion, and many striking illustrations and passages for quotations.

A. HUTCHISON STIRLING.

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### Notices.

UNDER the title of *The Gospel of a Risen Saviour*,<sup>1</sup> the Rev. R. M'Cheyne Edgar, Moderator of the Irish Presbyterian Church, publishes a treatise on the Resurrection of Christ, with the two-fold object of showing the completeness of the evidence for that event, and stating its doctrinal and ethical significance. The larger part of the volume is devoted to the question of the evidence. This is the best part of the work, and of this part the most satisfactory sections are those which deal with the historical testimony as it appears in the New Testament. The book begins with a brief statement of the natural arguments for man's immortality, with some criticisms of their shortcomings. It passes on to speak of the Resurrection of Christ as the key of the Christian position, and of a Risen Christ as the True Messiah. The argument here tends to be strained. The great texts in the Psalms and Prophets which contain the idea of a resurrection are briefly reviewed, but with small reference to the kind of resurrection, whether national or individual, that is in view to each ; and the Old Testament witness to the thought of a resurrection is carried back step by step until we are taken to the *Protevangelium*. Here, strange to say, in Genesis iii. 15, we have, according to Mr Edgar, "the source of the resurrection idea, and, above all, of the idea of a risen Messiah." The following chapters deal with the historical testimony to Christ's resurrection. Mr Edgar takes Paul first, making a careful examination of the witness in the four primary Epistles, and proceeding from these to the other Epistles. He next examines the testimony of Peter, James, Jude, the book of Acts, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Evangelists. In what is said of the last, Mr Edgar is seen at his best. The testimony of the women, the appearance of Christ to Mary, the several narratives of the Ascension, are handled with much ability and insight. A brief but forcible statement is added of the evidential value of the Lord's Day and the Lord's Supper. The remaining chapters are partly critical and partly constructive. The criticism sometimes misses the mark by failing to grasp the exact point of the opinions against which it is directed, and on the whole the book might have been stronger if it had given less space

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. xv. 376. 7s. 6d.

to these things. It is the result, however, of the thought and reading of years. Its references to authorities are so abundant as to make it a good guide to the literature of the various subjects which it treats. Above all, it is written with the strong note of conviction, with a joyful assurance of the firm foundations of the Church's faith, and with an intense sense of the power of Christ's resurrection.

Professor Nöldeke's *Sketches*,<sup>1</sup> of which a notice was given in our last number, now appear in an English translation. The essays are on a considerable variety of subjects, ranging from the *Syrian Saints* to *King Theodore of Abyssinia*. Professor Nöldeke is always worth listening to, and what he says in this volume on such subjects as the *Characteristics of the Semitic Race*, the *Koran*, *Islam*, and *Bar Hebraeus*, is of great value. Mr J. Sutherland Black has succeeded in giving us a rendering of these interesting *Sketches* into good idiomatic English, which also can be relied on as a thoroughly correct representation of the original. To Mr Black we are also indebted for a commentary on the *Book of Judges*,<sup>2</sup> which, though of small bulk, is a very scholarly addition to the "Smaller Cambridge Bible for Schools" series. Some tempting emendations of the text are offered. In v. 8, *e.g.*, Professor Robertson Smith's suggestion is given, which would yield the sense, "The joyful noise of the new moons ceased; the defenders of the gates were no more"; and in ix. 41, we get the same scholar's corrected reading and rendering: "Abimelech returned to his ambushment." The exposition of Deborah's song deserves special attention. The variety of date assignable to different parts of the book, as we have it, is carefully stated. The double accounts of some things—*e.g.*, the war with Midian—are held to be "most naturally explained as due to the fluctuations of oral tradition in the course of generations."<sup>3</sup>

Cornill's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*,<sup>3</sup> which has already been reviewed in this journal, has very rapidly reached its second edition. In this edition the citations have been carefully revised, certain improvements have been introduced in the indices, and some important changes have been made in the section on *Jeremiah*. The author adheres very firmly to his view of the Elihu speeches. He notices also Meinhold's article on the *Problem des Buches Hiob*, which

<sup>1</sup> *Sketches from Eastern History*. By Theodore Nöldeke. Translated by John Sutherland Black, M.A., and revised by the Author. London and Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 8vo, pp. vii. 288. Price 10s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> *The Book of Judges*. With Map, Introduction, and Notes. Cambridge: University Press. Pp. 116. Price 1s.

<sup>3</sup> *Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften*. Erste Abtheilung. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xxvi. 324. Price M. 5.

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appeared in the *Neue Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie* when the *Einleitung* was passing through the press. But he notices it only to reject a conception of the book which makes ch. xix. the turning-point of the whole drama, after which Job is completely and finally victorious over all doubts and temptations.

Mr Capron's volume on the *Antiquity of Man*<sup>1</sup> is meant as a reply to Mr Samuel Laing. In its criticisms of Mr Laing's assertions, its remarks on the sense of the verb rendered "create," and its statements on the view which Genesis gives of the origin of man's spiritual nature, there is much to sympathise with. But its own value as an attempt to place the record of Creation in Genesis in relation to the record of modern science is another question. It discards very properly the interpretation of the "days" as indefinite periods. Its own explanation is that the first two verses deal with the *creation* of things, and the following verses with their *formation*; and that what is affirmed of the six days is only the pronouncing of the laws for the production of things, the Bible saying nothing of the length of the interval which elapsed between the giving of these laws and the actual appearance of the resulting phenomena. In connection with this we get some precarious speculations as to the use of *Logos* in John i. 1; the philological coincidence between the two terms *Law* and *Logos*; and the inclusion of the idea of *law* in the term *Word* as used by John. Mr Capron adds another to the numerous "reconciliations" between Genesis and Science. He fails to see that the whole question has taken an entirely new complexion, and has become in the first instance a literary and historical question, a question of the origin and use of documents embodied in the sacred narrative.

The late Professor Moeller's *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, which was noticed in our April number last year, obtained just and speedy recognition as a compendium combining a broad view of the historical movement of the Church as a whole, with a sufficient condescension to details. The work deserves to be made generally accessible to the English reader. We are glad, therefore, to have this English translation. The book is one of unquestionable merit, and in many respects a model manual. It avoids mixing up its statements with uncertain hypotheses, and studiously keeps in view the surer results of historical inquiry. In point of size it is the happy mean between the large and the small. Its statements of historical fact and its digests of opinion cover all that is essential to a first study. Concise as they are, they are often extremely

<sup>1</sup> The Antiquity of Man, from the Point of View of Religion; in answer to Mr S. Laing's Modern Science and Modern Thought. By Hugh F. Capron. London: Elliot Stock. 8vo, pp. 98. Price 4s. 6d.

graphic. They are also fortified by very full references to authorities.<sup>1</sup>

We refer with pleasure also to the issue of a cheaper edition of Mr Worsley's book on the *English Reformation*,<sup>2</sup> which gives in the form of a series of biographical sketches, a very readable narrative of the beginnings of the movement; and to a new edition, in large and handsome form, of the *Memoir of Robert Murray M'Cheyne*.<sup>3</sup> This issue of a book which has been so widely valued as to take the rank of an Evangelical classic, is enriched with facsimiles of M'Cheyne's handwriting, while the venerable author has introduced some additional information on certain points. We wish the book a fresh career of usefulness in its new form.

The trustees of the Lightfoot Fund have shown a wise consideration for the convenience of many readers in reprinting, in a separate volume, five of the essays which enrich the late bishop's Commentaries.<sup>4</sup> It is needless to speak of the value of these dissertations. In the case of some of the subjects which they handle (the question, e.g., of the earlier relations of Jewish and Gentile Christianity), enquiry, no doubt, has gone beyond the point which was reached at the date of their composition. But the statement of the argument from Scripture and tradition as between the Hieronymian, Helvidian, and Epiphanian views of "the brethren of the Lord," the examination of the evidence available for determining the origin, affinities, and doctrines of the Essenes, and, indeed, all the studies embraced in this volume, are universally recognised as models of careful historical investigation. Some additional notes are appended to the famous essay on the *Christian Ministry*. They consist of extracts from the Bishop's later works, and from sermons and addresses delivered on special occasions. These furnish a brief summary of his reasons for his change of opinion on the Ignatian question, and a restatement of his views on the subject of the Episcopate. They

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Christian Church, A.D. 1-600.* By the late Dr Wilhelm Moeller, Professor Ordinarius of Church History in the University of Kiel. Translated from the German by Andrew Rutherford, B.D. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. 8vo, pp. xii. 545. Price 15s.

<sup>2</sup> *The Dawn of the English Reformation: Its Friends and Foes.* By Henry Worsley, M.A. Cheaper Edition. London: Elliot Stock. 8vo, pp. xx. 380. Price 6s.

<sup>3</sup> *Memoir and Remains of the Rev. Robert Murray M'Cheyne, Minister of St Peter's Church, Dundee.* By the Rev. Andrew A. Bonar. New Edition, with Appendices, Facsimiles of Writings, and Portrait. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. 8vo, pp. x. 648. Price 5s.

<sup>4</sup> *Dissertations on the Apostolic Age.* Reprinted from Editions of St Paul's Epistles by the late J. B. Lightfoot, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. ix. 435. Price 14s.

make it clear that the conclusions which he continued to hold by on this vexed question were these: That the New Testament itself gives no "direct and indisputable notices of a localised Episcopate in the Gentile Churches"; that there is satisfactory evidence, however, of its "development in the later years of the Apostolic Age"; that this development was not "simultaneous and equal in all parts of Christendom," but was "more especially connected with the name of St John"; and that "in the early years of the second century the Episcopate was widely spread and had taken firm root, more especially in Asia Minor and in Syria."

The translation of Wendt's *Lehre Jesu*<sup>1</sup> is completed by the publication of the second volume. The English reader can now understand Wendt's construction of Christ's teaching as a whole, and see how far a rigorously historical reading of Christ's words finds in them a basis for the Church's doctrine of His Person, His Death, and the Last Things. The discussion of the *Testimony of Jesus to His Messiahship*, and the chapter on the *Necessity and Significance of the Death of the Messiah*, are, perhaps, the most important sections of the volume. It is in these sections that Wendt's method will be most narrowly scrutinised; and though he treats the weighty questions which arise there for the most part with great caution and ability, there are points at which he seems to come short of what Christ's words convey when they are looked at in their connections. This is the case with the question of Christ's Sonship. The Johannine utterances are taken to express "His strong religious consciousness that during His earthly life, in spite of His existence under human and earthly conditions, He stood in a continual inward fellowship of love with God, to which He attributed the highest truth and the highest value, and which He knew to have direct and fundamental connection with His Messianic calling." This is no doubt true of some of them. But as regards others the question is whether the oneness in knowledge, love, and life which they affirm between Christ and God does not infer a oneness in nature. The candour and ability of Wendt's historical interpretation of Christ's words, however, make the book an eminently informing book, even where one dissents from its conclusions. We notice with pleasure the second edition of Lipsius's Commentary on Galatians, Romans and Philippians in the *Hand-Commentar Series*. No changes of great moment have been made, but the citations have been carefully verified, and account is taken of the literature which

<sup>1</sup> The Teaching of Jesus. By Hans Hinrich Wendt, D.D. Translated by Rev. John Wilson, M.A. Vol. II. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. vii. 427. Price 10s. 6d.

has appeared since the issue of the first edition.<sup>1</sup> Zahn's elaborate work on the *History of the New Testament Canon* proceeds apace. The section now to hand is one of the most important which have yet been given us. It carries on the enumeration and criticism of documents from Marcion's New Testament, Tatian's Diatessaron, and the spurious Pauline letters, which were dealt with in a previous part, to the Apocryphal Gospels, Apocalypses, and Acts. Reserving the work as a whole for more adequate examination afterwards, we can only say at present that the discussions which this section gives of the *Logia* question, the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, the *Acts of Paul*, the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, the close of Mark's Gospel, the statement of Irenæus on the *Alogi*, and the Fayum fragment, give it a very lively interest, and that the work as a whole is indispensable as a collection of testimonies. Materials are being furnished for a work of this kind in ever-increasing measure, and often in surprising ways. As we write, the *Two Lectures*<sup>2</sup> come to hand, in which Messrs Robinson and James give a most useful and opportune account of the fragments of the *Gospel of St Peter*, and the *Apocalypse of St Peter*, recently discovered and now published. We owe these scholars our thanks for placing the texts so promptly at our disposal, and for furnishing us with the requisite preliminary information.

Canon Newbolt's *Addresses on the Fifty-first and Twenty-third Psalms*<sup>3</sup> (originally delivered in the Theological College, Ely), are written in a chaste style and devout spirit; but with slight regard to exact exegesis, and from the standpoint of an extreme Anglicanism which would rather welcome the use of the rite of *unction* in the English Church. Canon Bright's *Morality in Doctrine*<sup>4</sup> is a book of a different order. It is a volume of sermons on a large number of subjects, all designed to illustrate the vital connection between creed and conduct in Christianity. They have the qualities of strength, directness, and variety. But their special value lies in their enforcement of the truth that the ethical precepts of the Gospel

<sup>1</sup> Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament. Bearbeitet von Professor D. H. J. Holtzmann, &c. Zweiter Band, zweite Abtheilung. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 254. Price. M. 4.60.

<sup>2</sup> The Gospel according to Peter and the Revelation of Peter. Two Lectures on the newly recovered Fragments, together with the Greek Texts. By J. Armitage Robinson, B.D., and Montague Rhodes James, M.A. London: C. J. Clay & Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. 96. Price 2s. 6d. or 3s. (cloth) net.

<sup>3</sup> Penitence and Peace. By the Rev. W. C. E. Newbolt, M.A. London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 151. Price 2s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> Morality in Doctrine. By William Bright, D.D. London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxiii. 351. Price 7s. 6d.

have their roots in the facts and doctrines of Revelation, and draw their motive power and inspiration from these. This gives them a place of their own in recent sermonic literature, and makes them well worth reading.

The compiler of former volumes of *Practical Reflections* on the Psalter and the New Testament, has prepared a similar volume on Genesis.<sup>1</sup> The book takes nothing to do with criticism nor with the scientific interpretation of the passages dealt with, but limits itself to the application of the several verses to the needs of faith and worship. The writer is but partially alive to the fact that the spiritual teaching of the Old Testament can only be reached through the historical meaning. The recommendation of the book is its pious spirit and the devotional matter which it gathers from many sources round the sacred text.

In his new volume, *Through Christ to God*,<sup>2</sup> Professor Beet makes an important and seasonable contribution to the study of Christian doctrine. He combines the apologetic with the dogmatic in his exposition of Christian truth, and aims at giving a fresh statement of Systematic Theology on the basis of Biblical Theology. He assumes nothing, therefore, as regards the infallibility of Church or Scripture. He starts with no theory of inspiration, and with no *à priori* attitude to criticism. He takes the Biblical writings as they are, reads them as reliable records of the mind of the writers, and seeks in the first instance to reproduce as accurately as possible their various doctrinal conceptions. Comparing these one with another, with an eye to their differences and harmonies, he then endeavours to show how far and in what forms they are reducible to a system. The idea of the book is excellent, and it is carried out with care. The order of subject, however, is scarcely what one would look for in a treatise with this object. After certain preliminary statements on the relations between religion and theology, the revelation of an Invisible beyond and above it which is made by the Visible, the Christian documents and related subjects, Professor Beet goes at once into the examination of the topics which belong to the article of *Justification by Faith*, and proceeds from that to investigate the teaching of the New Testament on the *Death of Christ*, the *Son of God*, and the *Resurrection of Christ*. Would it not be the more natural order in an inquiry of this kind to begin by ascertaining what the New Testament doctrine is of the Person of Him who is the centre of all Christian theology, and advance from that to the consideration of what the New Testament doctrine is on

<sup>1</sup> *Practical Reflections upon every verse of the Book of Genesis, with Preface* by Rt. Rev. Edward King, D.D., Lord Bishop of Lincoln. London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiii. 294. Price 4s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. 373. Price 6s. 6d.

the work of Christ and the great matters of grace? Apart from the question of method, however, the book gives a study of the main points of doctrine contained in the teaching of the New Testament writers, which presents the results of a cautious, scientific exegesis. With most of Professor Beet's conclusions on the main questions we are at one. Occasionally he oversteps the proper limit. The most noticeable instance of this occurs in a statement on the doctrine of the Trinity, which is introduced in connection with his exposition of the New Testament teaching on the relation of Christ to God. He uses here an illustration taken from the case of a firm of manufacturers in which there are three partners. Theologians of the better order have long ceased to make much use of the best of such illustrations. The old analogies of the eye and seeing, the sun and light, the fount and stream, and even Augustine's mental trinity in man, are silently dropped as fallacious or irrelevant. But of all illustrations of the mystery of the Triune Godhead, none could be more unhappy than the one employed here. This, however, is but an incidental incongruity. Nothing could be better than Professor Beet's expositions, so far as they go, of the "righteousness of God" as used by Paul, the nature of faith, the forensic sense of the Pauline term "justify," the ideas of sacrifice, propitiation and reconciliation as applied to the death of Christ. The profounder passages in the gospels, and especially the words of Christ Himself, are interpreted with reverence, according to the methods of the best exegesis. Speaking of Christ's cry of desertion on the cross, Professor Beet, it is to be noticed, explains it by the suggestion that the "shadow was no other than that cast by the guilt of man's sin over the spirit of Him who was 'made sin that we may become a righteousness of God in Him.'" The book is designed to give "the first steps to accurate study of systematic doctrinal theology." It fulfils its aim. It is interesting throughout, and should give a new attraction to the study which it seeks to promote.

Recent numbers of the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* contain several articles which deserve notice. One of these is the paper *Ueber das Verhältniss des Prologs des vierten Evangeliums zum ganzen Werk* by Harnack in the third *Heft* for the year. Harnack's object is to show that the Prologue is not the key to the understanding of the Fourth Gospel, but is meant to prepare Hellenic readers for what follows; that the idea of the Logos is taken up as an idea in some degree familiar to such readers, and is employed by the writer with the view of introducing them to his doctrine of Christ; and that, when his object is accomplished, in giving his readers to understand that in Jesus Christ they see what their



*Logos* imports, he makes no further use of the term. Another is the elaborate paper by Herrmann in the same *Heft* under the title *Der geschichtliche Christus der Grund unseres Glaubens*. Here the man of religion is described as the man who is raised by divine revelation to fellowship with God; and this revelation is defined to be neither the *reason* by which the rationalist stands, nor Scripture as a book presenting divine truth with authority, according to orthodox views, but the historical manifestation of Christ Himself. The life and character of Christ are self-evidencing. This "historical manifestation of Jesus" is the one divine revelation, the one final authority for Christians; and whoever comes to Jesus in order to find God, finds in Him the way to the Father. Our obedience is due to this historical Christ, but when that obedience is given and faith is exercised, it also becomes the assurance to us that this Christ is actively near us, and awaits us in the higher life, being Himself exalted. A third paper of importance is one by Stade in the fifth *Heft* on *Die Messianische Hoffnung im Psalter*, a paper richest and most rewarding in its acute and sometimes brilliant exegesis of individual passages. In addition to other scholarly papers, of which one on *Delbrück's Vedic Syntax*, bearing the signature W. D. Whitney, is an excellent example, the *American Journal of Philology* (Vol. xiii. 3) contains a new study of *The Song of Songs* by Mr Russell Martineau. Mr Martineau detects various corruptions in the text. He adopts several of Rabbi Köhler's emendations in chap. i. 2-4. He deals with chap. iii. 1-5 as a passage constructed by an interpolator out of chap. v. 6. He accepts in the main Graetz's corrections in chap. iv. 10, 11. He regards chap. vi. 10-12 as made up of three verses which have no connection with each other, and attempts to restore them to the places from which they have been torn. On the ground of the free use of Greek words, the remarkable references to Greek culture and art, the bucolic character of the poetry, and its joyous tone, he connects the *Song of Songs* with Alexandria, and refers it to the prosperous reign of Ptolemy Euergetes (B.C. 247-221)—more particularly to the period B.C. 230-218, when Joseph the Jew managed the provinces of Judea, Samaria, Phoenicia, and part of Syria so "skilfully as to restore prosperity to these previously oppressed countries."

In the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for October 1892 Dr Selah Merrill gives a very useful resumé of *Discoveries in Jerusalem*. He refers to the chief books dealing with the Holy City during the "twenty-nine years between Dr Robinson's visit and that of Sir Charles Warren," and notices the main points which have been discussed during that period, and the new turn given to the question about the Holy Sepulchre. He gives his own opinion in favour of the hill above Jeremiah's Grotto as the place of the Crucifixion. In

the November and December numbers of the *Expository Times* the discussion on the Revised Version is continued. Mr Pinches deals with Genesis ii. 4, 5, 8, 9, in the light of Assyrian and Babylonian literature; and among other papers of interest we have Professor Kennedy's *Notes from the Oriental Congress*, Professor Candlish's exposition of the *Notion of Divine Covenants in the Bible*, Canon Driver's reply to Professor Sayce, and Professor Iverach's study of *Thomas Hill Green*.

In the November number of the *Homiletic Review* Professor Milligan begins a study of Heb. ix. 16, 17, contending for the sense of *covenant* for *διαθήκη*, on the ground that throughout the New Testament this is the true and proper meaning of *διαθήκη*; that the same or nearly the same is the case with its use in the LXX.; that this sense is exactly what the readers of the Epistle would expect, in view of the fact that the practice of making wills was then "almost wholly, if not wholly, Gentile"; and that the context favours it. In the September number of *Biblia* Dr Grant of Cairo concludes his paper on the *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, in which he deals with the distinction between the *Ka* and the *Ba*, and with the Egyptian ideas generally regarding what we term body, soul, and spirit. The same number gives an interesting account and a metrical version of the "Song of the Harper," the funeral hymn supposed to be sung in memory of Neferhoteph. The two chief articles (both of interest) in the *Revue de Théologie et des Questions Religieuses* for November are one by Charles Favre on *La Théologie de Julius Kaftan*, and another by Alfred Porret on *Trois vies de Jésus*.

## Record of Select Literature.

### I.—OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE.

- ~~WARRING~~, Ch. B. Genesis i. and Modern Science. New York : Hunt & Eaton. 8vo, pp. 245. \$1.
- JOHNSON, G. E. The Book of Joshua. With notes and explanations. London : Nisbet. Fcap. pp. 104. 1s.
- LOTZ, W. Geschichte u. Offenbarung im Alten Testament. 2. durch e. Register verm. Ausg. Leipzig : Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. ix. 358. M. 6.80.
- WINCKLER, H. Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen. Leipzig : E. Pfeiffer. 8vo, pp. viii. 192. M. 7.50.
- RIEHM, E. C. A. Handwörterbuch d. biblischen Altertums f. gebildete Bibelleser. 2 Aufl. besorgt v. F. Baethgen. 1 Lfg., Bielefeld : Velhagen u. Klasing. 8vo, pp. viii. 80. M. 1.
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## The Doctrine of the Prophets.

*The Warburtonian Lectures for 1886-1890. By A. F. Kirkpatrick, D.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 1892. Sm. 8vo, pp. xvii., 540. Price 6s.*

It has been debated whether there is likely to be, or whether there ought to be, an English school of Biblical criticism distinct from, while in some respects akin to, the prevailing school of critics in Germany. Put in this abstract form, the question is probably futile. German critics are far from being all of one type; English scholars differ widely, not only in actual opinion, but in temper and point of view. But it may well be contended that in the great field of Biblical study English scholarship has an important work of its own to do, in testing the results arrived at by erudite theorists in the land of theory and erudition; filtering them, so to speak, by causing them to pass through another stratum of theological thought, sifting them by applying tests derived from a different national habit of mind. Probable evidence, often of a highly speculative and doubtful character, determines the decision of a large number of questions in Old Testament criticism. The dates of documents are often decided by the critic's views as to the history of religious thought, and his views as to the history of religion by the (problematical) dates of documents. In such cases "temper" and judgment become of the highest importance. And while an overwhelming proportion of original work in Biblical theology and criticism is done in Germany, English scholars may fairly claim that by a certain sanity and sobriety of judgment, combined with a full and accurate knowledge of the facts, they are contributing an element in the determination of Biblical questions as important in its place as the power to analyse documents or to frame new hypotheses.

Those who hold with the writer that Biblical work marked by blended candour and soberness is particularly valuable just now, will welcome the Warburtonian Lectures of Professor Kirkpatrick. The Cambridge Professor has already given a taste of his quality in his "Divine Library of the Old Testament," and in his commentary on a portion of the Psalter in the Cambridge Bible for Schools. But the present volume forms a more substantial contribution to Old Testament theology, and enables us more fully to judge of the author's views and methods. As to the latter, we may say, that the English student could hardly desire a better Introduction to the pro-



phetical books than this volume furnishes. After an introductory lecture on the study of the prophets in general, the prophecies are taken separately. In each case an account is given of the prophet himself, where that is possible; a summary, clear and sufficient, is given of the contents of the book; the date of the work is discussed fully, but not in undue detail; the connection of the prophecies with the circumstances of the time is fully explained; the teaching of the book in question is gathered up in a few interesting and suggestive pages; and, in most cases, some words are added on the fulfilment of the prophecies, at least as to the general direction in which fulfilment was to be looked for.

It is in this last respect that Professor Kirkpatrick's work will most disappoint a large number of English readers. This last series of Warburtonian Lectures differs from its predecessors, if not in the mode of handling the subject of prophecy, yet in the proportionate importance attached to its several parts. It is nearly forty years since the publication of Davison's "Discourses on Prophecy," which has been among Anglicans a standard book on the subject almost ever since, whilst Edersheim's "Prophecy in relation to the Messiah" is hardly ten years old. A comparison of Professor Kirkpatrick's point of view with these, his predecessors in the Lectureship, reveals points of marked difference, as well as of similarity. To-day there is amongst careful students of prophecy substantial agreement with Professor Kirkpatrick's view that "the evidential value of the Old Testament to the mind of the present day rests not merely or mainly on the fulfilment of specific and circumstantial prophecies, but on the whole drift and tendency of a manifold and complex preparation, in history, in life, in thought, pointing to an end which it foreshadowed, but could not describe, for which it prepared, but which it could not produce" (Pref., p. x.). Consequently, the greater portion of the book is devoted to an exhibition of the teaching of the Prophets in relation to their own times. It would, however, be unfair to the author to represent him as minimising the element of the supernatural. His own position is that of "those who, while they advocate the most searching critical and historical study of the Old Testament, retain a firm belief that it is the inspired record of a unique divine revelation to the world." And, as he himself says, if a study of the work of the prophets in relation to their own times increases our conviction of the *naturalness* of prophecy, it increases also our conviction of its *supernaturalness*. "Adaptation not less than marvel is a characteristic of divine working, and it is by studying the ways of God in history that we come to recognise His footprints."

In his decisions upon disputed questions of date or of the unity of the several books, Professor Kirkpatrick holds an intermediate

position between the right and left wings of critics, occupying, perhaps we may say, the left centre. He is conservative in his conclusions on the vexed question of the date of the book of Joel. He would fix the date somewhere during the early part of the reign of Joash, between 837 and 817 B.C., and the short work of Obadiah he places still earlier, supposing the capture of Jerusalem referred to in it to be the plundering of the city by Philistines and Arabians, B.C. 848-844. The composite origin of "Isaiah" is of course maintained. The first thirty-nine chapters are held by Professor Kirkpatrick to include "four distinct books, some at least of which show evident traces of composite origin." These are: A. Chaps. i-xii., forming a collection of Isaianic prophecies ranging from the times of Jotham to Hezekiah, which probably circulated separately. B. Chaps. xiii.-xxvii., which contain some non-Isaianic prophecies, chaps. xv. and xvi. forming an older prophecy, ch. xiii. 1-xiv. 23 being written by a prophet of the Exile, and the apocalyptic section, xxiv.-xxvii., being probably not completed till after the return from the Exile. The third book, C. (chs. xxviii-xxxv.), contains a series of Isaianic prophecies of the time of Hezekiah, with a supplement, added towards the close of the Exile. The historical section, D. (xxxvi.-xxxix.), cannot, in its present form, be the work of Isaiah, but "it is a question whether it may not have been derived, mediately or immediately, from the chronicle of Hezekiah's reign which Isaiah wrote." The later chapters, xl.-lxvi., are described as "a series of prophecies addressed by an exile in Babylon to his fellow-exiles in the last decennium of the captivity." The passage lvi. 9-lvii. 10 is "taken from some older prophet, a contemporary, perhaps, of Jeremiah and Ezekiel; it is not, however, an interpolation, but is introduced by the author as a description of the causes which have brought Israel into its present plight." The unity of Micah and of Habakkuk is defended at some length in separate notes, but Zech. ix.-xiv. is pronounced by Professor Kirkpatrick, in common with most critics, to be distinguished from chaps. i.-viii. by marked characteristics, chaps. ix.-xi. differing almost as much from chaps. xii.-xiv. He fixes, however, the latter chapters as well as the former in the post-exilic period, and holds that they "belong to the same class of apocalyptic-eschatological prophecy as Isa. xxiv.-xxvii., and may, with considerable probability, be assigned to the first sixty or seventy years after the Return," thus standing "in their right position between Zechariah and Malachi."

It is impossible here to discuss Professor Kirkpatrick's views in detail. Suffice it to say, that on those points in which he has a majority of modern critics against him, as in the case of the date of Joel, he makes out a good case, moderately but firmly stated. The language of Joel iii. 1, he urges, does not necessarily refer to exile, while it

occurs also in Amos ix. 14, and Hos. vi. 11. The silence of Joel about the northern kingdom may be due, "not to the fact that the kingdom had ceased to exist, but to the limited circle of Joel's interests." His particularism "may be due to his early date, rather than to the advance of a spirit of Judaism." The argument from the language of iii. 6 concerning the sale of Israelite slaves to Ionian Greeks is met by showing that the Phœnicians maintained intercourse with the Ionian Greeks from the earliest times, and "Joel would select the Ionians for mention as the remotest region to which his countrymen had been carried away." As a matter of fact, the arguments for a very early or a very late date are balanced one against the other in a way which makes determination very difficult. Each view can be well defended on the positive side, but each is exposed to objections which it is hard satisfactorily to meet. On the whole, we are inclined, with Professor Kirkpatrick, to the earlier date.

The above is but one illustration of the author's disposition to allow to tradition its fair weight as evidence, where no satisfactory reasons can be shown for setting it on one side. It needs considerable courage at present for a critic to concede so much weight to tradition, just as a century ago he was a bold man who ventured to assail its authority. But Professor Kirkpatrick's arguments against the disintegration of Micah proposed by Stade and Kuenen (p. 228), his criticisms of Duhm's view of Ezekiel (p. 342), and of Stade's arbitrary judgment as to the Messianic interpretation of Isaiah liii. (p. 394), and his arguments against the view of Schrader and others concerning the date of the building of the Temple (p. 432) show that he is quite able to hold his own against names of high authority. Of special value in this connection is his vindication of the true character of the prophets against the naturalistic school of critics. These latter view the religion of Israel not as a divine revelation, but as a natural development. They represent the prophets of the eighth century as "the founders of ethical monotheism." Professor Kirkpatrick shows that "the careful study of the writings of these prophets affords the most convincing refutation of this theory. If anything is clear from their writings, it is that they do not regard themselves as innovators, but as reformers" (p. 26). And again, of Amos, "He, in common with the other prophets of the eighth century, is a reformer, not a founder. If the people had no knowledge of the moral demands of Jehovah, how could they justly be blamed for disregarding them? Amos refers to prophets who had preceded him, and betrays no sense of discontinuity between their teaching and his own, see ch. ii. 11, iii. 7" (p. 102). So of Deutero-Isaiah, "It is not that he has any new truth to proclaim about Jehovah; but just as the truths con-

cerning the Holy Trinity were gradually defined and made clear, as the need for definition arose from the propagation of false statements, so now this prophet of the Exile, for the needs of his time and his audience, brings out into a new relief and prominence the great truth of absolute monotheism, the truth that Jehovah, the God of Israel, was the one only God who created the world, and preserved its order, and controlled the events of history for His own purposes" (p. 371). Surely this is the reasonable inference from the language of the prophets. It is quite possible to believe that God gradually revealed Himself to His servants under the Old Covenant, and that progress in theological thought is discernible in the Old Testament, without reading into the writings of the prophets a meaning of which the words are not naturally susceptible, in order to show that the doctrine of monotheism was but a late "development" of earlier forms of belief, essentially polytheistic, though euphemistically described as "monolatrous." The latest volume of Hibbert Lectures by Mr C. G. Montefiore is an illustration of the way in which the language of the prophets may be wrested to support a theory brought to their writings, not found in them.

We should have been glad to linger over Professor Kirkpatrick's exposition of the "Servant of Jehovah." But in this portion of his work, as in most of his remarks on the fulfilment of prophecy, the writer hardly appears to advantage. Clear and definite in his explanation of the circumstances under which a prophet wrote, when he comes to expound his relation to the far future, Professor Kirkpatrick writes with hesitation and apparent uncertainty. In answering the question concerning Isa. liii., "Of whom speaketh the prophet this?" he says, "To attempt precise definition may perhaps be too great a refinement, a drawing of distinctions which would not have been present to the prophet's mind. Person or personification, this at least is the culmination of the idea of Israel as the Servant of Jehovah, whether he expected the features of the portrait to be realised in a single individual, or in the restored and purified nation." But "whatever may have been the precise idea which the prophet's portrait of the suffering and triumphant Servant of Jehovah conveyed to himself and his contemporaries—and it is impossible for us to tell how far they were allowed to see into the mysterious truth which it foreshadowed—it is impossible for us who read it in the light of its fulfilment to doubt that it was intended by the Holy Spirit to point forward to Christ. In Him alone it receives its complete explanation" (pp. 392-4). We should have been glad to see the lines here laid down more consistently maintained in the author's remarks elsewhere concerning the fulfilment of prophecy. How much the prophet or his con-

temporaries could understand of the ultimate scope of the words spoken or written under the guidance of the Divine Spirit, is a question which we are, of course, bound to set aside as insoluble. The business of the interpreter is with the words uttered, and where these, fairly interpreted, demand an explanation which cannot be found in the circumstances of the prophet's own time, but find adequate and striking fulfilment under the New Covenant, this should be frankly recognised. In several cases (the Immanuel prophecy of Isaiah vii., for example), Professor Kirkpatrick can hardly be said to have done this. The exegetical problem is often far from easy, and the author has given but scanty space to its elucidation. His vagueness and apparent uncertainty may spring from the fact that his own views are not clear or fully formed, yet in places he indicates the general direction in which the several particular solutions are to be sought. "Fulfilment," he wisely remarks, on p. 16, "is related to prophecy rather as the plant with all its beauty of leaf and flower and fruit is related to the seed from which it has sprung. Prophecy contains the germ which is to spring up in a new form in the fulfilment: the principle which will, in due time, receive its legitimate development. The inner idea, and not the form in which that idea is conveyed, is the essential part of a prophecy. The form in which the idea is embodied is largely human, determined by the conditions of the prophet's age, and varying from time to time accordingly. The fulfilment, which is the evolution of the essential idea, is greater than the prophecy. It unites elements which existed separately, the combination of which, apart from the fulfilment, could not have been foreseen."

We so thoroughly agree in the principles here laid down, that we were the more disappointed at the way in which they are from time to time applied (or not applied) in Professor Kirkpatrick's pages. A firmer hold of the true relation between the Old and New Covenants might have enabled him to speak more definitely and firmly on some questions of interpretation and fulfilment. But there can be little doubt that he indicates the lines on which the subject of prophecy should be handled in future by the apologist. The spectacle of the realisation of the Divine purpose, as outlined by the prophets, and wonderfully accomplished in Jesus Christ, and the religion of which He was the Founder, does not form the kind of argument with which to confute a sceptic. It is powerful after its own kind, but as Professor Kirkpatrick says, "It will not compel belief, any more than any other spiritual truth, but it will confirm belief." Those who may be disappointed with this volume on a first reading will, we feel sure, on further examination appreciate its sobriety and caution, which never degenerates

into timidity, the clearness and force with which the doctrine of the prophets in relation to their own times is analysed and presented, and the hints given as to the way in which a richer and ampler fulfilment of their words was to be expected than was possible within the limits of the Old Testament dispensation. As a contribution to Old Testament Theology, all the more valuable because it is soberly progressive rather than startling and revolutionary, Professor Kirkpatrick's volume is to be heartily welcomed, and we trust it will be widely read.

W. T. DAVISON.

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### **The Pauline Theology : A Study of the Origin and Correlation of the Doctrinal Teachings of the Apostle Paul.**

*By George B. Stevens, Ph.D., D.D., Prof. of New Testament Criticism in Yale University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. 367. Price 10s.*

EVERYONE interested in New Testament theology will extend a cordial welcome to this study of the teaching of Paul. Not only is it the first attempt by an English-speaking theologian to give an ordered exposition of Paul's thought—for Dr Irons' work need scarcely be reckoned an exception—but it is an attempt which is eminently successful ; and while it will certainly stimulate the study of Paul, it may also somewhat discourage the publication of competing works on the same theme. And yet the subject has so many ramifications, and opens on all hands questions of such importance, that no individual writer can possibly exhaust inquiry.

The aim which Professor Stevens has set before him in this volume is "to inquire into the genesis of Paul's leading thoughts, so far as their origin may be the subject of historical inquiry ; to define critically their content and relation to each other, and thus to present a systematic account of his teaching upon the great themes which he considers." To prepare himself for this work Professor Stevens has evidently not been content to make a careful exegetical study of the literary remains of the apostle, but has also given abundant attention to the very extensive literature which has gathered round Paul ; so that the reader is made acquainted, not merely with the author's own conclusions, but with all other opinions regarding the apostle's teaching which are worth recording. This is judiciously done, so that, without the smallest approach to parade of learning, and without in the slightest degree overburdening his pages, the author furnishes us with an adequate text-book of the whole subject. This indeed is the character of the book, which evidently proceeds from a teacher who can independently

form and maintain his own opinions, but who is yet sufficiently modest to understand that it is not only interesting but important for the scholar to know that other opinions have been held by competent inquirers.

In expounding the system of Paul, Professor Stevens exhibits not only ample knowledge of his subject, but marked ability. He possesses fairness of mind and soundness of judgment, and a faculty of lucid exposition. There is nothing hasty or crude, nothing of the partisan or polemic, in the volume. Not so original as Sabatier or Pfleiderer, Professor Stevens is as independent as either, and gives us on the whole a surer hold of Paul's thought. Without the passages of brilliant exegesis which delight the reader of Pfleiderer, the volume from Yale carries conviction by its equable sobriety and insight, and it may fairly be ranked with the very best Pauline literature.

One or two particular excellences may be specified, as well as one or two points in which, perhaps, readers will disagree with Professor Stevens. It is an evidence of the growth of historical criticism that the writer is careful not to ascribe to Paul a fully developed system of theology, and is alive to the fact that the religious and practical interest had often more to do with Paul's utterances than the purely theological or speculative. This general idea he carries into detail. Thus, at p. 150, we find him saying, "It is wholly improbable that the apostle ever set before himself the definite purpose of explaining the origin of sin." And at p. 199, in speaking of the person of Christ, he says, "It is wholly improbable that [Paul] ever applied his mind to the problem of defining the relation to each other of the divine and human elements in his person. The needs of Paul's time did not demand such an effort." Such cautions are not superfluous.

We miss in Professor Stevens' volume what is desiderated in our day, an exposition of the relation of the teaching of Paul to the teaching of Jesus. We also miss what, perhaps, we have no right to expect, any hints in aid of the reconciliation of Paul's teaching with the teachings of science, philosophy, and criticism. At one or two points in his exposition Professor Stevens seems to reflect his own ideas upon Paul. Especially in his handling of the Atonement this is discernible. In the chapter devoted to the Doctrine of Redemption he presents a very carefully considered exposition of the significance of Christ's death; an exposition which should bring light to perplexed minds. But it would seem as if Professor Stevens' own theory had at one or two points prevented him from giving us an unbiassed interpretation of the words of Paul. When, *e.g.*, he says that "there is no such statement as that Christ died instead of (*ἀντὶ*) us," he affirms what is no doubt literally true, but

he forgets that certain phrases of Paul, in which that preposition does not occur, must yet be interpreted in its sense. When Paul says (2 Cor. v. 14), "If one died for all, then all died," this is intelligible only when we understand that the one who died, died as the substitute of all. Again, Professor Stevens says, "If the statement that He 'became a curse for us,' is urged as necessarily meaning that He came under a personal sense of God's displeasure—that is, was punished by literally suffering the penal infliction of the curse due to sin—it must then be said that the kindred phrase, 'God made Him to be sin for us,' is to be as rigidly interpreted, and cannot mean less than that God made Him a sinner,—a meaning which is, however, excluded by the next phrase, 'who knew no sin.'" This could not have been written had Professor Stevens remembered that a sacrifice for sin was among the Hebrews sometimes called "sin," as in Leviticus iv. 29.

In expounding the Pauline doctrine of sin, the same reluctance to accept the natural meaning of Paul's words is apparent. "As all who by faith enter the spiritual order of Christ receive from Him the gracious gift of reconciliation and life, so all, by their race-connection, have received from the natural head of the race a taint of nature, a bent or bias toward sin, so that in principle the sinfulness of all may be said to be included in the sin of Adam." But a hereditary taint of nature is not all that Paul's words imply, nor all that the parallel of the two Adams requires. It is liability to punishment that Paul affirms; and, as Weber brings out in his *Palestinian Theology*, it was rather the hereditary guilt, if such an expression is allowable, than the hereditary taint, which the Jewish theologians emphasised.

At the same time every student of Paul will cordially subscribe what Professor Stevens says regarding the use to be made of Paul's expressions, and the inferences to be drawn from them. Neither the expressions used by the apostle nor his modes of thought regarding some of the subjects he handles, may precisely fit the moulds into which the most aggressive and influential thought of our day is being poured; and in order to preserve the substance of Paul's teaching, its form may require to be altered. But our first business is to ascertain what exactly Paul does teach, what these expressions meant for him, and what inferences he himself drew from them. Professor Stevens does much to promote this work, but occasionally his account of Paul's meaning seems coloured by non-Pauline ideas. This, however, while it no doubt somewhat lessens the value of the volume, will not prevent it from being accepted as a standard work on the subject, and, on the whole, as the truest presentation we have of the Pauline theology.

MARCUS DODS.



**Das Evangelium des Lucas erklärt.**

*Von Dr G. L. Hahn, ordentlichem Professor der Theologie an der Königl. Universität zu Breslau. Erster Band. 8vo, pp. xx., 635. Price M. 12.*

NATURALLY Professor Hahn has not written a commentary on the Gospel of Luke in ignorance of the fact that he has been anticipated by Meyer, Godet, Weiss, Holtzmann, and Schanz. Notwithstanding this abundance of interpretation, he considers that his own undertaking is far from superfluous. He believes that he can not only amend previous interpretations of individual passages, but that he can shed fresh light on the authorship and significance of the gospel as a whole. The promise of new views, made in the preface, is at once and somewhat startlingly fulfilled by his pronouncing it a mistake to suppose that this gospel is from the hand of Luke. He has indeed been anticipated even in this, but only by critics who proceed on the idea that criticism means the rejection of all tradition, however far back it runs. Professor Hahn maintains that the testimony of the second century in favour of the Lucan authorship is of no weight when balanced against the evidence he offers that the gospel was written not by a Gentile but by a Jew. This evidence he very fully and ingeniously states, and certainly, in the course of his discussion, he adduces much that deserves more consideration than it has yet received. He shows, *e.g.*, that the preface to the gospel is not such an immaculate model of classical Greek as it has sometimes been proclaimed to be. He maintains, indeed, that the third gospel is the most Hebraistic in style of the four, and under this head he collects in a convenient digest its Hebraisms in language. Passing to the substance of the gospel, Professor Hahn attempts to prove, from the system of thought underlying the narration, that the writer must have been a Jew.

As regards the sources of the gospel, Professor Hahn's views are equally revolutionary. The writer was a contemporary of Jesus, and was himself familiar with the events he records. He depended on his own reminiscences and those of the apostles, and where there was need of further investigation he consulted those living sources of information to which he had access. He made no use of the gospel of Mark or Matthew, and very slight use of the "many" who had preceded him in the work of gospel-writing. There was one of the "many" which the writer of the third gospel chiefly used, and which afterwards became the ground-work of Mark's gospel. This seems only a roundabout way of saying that Mark was the ground-work of Luke.

Professor Hahn's own opinion is that Silas was the author of the

gospel usually attributed to Luke. He does not, as at least one other critic has done, attempt to identify the two men (*lucus=silva*). But he holds that this ascription of the gospel to Silas is the hypothesis which best satisfies the facts. Its weak points are obvious. Not only has it to thrust somewhat rudely aside the early tradition, but, further, it requires that the Book of *Acts* be also ascribed to Silas, and the ascription of the "we passages" to Silas is a result which criticism can never accept. Why, too, does he not compare the style of 1 Peter with that of the third gospel?

But if the Introduction contains much doubtful matter, there will not be two opinions regarding the Commentary. It is acute, alert, accurate, significant; thoroughly worth publishing in addition to all that has already been accumulated around this gospel. It proceeds upon the Greek text, and even in points of textual criticism offers one or two hints which prove at any rate that the author is accustomed to weigh evidence and understands what constitutes textual evidence. In regard to lexical and grammatical points, while scholarship is rather hidden than obtruded, and while Professor Hahn has not transferred to his pages references which are quite as accessible elsewhere, it is everywhere apparent that here also all that is worthy of consideration has been present to the writer's mind. The strength of the Commentary, however, lies in his thoroughgoing treatment of the substance of the narrative. Constantly the outline of an incident is sharpened, or the significance of a saying intensified, by bringing out the true meaning or bearing of a single word or clause. Where he seems to err, it is never in favour of liberal thought, but always in the conservative interest. He does not scruple to ascribe to Jesus a degree of insight and foreknowledge in his ordinary dealings with men, which some will think impinges upon the belief that He had a truly human mind, and that the Incarnation was real. Instances of this tendency are found in the author's treatment of the Nain incident, and of the miracle wrought on the way to Jairus' house. Sometimes, too, his ingenuity betrays him, as in dealing with the Baptist's motive in sending his disciples to inquire whether Jesus were the Christ. But notwithstanding one or two blemishes, which to other eyes may seem merits, this Commentary must be ranked with the very best we have on the third gospel. It is very animated, quite independent, full of suggestion and interest, and every reader will eagerly look for the second volume. It may be added that the book, as a typographical product, is excellent, the page large, and the printing clear.

MARCUS DODS.

**Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.**

*Sammlung von assyrischen und babylonischen Texten in Umschrift und Übersetzung in Verbindung mit Dr L. Abel, Dr C. Bezold, Dr P. Jensen, Dr F. E. Peiser, Dr H. Winckler herausgegeben von Eberhard Schrader. Band III. Berlin: Reuter. 8vo, pp. 358. Price, M. 14.*

THE third volume, just completed, of Professor Schrader's "Cuneiform Library" will be heartily welcomed by all Old Testament scholars who are interested in the documents and civilisation of empires so closely bound up with the fortunes and historic evolution of ancient Israel and of Judaism. Before dealing with the special contents of the volumes before us, it will be of some advantage to our readers if we here indicate in brief outline the scope of the entire work and the series of monumental records that it contains. Its object is to present the reader with all the most important cuneiform inscriptions of ancient Assyria and Babylonia arranged in chronological order. The documents are not reproduced in the original cuneiform. That would not be possible without enormously increasing the cost of the work, and thus making it practically inaccessible as well as unintelligible to most students. In addition to this, it would be, to a large extent, a repetition of the work already done in Rawlinson's "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia." It is, of course, most important that these cuneiform texts should be reproduced with the utmost possible care and accuracy, and it is necessary that the work accomplished should be submitted to the most thorough and exacting revision. This task, however, is being executed with the greatest conscientiousness, and doubtless additional matter will from time to time be included. But the series of volumes which Dr Schrader is so ably editing, with the aid of eminent Assyrian scholars, has a very different object. It is not intended to appeal only to the cuneiform expert, but also to the larger class of Biblical students, or, as the notice in the German expresses it, "even to non-Assyriological readers, especially to historical students and theologians, as well as to jurists and lovers of antiquity." With this purpose in view the left-hand page of the book is throughout occupied with the transcribed text of the Assyrian and Babylonian documents, while the right-hand page is devoted to the translation. The work appeals through the latter to the general reader, while the former is of great value to Semitic scholars, and also to students of Assyrian who wish to have as accurate a representation of the original language of the cuneiform documents as possible. Of course,

the latter will have to refer to Rawlinson's or other works for verification, or better still, to the monuments themselves. Nevertheless, they will be glad to have the transcribed text presented in this neat and accessible form.

With regard to the method of transcription, it is the same as that which is adopted by Dr Schrader in his "Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament." The cuneiform script consists, as is well known, of phonograms and ideograms. The former consist of syllabic signs, the latter of signs for ideas or conceptions, originally graphic symbols. In addition to these there are ideographic symbols, which are determinatives, *i.e.*, indicate that the word which immediately follows (or in some cases precedes) is an individual, a deity, a king, a country, a place, an instrument of wood, etc. In these pages the determinative ideogram is always indicated by placing its equivalent in brackets. When the sign is an ideogram it is nearly always represented by the corresponding Semitic Babylonian word written without any break, *i.e.*, without hyphens. In those cases, however, in which the actual Assyro-Babylonian word, to be read for the ideogram or ideograms, is not definitely known, the phonetic, *i.e.*, syllabic equivalents are substituted and written in capital letters. In most cases, however, the word, whether Akkado-Sumerian or Assyro-Babylonian, is broken up into syllables printed in ordinary type and united by hyphens, each syllable being represented by a corresponding cuneiform phonetic sign in the original inscription. The reader soon recognises that a syllable is frequently represented by two syllabic signs, the first ending and the second beginning with the same vowel. Thus *u-zu-un-šu* = *uzunšu* "his mind." Also, a long vowel is usually expressed in Assyrian by the addition of the sign for that vowel to the syllabic sign representing an open syllable ending with that vowel. Thus *ši-ma-a* = *šimā*. Such were some of the devices of this most ancient script as it gradually emerged from the ideographic through the syllabic to the alphabetic stage. The mode of transcription pursued in these volumes enables us to recover, to a certain extent, the original cuneiform text, especially with the help of Professor Delitzsch's excellent sign-lists, in the well-known "Assyrische Lesestücke," to aid the memory when it fails. Of course, in a large number of cases the reading of the cuneiform text is doubtful, and here a reference to originals will become necessary. It should be observed, however, that the transcribed texts in these volumes are very fully annotated, and all difficulties of readings are set forth with brief references and suggestions.

It is a signal merit in the transcribed texts of these volumes that the same method is consistently followed throughout, *viz.*, that of its editor, Professor Schrader. Cuneiform, like Arabic, gives distinct representation to only the three main vowel sounds, *a, i, u*.

But of *i* there are two varieties, which Schrader represents by *i* and *î* respectively, while other scholars, *e.g.*, Sayce, Delitzsch, regard *î* as representative of *e*, which they substitute. Moreover, in other cases it is quite uncertain whether *i* or *e* should be read. Also, Dr Schrader takes no account of the different modes of representing *u* in cuneiform, and the principle which has in general been adopted, is to employ diacritical marks sparingly. Thus a vowel is marked as long only when the length is quite certainly indicated in Assyrian by the repetition of the vowel in the manner before described, *e.g.*, *ra-bu-u* = *rabû*, "great."

Of the varied gutturals and sibilants of a Semitic language the cuneiform is unable to give adequate representation. Accordingly, these must be partly supplied in a transcription that attempts to represent a Semitic language adequately in modern alphabetic writing, in conformity with established usage in such languages as Arabic and Hebrew. But it must throughout be remembered by the non-Assyriological student that the original script makes no proper distinction between *k*, *ḳ*, and *g*, more especially when they are final consonants of a syllable, nor between *t*, *ṭ*, and *d*, between *z* and *s*, between *p* and *b*, and, curiously enough, between *m* and *v*. Strangest of all, and surely doubly so to those who argue for a Semitic-Babylonian origin of wedge-writing, the distinction so essential in Semitic speech between *ḫ*, *ḥ*, and *ʕ* has no existence in cuneiform. Comparative Semitic philology becomes, in consequence, a useful ally in supplying these deficiencies in transcription. But in the case of the gutturals it would be unsafe to apply it, except to a limited extent. For whether Assyro-Babylonian possessed the distinction between gutturals existing, say, in Arabic, is more than questionable. We therefore think that Dr Schrader follows the only wise course by laying down this general principle, *viz.*, as far as possible not to express any sound in transcription that does not possess its graphic equivalent in the original. In one point we are glad to see an improvement in the present volumes as compared with the "Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament," *viz.*, that *m* is substituted for *v* in all instances. Thus we have *amîlu* where previously we had *avîlu*, and even *Armadaî* for the Hebrew אֲרַמְדַּי. Better still, we have *m* as the final vowel sound where previously we had *v*—*e.g.*, *irṣitim* for *irṣitiv*, and *matum* for *matuv*. Comp. Schrader's transcription in 1885 of the Creation-tablet, lines 2 and 8 (COT. I. p. 2). The truth seems to be that the sound represented was one that was intermediate between *m* and *v*. But the method now adopted brings out more clearly the mimetic that existed in the nominative, genitive, and accusative cases in Assyrian corresponding to the nunnation in Arabic.

Let us now turn to the contents of these volumes. The first two

are concerned almost exclusively with the great annalistic inscriptions of the Assyrian monarchs from the fourteenth century downwards. For the Old Testament student the practical interest in these documents is greatly enhanced when he reaches the period of reviving Assyrian power in the ninth century B.C. It was in the reign of Shalmaneser II., when the shock of collision between the Assyrian power and the Palestinian states was first felt. The mention of *Ahabu mât Sirlai* (Monolith-inscription, col. ii. 91-2 foll. in vol. i. p. 172), or "Ahab the Israelite," among the allies of the defeated King of Syria, marks the commencement of a new epoch in Hebrew and Palestinian politics, in which the interrelations of Syria and the Palestinian states, and of the latter among one another, were to be profoundly influenced by the ever-growing military power of Nineveh. This fact gives the annalistic inscriptions of the Assyrian kings exceptional importance during the ninth and eighth centuries. The inscription of Rammânirâri III. from Kalah (p. 190) throws a curious light on 2 Kings xiii. 5. To this, I believe, Max Duncker was the first to draw attention in his "History of Antiquity" (vol. ii. p. 258).

It is, however, the *second* volume in this series that affords the Old Testament student the most remarkable illustrations of Biblical history. It is here we find the most important historical documents of Assyria during the eventful period of about a century, extending from the accession of Tiglath Pileser III. to Ašurbanipal. Fully two-thirds of Schrader's great work, illustrative of the Old Testament, are occupied with the materials supplied by the inscriptions contained in this second volume. For the students of Hosea and Isaiah they are absolutely indispensable. It is safe to assert that without these no recent commentary, such as those of Cheyne, Delitzsch, and Dillmann could have been written, without sacrificing a very considerable portion of their very best results.

Before I pass on to speak of Vol. III., I wish to express my admiration of the clearly printed and serviceable maps contained in both the previous volumes. The advance made by the great world power of the Tigris towards Egypt and the Mediterranean during the ninth, eighth, and seventh centuries, is clearly presented in coloured outlines to the reader.

In the third volume we pass from Assyria to Babylonia. The *second* half of the volume (first issued) takes up the inscriptions of the new Babylonian empire, from Nabopolassar to Nabonidus. We have also the so-called "Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle" and the clay cylinder-inscription of Cyrus. In the *first* half of the third volume we have some of the earliest Sumerian texts, which are inscriptions of the kings and rulers of Lagaš or Širburla. In fact, more than one half of this portion of the volume is occupied with

Sumerian texts. The transcription and rendering of these, the most ancient documents of Babylonia, extending back to the fourth millennium B.C., have been intrusted to the eminently capable hands of Dr Jensen and Dr Winckler. The difficulties of exact transcription are here greatly increased by the fact to which Dr Jensen draws attention in his valuable prefatory note (p. 9), where he acknowledges that his results can only be regarded as provisional: "For even in those cases when we know, from the Assyro-Babylonian grammatical and lexical tablets, the pronunciation of some ideogram, we frequently do not know whether that was the most ancient form of the word, or only that of a later period. The scribes who drew up the inscriptions of Gudea certainly did not employ the most ancient forms. Hence it is inevitable that our transcription should remain now and probably always a *mixtum compositum* of older and later forms." Without entering into details, the reader can easily recognise the extreme difficulty of the task that lies before the Sumerologist, who, without bilingual texts to help him, endeavours to penetrate into the meaning of that vastly ancient non-Semitic speech of the races that dwelt beside the Semitic Babylonians in the plains of the lower Euphrates and Tigris. The path of the investigator is also beset by the dust of controversy waged by Joseph Halévy and his followers (including Fried. Delitzsch<sup>1</sup>) against the followers of Oppert, the former denying and the latter asserting the non-Semitic origin of the cuneiform system of writing. On this point the testimony of so eminent and careful an investigator as the author of the "*Cosmologie der Babylonier*," will be read with interest. "These [inscriptions] are all written in the Sumerian—i.e., non-Semitic language, and there is nothing to indicate that they are to be read in Assyrian, as may be the case with the so-called Sumerian inscriptions belonging to later times. Despite all my earnest endeavours, I have been unable to discover indubitable Semitisms among them."

As we pass over the brief inscriptions of the dynasty of Ur, we observe (p. 92) that the royal name, which Schrader in "*Cuneif. Insc. and O. T.*" i., p. 120 (on Genesis xiv. 1), reads as Iri-Aku, and combines with the Hebrew אֲרִיךְ, is read as Rim-Sin. In the long excursus which I was able to append to the second volume of Schrader's COT (p. 296 foll.)—taken from his paper in the "*Transactions of the Prussian Academy of Sciences*," 1887—the name is read (on the authority of a syllabary) as *Riv (Rim) -Aku*, Aku being the alternative name of the moon-god Sin. In this view Schrader in 1887 was supported by

<sup>1</sup> See his "*Assyrian Grammar*" (Reuther), § 25 ; comp. also § 73 *ad fin.*

Professor Fried. Delitzsch (in the excursus to his father's "New Commentary on Genesis"), and to this reading the former still adheres.

Passing over the earlier inscriptions, which are of less importance to the Old Testament scholar, we notice one which will probably be an interesting novelty to most readers. In 1889 the Royal Museum in Berlin obtained a black stone with a fine relief and the inscription, "Image of Merodach Baladan, king of Šuanna" (or Babylon). This monarch is no other than the monarch mentioned in Scripture who sent an embassy to, and concluded an alliance with, Hezekiah, probably about the year 712 B.C. Unfortunately, as so often happens with Babylonian documents, this is not an annalistic inscription. After a very long preamble, in which the good deeds of Merodach Baladan are enumerated, among which is mentioned the restoration to the Babylonians of the estates (*iklî*) of which they had been robbed by the foe, details are given of landed property made over to Bîl-ahî-irbâ, the "Ninku" of Babylon. In col. v. we have the names of the witnesses, and the document closes with the customary imprecations on the head of anyone who injures the tablet. In an article by the editors of this transcription in the "*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*" (vii. 184), it is pointed out that the Babylonian monarch of this tablet is Merodach Baladan II., son of Irbâ-Marduk. He was the contemporary of Tiglath Pileser III., Sargon, and Sennacherib. He was evidently an usurper, and, though he calls himself son of Irbâ-Marduk, we are unable to give any account of his parentage. Merodach Baladan I., on the other hand, is mentioned on a stone-inscription, and is called the son of Milišigu. He probably reigned in the fourteenth century.

The *second* part of the third volume brings us into the New Babylonian Empire, and here we stand once more in familiar Old Testament times, viz., of Josiah, Zedekiah, and the Babylonian captivity. For the students of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Zephaniah, Obadiah, Habakkuk, and especially the Deutero-Isaiah, as well as Isa. xiii.-xiv. 23, and xxi. 1-10, considerable interest attaches to the contents of this portion of the third volume. And yet the value of the larger part of the inscriptions is incidental rather than direct, since much of the documentary material is occupied with the great building (or restoration) enterprises of the Babylonian monarchs. Special interest, however, attaches to two inscriptions near the close of the volume, viz., the so-called "Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle," and the clay cylinder of Cyrus, both of which are transcribed and translated for us by Professor Schrader. As I have dealt with these inscriptions in an article to appear in the *Expository Times*, I shall not dwell upon them in this review, except in reference to a single point of



special significance. I am now referring to a doubtful, because mutilated, passage in the "Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle," reverse col. i. (right hand) line 23.<sup>1</sup> The context describes the capture of Babylon. On the 3rd of Marcheswan (*circ.* October) Cyrus entered Babylon. He granted peace to the city. Gobryas (Gu-ba-ru or Ug-ba-ru), he appointed as viceroy (*amīl piḥati*). The gods, which Nabonidus had banished, were restored to their towns. Now comes the questionable passage: "On the 11th Marcheswan, in the evening (?) Gobryas against . . . \* \* the king died."<sup>2</sup> A cruel fate has nearly obliterated the signs where the asterisks are placed. Formerly Assyriologists simply read *u šarru imāt*. Schrader in his transcription proposes to read the doubtful passage *aššat šarri mīta-at* (and) "the wife of the king died" (*mītat* third sing. fem. permansive Kal of *mātu*). On referring to the facsimile of the original, appended to Winckler's "Untersuchungen zur Orientalischen Geschichte," p. 155, there seemed to me to be some foundation for Schrader's belief that the sign DAM = *aššat* should here be read. Such, however, is not the view taken by Mr Pinches, an unrivalled expert in the correct reading of tablets. In a letter to me, dated January 10, he states that he is now disposed to adopt the reading *u mar šarri imāt*, "and the son of the king died." Moreover, Dr Schrader (in a recent communication to the writer), as well as Dr Hagen in his contribution to Delitzsch's "Beiträge" (vol. ii. p. 222), is disposed to regard the reading suggested by Mr Pinches as quite possible. Hagen, indeed, reads in place of *ima-at* the imperf. shafel, *ušma-at*, "and he" (*i.e.*, Gobryas) "slew the son of the king." Two external testimonies tend to support the theory of Mr Pinches. *First*, it agrees with the statement in Daniel, based upon ancient tradition, "in that night was Belshazzar slain" (v. 30). Belshazzar we know to have been the son of Nabonidus. See Schrader, COT, vol. ii. pp. 130-134. *Second*, it agrees with the testimony of Berossus<sup>1</sup> that Nabonidus survived the capture of Babylon for some years and was placed by Cyrus in honourable captivity in Carmania. Tiele's assumption (Babylon.-Assyr. Geschichte, p. 476, footn.), based on Josephus' Antiq. x. 11, 2, that there was a confusion in Berossus between Nabonidus and his son, is hardly warranted.

This interesting detail is an eloquent example of the perils and difficulties attending the decipherment of cuneiform texts. Absolute accuracy no one can expect who has given even a cursory glance at

<sup>1</sup> In Schrader's "Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek," Band III., 2 Hälfte, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> See Sayce's rendering in "Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments," p. 171, and Hommel in his great work, "Geschichte Babylonien-Assyriens," p. 786. But the latter evidently hesitates, and is to be congratulated on the remarkable acumen with which he anticipates the probable truth (see his footnote).

<sup>1</sup> See Cory's "Ancient Fragments" (pub. Reeves & Turner), p. 68.

the tablets and monuments of the British Museum. Much yet remains to be done in perfecting the texts that have been already published, and despite all that has been learned from texts and syllabaries, there is much that remains doubtful and unknown in interpretation, and altogether problematical in syntax. *Immer langsam voran.*

Yet even the most exacting critic will hardly deny that in these volumes the utmost pains have been bestowed by such eminent experts as Abel, Bezold (the editor of the well-known "*Zeitschrift*"), Jensen, Peiser, and Winckler, with the great Altmeister of Berlin at their head, to furnish the most accurate versions and renderings, based on the latest researches, of the documents for which they are responsible. Let the reader compare the "*Monolith-inscription of Shalmaneser*" (vol. i. p. 150 foll.) with the best available transcription previously accessible in Schrader's COT, vol. i. p. 183 foll., and he will see for himself that the ascertained results of Dr Craig's fresh researches ("*Hebraica*," vol. iii. p. 201 foll.)<sup>1</sup> have been turned to account. Even greater care has been shown in Dr Bezold's version of Sennacherib's Taylor cylinder. Dr Jensen, indeed, has been so anxious to bring his work up to date that a second reproduction of the inscriptions of Intina, as well as others, is given in the last issue of vol. iii. (p. 72 foll.) based upon a fresh issue of the "*Découvertes de Sarzec*" and upon an essay by Heuzey in the "*Revue d'Assyriologie*."

We heartily commend these volumes to all Old Testament scholars. A well-balanced criticism of the Old Testament must ever take increasing account of the results of Semitic archæology. Important as are the results achieved during the last half-century by the Higher Criticism in the analysis of the documents of the Old Testament, the results to be achieved in the future for the Old Testament itself by the spade of the antiquarian and the acumen of the Semitic philologist are likely to be greater still. We look forward with much interest to the concluding volumes of this series, which are to contain Babylonian Psalms and Tell el Amarna inscriptions.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

<sup>1</sup> These results I have set forth in the English edition of Schrader's work, vol. ii. (Additions and Corrections, p. xi.), and also in the glossary.

**The Book Genesis a True History.**

*The Book Genesis shewn by comparison with the other books of the Old Testament and early ancient records to be a true history and the first book of the Hebrew Revelation. By the Rev. F. Watson, B.D. London: Soc. for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Cr. 8vo, pp. 288. Price 3s.*

THE title of this work is somewhat misleading. Mr Watson does not even attempt to prove that the whole of Genesis is historical, and he plainly admits that the earlier part of the Book is not so. "The first two chapters," he says, "can hardly give us literal histories; they can only give us allegories or pictures of Creation. The great fact of the Fall seems to be presented to us in an allegorical dress. The Tree of Life in Gen. iii. can hardly be a material tree of natural wood and sap," &c. (p. 261). Moreover, Mr Watson believes in the usual critical theory that Genesis is composed of several documents put together by a compiler (p. 18). It is clear, therefore, that he does not differ in principle from the critics whom he seeks to refute. He recognises that the Bible must be interpreted according to the ordinary rules of historical and literary criticism, and that in the Bible, as elsewhere, we must discriminate between different kinds of narration, literally historical and other.

What Mr Watson claims to show is that in Genesis the historical, as opposed to the mythical, element is much larger than is commonly held by critics, and, in particular, that the patriarchs, from Abraham onwards, are historical persons. He seems, however, to have but a very inadequate idea of the nature of the task which he has undertaken. So vast a question cannot be settled until we have ascertained, by a careful comparison of the records of ancient peoples, what are the marks of historicity; that is, what are the *criteria* of historical and mythical narratives respectively. Otherwise we have no principle to guide us, and our conclusions will be, at the very best, plausible guesses, of no scientific value. To take one instance out of many, how are we to treat the "eponyms" who abound in all ancient histories? Since many of these persons are undoubtedly mythical, on what principle should we proceed in singling out some of them as historical? How are Reuben and Naphtali differentiated from Canaan and Zidon, from Hellén and Dorus?

On these fundamental questions Mr Watson has nothing to say. He reasons as if the Israelites were the only people who had "patriarchs," as if the history of the early Greeks, Latins, and Arabs threw no light whatever upon the subject. Many of the arguments whereby he endeavours to prove that the patriarchs in Genesis really existed might be urged with equal force in favour of the heroes in

the Iliad, or the mythical kings of Rome. The argument, for example, that a story must be true because it is not easy to see for what purpose it could have been invented, is one which Mr Watson repeatedly and confidently employs, although, as students of history are aware, it requires to be handled with the utmost caution. Moreover, all unbiassed judges will be of opinion that he makes far too sweeping a use of the "argument from silence." Thus, from the *absence* of certain allusions in the latter chapters of Genesis he deduces the tremendous result that "the Egyptianism of the last chapters of Genesis is of such a character as to incline us to assert a *prae-Mosaic* origin to the stories therein contained," &c. (p. 59). In order to make such a theory probable, it would surely be necessary to prove, not that Genesis *omits to mention* certain things which came into existence later, but that it *mentions* things which in later times had been abolished. "The times of Joseph," says Mr Watson (p. 58, note), "are differentiated from the times of Moses by the characters of the kings of Egypt, their attitude towards foreigners, and by the building operations of the later period. Note also how there seems to be no antagonism between the religious ideas of Pharaoh and Joseph, while the Exodus is regarded as a triumph of Jehovah over the gods of Egypt." But in reality the difference between the two periods is merely that in the one the Israelites are being well treated, while in the other they are being oppressed. Was it impossible for a later Israelite to know such facts by tradition? The other "differences" are imaginary. Of the attitude of the Egyptian kings towards *foreigners in general*, the Pentateuch tells us nothing. And why should a Hebrew writer go out of his way to speak of the "building operations" in the time of Joseph? As for the question of "religious antagonism," Mr Watson has failed to notice that here Genesis agrees with post-Mosaic history. Where Israelites and Gentiles are described as living on friendly terms with one another, there seldom appears any marked difference between their religious conceptions—witness David and Achish, Solomon and Hiram.

A similar tendency to build up theories on a negative basis is seen in Mr Watson's remarks on the "Babylonianisms" of Genesis (pp. 61, *sqq.*). That there are points of resemblance between the earlier chapters of Genesis and the Babylonian myths is generally admitted. But we scarcely have a right to conclude, from the mere *absence* of positive testimony, that these stories cannot have reached the Israelites after their settlement in Palestine, and must therefore have been brought by Abraham from Ur of the Chaldees. Mr Watson, like some other modern writers, is so much charmed with "Egyptianisms" and "Babylonianisms" as almost entirely to forget that the Egyptians and the Babylonians were not the only nations with whom Israel came in contact. In this particular case it is

important to observe that some of the most striking features of the beginning of Genesis appear also in the scanty remnants of *Phœnician* mythology handed down to us by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* i. chap. 10). Were our sources less meagre, many more points of resemblance might perhaps be found. But the existing evidence amply suffices to show that some popular myths were very widely diffused over Western Asia, and it is therefore hazardous in the extreme to explain all the "Babylonianisms" of Genesis as direct importations from Babylonia.

In explanation of the slightness of some of Mr Watson's arguments it may perhaps be urged that his book seems to have been written hurriedly. Otherwise he would hardly have cited Prof. Schrader's well-known work, on several occasions, under the nonsensical title "Inscriptions of the Old Testament" (see the notes on pp. 63, 66, 67, 70). But even apart from mere hastiness of execution, the somewhat arbitrary and "subjective" method employed by Mr Watson must render his results very precarious.

A. A. BEVAN.

### **Des Gregorius Abulfarag, gen. Bar-Hebräus Scholien zum Buche Daniel.**

*Herausgegeben, übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen, von Dr Jacob Freimann, Rabbiner in Kanitz, &c. Brünn. 8vo, pp. 74. Price, M. 2.*

THIS little work is "a contribution to the history of Biblical Exegesis," and as such it will be very welcome to all who are interested in the subject. The great Biblical Commentary of Barhebraeus, the *Auṣar Rāzê* (i.e., "Storehouse of Mysteries"), of which we here have an extract, has never yet been published in full, though several manuscripts of it exist in Europe. The most marked feature in Barhebraeus' Commentary on Daniel is its agreement with the views of Ephraim Syrus, whose interpretation of the Book in question (though it differed widely from the interpretation current among Greek and Latin Christians) long maintained itself in the East. It is indeed astonishing to see how much better Daniel was understood by these Orientals than by the more cultured Christians of the West—the things which were hidden from the wise and prudent were, in this case, revealed to babes. Thus, for example, Ephraim Syrus and Barhebraeus clearly recognise that Dan. vii. refers to the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes, that the Fourth Gentile Empire is the Greek, &c. To the Western Christians the Fourth Empire was naturally the Roman, but the

Orientalists (who had but a vague notion of the difference between Greeks and Romans), here retained the older exegetical tradition, borrowed, no doubt, from a Jewish source.

The manner in which Dr Freimann has discharged the duties of an editor, translator, and annotator, is worthy of great praise. On all the more important questions he not only states, as far as possible, whence Barhebraeus derived his views, but also gives very full references to other interpretations found in Jewish, Patristic, and modern European commentaries. Hence this book, small as it is, will prove a mine of information for specialists.

A. A. BEVAN.

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### **The History and Song of Deborah (Judges iv. and v.).**

*By the Rev. G. A. Cooke, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.  
Clarendon Press Depôt. 8vo, pp. 57. Price 1s. 6d.*

MR COOKE'S pamphlet does not contain much that is new, but it will nevertheless be extremely useful, in particular to those who do not read German, on account of the great care, thoroughness, and sobriety of judgment by which it is characterised. As to the relation between the Song in Judges v. and the narrative in chap. iv., Mr Cooke agrees, in the main, with Wellhausen (*Prolegomena*, pp. 251, 252). In chap. iv. the original story has been *generalised*, i.e., deprived to a great extent of its local character, by a later writer. The redactor of the Book of Judges, who must have lived later still, incorporated with his work this generalised form of the story, adding an introduction and conclusion of his own.

It is impossible here to discuss Mr Cooke's philological notes at any length. But one point may be mentioned. In explaining the phrase בפרע פרתות (Judges v. 2), Mr Cooke refers to the rendering proposed by Cassel "for the loosing of the hairs," i.e., for the Nazarites, who let their hair grow long. It might have been added, in favour of this interpretation, that the Nazarites were not originally "devoted men," but men under a vow not to do certain things until some specified object (particularly vengeance upon enemies) had been attained. See Wellhausen's *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 201, note 2, and also Mr Black's recent Commentary on Judges in "The Smaller Cambridge Bible for Schools."

A. A. BEVAN.

**Das Buch Daniel und die neuere Geschichtsforschung.**

*Ein Vortrag mit Anmerkungen, von D. Adolph Kamphausen, ord. Professor der Theologie zu Bonn. Leipzig. 8vo, pp. 46. Price, M. 1.20.*

THE lecture which this pamphlet contains was one of a course delivered by the Professors of the University of Bonn in the summer vacations, for the benefit of clergymen engaged in practical work. Prof. Kamphausen here presents, in a very clear and readable form, the main results of modern criticism respecting the book of Daniel. The latest researches, in particular those of Assyriologists, are taken into account. The Professor defends the literary unity of Daniel against Lagarde and Meinhold, and is disposed to agree with Cornill in thinking that the book was composed soon after the Purification of the Jewish Temple, *i.e.*, about the beginning of the year 164 B.C.

A. A. BEVAN.

**Beyschlag's Neutestamentliche Theologie.**

*Neutestamentliche Theologie oder geschichtliche Darstellung der Lehren Jesu und des Urchristenthums nach den neutestamentlichen Quellen. Von D. Willibald Beyschlag, ord. Prof. der Theologie zu Halle. Halle u. S.: Verlag von Eugen Strien. Erster Band. Pp. viii. 410. Zweiter Band. Pp. 540. 8vo. Price (for the whole work), M. 18.*

BIBLICAL theology, which owes its origin as a separate discipline to Germany, has been mainly promoted by the zealous contributions—whether taking the form of general treatises, or, more frequently, of special monographs—that have come from the scholars of that country; and to it the student is once more indebted for a notable enrichment of his resources in the very fresh and suggestive book which here lies before us. Dr Beyschlag is now a veteran in the service of theology, who has earned distinction in many fields—exegetic, dogmatic, polemic, and practical. He is well known in Germany by his biographies of his brother, who died early; of Nietzsche, his former teacher at Bonn; and of Ullmann; and probably best known beyond it by his classic monograph on the Christology of the New Testament (published in 1865), which maintains the theory—specially associated with his name—of the pre-existence of Christ as ideal rather than real, and by his elaborate and valuable “Life of Jesus.” But this latest work, which, he tells us, was suggested to him by his “Christology” being out of print,

and which represents the mature fruit of his studies, will probably be regarded as also his best gift. With not a few peculiarities, some of which, as it seems to us, detract from its value, it is a book of much interest and importance, independent in conception and treatment; happy in seizing and characterising the courses of thought with which he has to deal; ingenious in combination, and acute in criticism; expressing the results which he reaches, often with terseness and point, almost always with clearness and vigour. In this respect it is—for a German work—eminently readable. It is so considerably different in method and character from the great work of Weiss, which, entering the field in 1868, has since held it without a rival, as hardly to admit of real comparison. They deal with the same materials, but from different standpoints, and for different ends; and, while the new book cannot supersede the earlier, as, indeed, it makes no claim to do so, it may well hold a place by its side as no less independent than complementary. It is not, like that of Weiss, a storehouse of facts correlated according to the strict method and confined to the limits of Biblical Theology proper; but it is a connected exposition, linking the facts together with a wider scope and greater freedom, that invest it with singular attractiveness for the reader.

Our purpose in this notice is not so much to describe or to criticise the contents of the book, as to give some account of the principles on which it is constructed, and of the aims which it seeks to fulfil. Dr Beyschlag, in these respects, deals with us frankly, and, whether as regards his own general attitude to critical inquiry, or the features that differentiate his treatment from that of Weiss, tells us what we may and may not expect; so that the reader may approach the study of the book warned as well as stimulated.

He informs us, in a characteristic preface, that he was induced to undertake this handling of New Testament Theology as a whole partly to meet the long expressed wish of attached students, partly because of an impression that, if he might lay claim to any peculiar gift with a call to exercise it, he was specially fitted to enter with sympathy into the currents of Biblical thought, especially in the New Testament. This "feeling for and with the Biblical," as he suggests, has kept him aloof alike from lifeless scholasticism in theology, and from merely analytic criticism; has enabled him to find that unity of faith and knowledge, of which he was capable and had need; and has rendered it possible for him to combine scientific and practical effort in the service of the Church, as it has been the aim of his active life to do. However strong may seem this language of self-consciousness, it is not unnatural in one who is thus able to take the measure of himself towards the close of a long career; and those who consult the book will soon discover



that the venerable writer has not misjudged his aptitudes or his vocation.

Following in the track of his great teacher, Nitzsch, as a representative of the *via media* in German theology, he does not expect his course to meet with any special favour from either of the opposing wings of advanced criticism or of traditional dogmatism. His temperament does not allow him to treat matters, in which he cherishes a heartfelt interest beyond that of the mere scholar, with the superior air of coolness which passes with many as the mark of a genuine scientific spirit ; and he asks leave to make some candid confessions as to his attitude. Accepting the standpoint of historical criticism as the only possible course for scientific theology in the present day in dealing with Scripture, and unreservedly renouncing the inferences drawn from what he calls "that antiquated theory of inspiration, which has done more to shut than to open the Bible," he yet feels himself in thorough opposition to the modern criticism, which has been widely prevalent since the days of Baur, and he will not on that account admit that he has fallen behind.

"I have learned from Schleiermacher that criticism is an art which seeks above all to reproduce mentally the writing which is to be judged, and to judge it only from the basis of such a living reproduction ; and I have further learned from my honoured teacher, Bleek, that this art is not to be exercised without corresponding virtue—the virtue of discretion and diffidence, of reverent feeling towards historical traditions, of distinguishing between results that carry probability and idle imaginings that simply cumber the path with rubbish, which the next inquirer has to clear away. It seems to me as if, since the mighty impression produced, and the influence exercised by Baur, critical tools have become a common possession ; but the art of using them, and its accompanying virtue, have been on the wane. It is held to be the business of criticism to arraign every historical tradition ; it is thought a service to shake conservative assumptions without putting any better positive understanding of the matter in their room ; people are far more bent on saying something that is new than on saying anything that is tenable. In contrast to this sort of criticism—which brings the art, and the whole more free treatment of theology, into disrepute—I have endeavoured, in the introductory remarks prefixed to the chief sections, to indicate what, according to my view, after careful consideration, a sober criticism has to say concerning the New Testament records ; and I hope that my presentation of the Biblico-theological results, on the basis of these historic and critical assumptions, will stand the test."

As regards the subject-matter of that presentation, on the other hand, he finds a great unison in the Biblical doctrine of salvation—a substantial agreement between Paul and the original Apostles

and between Paul and Jesus himself in all that is important; and he thinks that with this result the good Protestant theologian, as well as the simple Bible Christian, may rest content. But he himself does not adduce scriptural support for the traditional creed of the Church, or does so but in a very modified way. On various points he desiderates a departure from current doctrinal formulas, and avows his conviction that a renovated expression of the doctrine of the Church is one of the most urgent wants of the time. "No stress laid on practical Christianity, however well meant and warranted it may be, will help us, unless with the conscientious earnestness, which should be our Protestant heritage, we seek to ascertain whether the convictions on which it rests are really grounded on the truth." It is with the view of supplying a modest contribution to this renewal of doctrine on a Biblical basis, richer, deeper, and more satisfactory for the intellect,—as well as for the religious and moral life,—than the scholastic type, that he submits the results of many years of familiarity with the New Testament.

He objects to the term, "Biblical Theology," as an awkward name for a great and good thing; for what is meant is not a theology occupying itself with the Bible, as all branches of theology must do, but that "which the Bible itself has and proffers, which lies before us in it;" and what, moreover, it really contains is no theology in the strict sense of scientific teaching as to divine things, but "religion" as distinguished from theology. If we continue to use the current name, it must be in the wider sense of "doctrinal content of a religious and moral nature," even in the absence of all scientific forms. But we are met on the threshold by the modern objection from the school of Ritschl: "Is doctrine in this sense the essential content of the Bible? Is not its content, above all, fact, history? Is not Christianity essentially a life in God mediated through Christ?" The truth underlying these positions is admitted: but it is a half truth, and therefore apt to be misunderstood. To say nothing of the Apostles who, at any rate, taught some things as to Christ, and of Paul, indisputably among the greatest *teachers* in the world's history, the position laid down by Harnack that "Jesus Christ brought no new doctrine," but "presented in His person a holy life," is one of those misleading statements that place in apparent opposition things which are not mutually exclusive.

"Jesus—no one can deny—was known by His contemporaries as a 'Master,' that is, as a teacher, and His preaching was hailed as 'new doctrine' (Mark i. 27); and He not only had the consciousness, but claimed the special function, of conveying a knowledge of God, which was unheard of before Him, and was not to be attained without Him (Matt. xi. 27). Certainly this knowledge of God is merely the ideal side of the

life in God, which He unfolds in order to impart, but this new life is no unconscious one, nor did it impart itself by magic ; on the contrary, it clothes itself in idea, word, preaching, and thus becomes essentially and necessarily a new teaching of divine things. Nor is it otherwise with the content of sacred Scripture generally. This content is certainly testimony, attestation of facts of divine revelation ; but in the testimony there is contained thought, in the fact there is contained idea ; what God reveals of Himself is truth to be thought about and to be proclaimed—and thus, at all events, doctrine.’”

This doctrine must be the basis of our systematic theology, and of our practical preaching ; but, before we can turn it into the scientific forms of thought of the present day, or bring it to bear in our preaching on the immediate requirements of the Church, it is necessary to realise what was its original shape as it appeared in history. And this is the task of Biblical theology, which aims at “reproducing the tenor of the doctrine, religious and moral, which lived in the consciousness of Jesus and of his first witnesses, and found expression in their discourses and writings.” But here we encounter the first note of the distinctive conception formed by Dr Beyschlag as to the duty of the theologian who undertakes this task of reproduction. After pointing out that the materials supplied by exegesis are merely stones which obtain their proper and full value only by being joined together into a great building—elements which have to be combined in order to obtain the collective effect—he touches on the more or less fragmentary and incidental character of their documentary transmission, and on the close relations subsisting in the Old Testament between the history and the doctrine ; so that the faith of the Psalmists, the wisdom of the Proverbs, the preaching of the prophets belong to Israel’s *history*, and form its deepest and most characteristic facts, and on the other hand the religious and moral *teaching* of the Old Testament is to be sought not merely in the utterances of Moses and the prophets, but no less in the confessions of the Psalms and in the sacred institutions, customs, and views of the people. He adds :—

“Even so it is but a limited portion of the doctrinal tenor of the New Testament, which is purposely unfolded in the didactic discourses of Jesus and the occasional writings of His Apostles ; perhaps a larger portion comes to us but faintly echoed [*klängt mit an*] in the form of presupposition, or of cursory hint, or of embodiment in the life and conduct of those who teach. And what we have to reproduce is not merely the fragments that are incidentally worked out in detail, but the whole of the view of the world, as it lived in the hearts of Jesus and of His first witnesses.”

Obviously Dr Beyschlag here provides ample scope for the exercise of that power of divination which he reproaches Weiss

with ignoring. The very figurative character of his language savours of vagueness, and is suggestive of guess-work ; and it is difficult to see how the widened field thus opened up for his efforts is consistent with the limits of the definition with which he sets out : " What the Bible proffers, what lies before us in it." It seems more in keeping with this just conception of the province of Biblical Theology that we should be content with the partial but sufficient knowledge *given*, than that we should engraft on it attempts at its integration by conjecture.

Dr Beyschlag undertakes his inquiry under the twofold conviction of the revealed character of Biblical religion, and of the historical character of Biblical revelation. The subject might, he grants, be handled apart from faith in the higher origin of Christianity, in which case it would be a mere chapter in the general history of religions ; but this is not the Christian and Protestant point of view. " As Christians, we believe Biblical religion, especially that of the New Testament, to rest, as distinguished from any other, on divine revelation ; as Protestant Christians, we believe that this revelation has found so complete and final an expression in the Scriptures recording it, that their doctrinal content remains the norm for the Christian teaching and action of all times." The justification of this position belongs to Apologetics ; for Biblical theology it is simply a presupposition, on which the manner of treating the subject is not dependent, but without which Biblical religion would be for us an insoluble enigma.

But Dr Beyschlag finds in the theology of the day an attitude which does not deny the revealed character of Christianity, but recognises it more or less definitely in the personal life of Jesus, and yet does not extend that recognition to the literature of the New Testament, which is regarded as a series of purely human historical products, mirroring with no small variety the efforts thus early made to subject the revealed fact to theologising manipulation. To this attitude—which would do away with the significance of Scripture as the permanent text for the history of doctrine—he declares himself at once opposed, without reverting to the old doctrine of inspiration or wishing to formulate a new one. He takes his stand on the facts, that these writings are, beyond dispute, the oldest records of Christianity, as to which any impeachment of their title to be taken as genuine witnesses and pure reflections has yet to be made good by proof ; that the impression which Christendom has received, and still receives, from these writings establishes a decided contrast between them and the ecclesiastical literature that followed ; and that, granting the free right of criticism to examine tradition, and the possibility of some elements in the gradually formed collection being relegated to a deutero-canonical status, it can but confirm, on the

whole, the judgment of the Church, which has with sure tact settled the classical literature of Christianity, in which may be felt the pulse-beat of the creative period as compared with the later epoch of elaboration—the pulse-beat, which still marks the difference between the Biblical text and its commentary in the sermon. The historical reasons for this abiding distinction and preference may be discerned. Christianity early became detached from its Hebrew mother-soil, and transplanted into the foreign field of Greek secular culture, where it gradually underwent modification through the reflecting and theologising spirit of the Hellenic schools. But, while Dr Beyschlag may so far agree with Harnack and Hatch as frankly to own the subsequent influence of the Greek mind on the formation of dogma, he has no belief, with Pfeiderer, that that influence is already traceable in the New Testament writings themselves, which are, in fact, conspicuously distinguished by its absence. “The New Testament embraces the primitive literature which lies beyond the range of that great transition, and which, in naïve connection with Old Testament views and the prophetic spirit which Jesus has afresh unsealed, mirrors the newly revealed fact, to which it comes so near in point of time, with a directness which all later writings naturally and necessarily lack.”

But side by side with the revealed character of Scripture lies its historical character. Notwithstanding its divine origin, it proceeds according to the laws of human nature. The idea of development, “playing so large a part in modern theories of natural and mental life,” is held not foreign to Scripture, which exhibits a great progress from the elementary and imperfect to the richer and more complete, and most of all from the Old Testament to the New. Development can only be predicated of what is in some sense imperfect, human, not of what is eternally perfect, divine; and so the historical point of view is held to involve in principle a humanly-imperfect side of Biblical revelation and of the record embodying it, which brings them—notwithstanding the divine soul animating both—under the same conditions of historical criticism as in other cases.

“But how,” he asks, “is this compatible with retaining faith in the divine revelation underlying Biblical religion? ‘Not,’ he answers, ‘if we should retain the earlier view of Scripture as being something abstractly divine, and not as something *divine-human*; if we should look at revelation as an aggregate of doctrinal propositions let down ready-made from heaven, and Scripture as their infallibly dictated record. But instead of this we now understand by revelation rather an awakening and enlightening of the immediate innermost mental life, as the divine fertilisation (*Befruchtung*) of the point of affinity with God in the inner man, which certainly affects and fully engages his intellect also, but does not overpower it by

the imposition of a supernatural pure doctrine,—a self-communication of the divine spirit to the human, such as is in keeping with the nature of religious intercourse with God, and conditioned of itself by the measure of human receptivity and capacity.’”

This passage, which I have rendered pretty literally, as not being too sure of what it exactly means, appears to me to deal with the preparation of the mind for the subjective reception and appropriation of what is revealed, but to take little account of the objective side—of the subject-matter, of which the mind, when awakened and illumined, is to take cognisance. Whence come the facts given to it—let us say, the life, death, and resurrection of Christ—and the accompanying comment which reveals their bearings? Can the mind, which may know and verify them when given, also excogitate them? and can it, while apprehending for itself and conveying to others the divine interpretation of their meaning, create of itself that needed guidance? Dr Beyschlag, who so far recognises the divine side as to insert parenthetic clauses, such as “without prejudice to its divine origination,” or “notwithstanding the divine soul in Biblical religion and its records,” finds a potent key for unlocking the mystery of the “divine-human” in the vague and undefined word “development,” which is often used to cloak ignorance with a semblance of knowledge; but he has himself pointed out that the development, which is posited as a necessary outcome of the human factor, and may be fitly applied by such as choose to use it to the simple course of human effort, can hardly be deemed equally applicable to the divine factor. It is, at least, open to doubt whether the use of it enables us to dispense altogether with the earlier distinctions of primary and secondary authors, of organs or media, of substance and form, or with the more recent distinction, on which M. Gretillat lays stress, between the lifting the veil from an object hitherto concealed and the throwing on it the ray of light which permits it to be clearly seen: the former the external historical revelation; the other the internal preparation of the *voûs* to discern it.

We may further point out that what Dr Beyschlag here says of progress along the line of development, from the Old Testament to the New, is not quite in keeping with the position which he himself takes up a little further on, when, speaking of the course followed by various writers on New Testament theology or on our Lord’s teaching (as in the case of Wendt) in prefixing some account of the earlier Jewish views to which it stands related, he maintains that such an unfolding of the Judaic, especially the Pharisaico-Rabbinic, teachings is nowise necessary to an understanding of the teaching of Jesus. Jesus keeps Himself completely independent of the different tendencies and modes of thought of His time; wages

constant war with the most predominant of these tendencies ; and, while feeling a certain kinship of spirit with only one of His contemporaries, John the Baptist, owns him as a forerunner, but not at all as a guide or a master. And, in whatever way Dr Beyschlag may be reconciled with himself, he seems to us to judge justly when he speaks of the New Testament teaching as having a stamp of newness and originality such as has no parallel in the world's history, and claims to let it speak to us in all that new and original power.

After a brief historical survey of the treatment which the subject has received, Dr Beyschlag recognises the book of Weiss as the most important contribution made to it of recent years, and as at present commanding the field. He cordially admits merits in which it is hardly likely to be excelled ; affirms that any one who undertakes to handle the subject afresh will have to exhibit adequate reasons for doing so ; and proceeds to state the grounds which induced his present enterprise. And here, while he says much that is true, and enough to vindicate the action that has given to us so valuable a book, he falls apparently into considerable confusion of things that differ ; desiderates in Weiss elements that not only formed no part of his plan, but would have been wholly out of keeping with it ; and lays down postulates which tend essentially to alter the now generally recognised function and character of Biblical theology—to impart subjectivity into its processes, and uncertainty into its results. Apart from exception to the form of the book as broken up into paragraphs and their subjoined elucidations, instead of a free historical presentation, and apart from differences of judgment in matters of detail, he objects to the undue subordination of the historical to what he calls the literary point of view. The raw material, worked out by exegesis, is presented with completeness and good arrangement, but not combined into great living shapes or worked up into historic unity. He grants that there is doubtless risk of importing somewhat of one's own into the process ; but it is a risk which history cannot avoid incurring. But this raises the question whether it is, or ought to be, the office of Biblical theology thus to convert itself into history ? whether it is not, to say the least, an inconvenient, if not an unscientific, proceeding, to alter so considerably the meaning of a term which has received adequate definition and acceptance, as to change its character, and greatly widen its range ? whether it is not expedient that the exposition of the Biblical facts, as they are actually given, in their Biblical form and order—which it is the object of Dr Weiss to supply—should be kept apart, and designated by a different name, from the other and subsequent process of weaving the facts into a connected history, filling up the gaps, and completing the picture by the aid of conjecture ? It is

confusing, if not misleading, that the name appropriated by common consent to the former should be transferred to the latter. It is safe to say that, had Weiss done what Dr Beyschlag suggests, his book would not have had its present distinctive value.

A similar remark must, we fear, fall to be made as regards the next exception taken to the Text-book of Weiss, that it fails to recognise the right and duty of reproducing the content of the New Testament teaching in the modes of thought and language of the present day.

"Writing history, he says, is the subjective reproduction of objective matter in itself extraneous to us; how shall this extraneous matter become intelligible to me, and my own, unless I in some way translate it into the mode of view and language of the present? The religious doctrines of the New Testament, which grew up on the soil of an alien nationality, and are parted from us by eighteen centuries, must become translated—certainly with the utmost possible care not to subtract or add anything—into the thought and speech of the German present, if they are not to remain for us obscure oracles sounding strangely."

But, apart from the assumption that the work of Biblical theology is to be thus historical, several difficulties suggest themselves. There is the very word "Biblical," even if we do not hold strictly by Weiss's postulate of "Biblical form." How is this importation of modern forms of thought and language consistent with Beyschlag's definition of "what the Bible proffers—what lies before us in it?" Before we can make the translation, we must have ascertained what has to be translated, which is not the very words of Scripture, but the general tenor of its theological teaching. The first part of the process is to ascertain that tenor by extracting, correlating, and combining the Biblical materials; this, and this only, seems to be the proper province of Biblical theology. When it has done this, it has done enough for its part, and may hand over the product to be transformed, adopted, and turned to various account for dogmatic, speculative, or homiletic needs. This office of translation is, in fact, the very function which Professor Nitzsch, in his recent Text-book, assigns to systematic or dogmatic theology—the "scientific exhibition of the content of the Christian faith or consciousness in the forms of thought and expression of the present age." Instead of making the Biblical writers speak in the language of modern times, we must rather transfer ourselves, in the first instance, into their past, and learn what was the form of the truth as conceived, expressed, and transmitted by them, in contradistinction at once from its subsequent elaboration by the Church, and from its manipulation to meet the views and wishes of the *Zeitgeist*, which, to judge from the utterances of some of its mouthpieces, is the *κανὼν καὶ μέτρον*



τῆς ἀληθείας, applying a norm to Christ, rather than deriving one from Him. Unless we separate, with Weiss, this first and most essential process from any subsequent procedure, we shall not only run the risk of "importing something of our own," but we shall have no means of determining whether or not our so-called translation really reflects or reproduces in another dress the original Biblical contents. An apt illustration is suggested by a remark of Dr Bruce in his recent volume on Apologetics. "What does Messiah, translated into our modern dialect, mean? It signifies the bringer in of the *summum bonum*, the realiser of all religious ideas, the establisher of the loving fellowship between God and man, and between man and man, for which the Hebrew equivalent is the kingdom of heaven." However legitimate, for certain purposes, this translation may be, it is obvious that, put forward as "Biblical," it must simply be productive of confusion.

After this attempt to set Dr Weiss right as to the conception of his task in two respects, wherein it seems to us fortunate that he has not taken the course which Dr Beyschlag recommends, we need be the less surprised to find him lamenting the exclusion from that work of two "powers" or processes, which, he conceives, should have had a place in it, but which are conspicuously absent—the powers of criticism and of divination, as he terms them. What he means by criticism (*Kritik*) he thus explains:—

"Criticism, certainly not in the sense of asking whether and how far the doctrinal content of the New Testament may be held as dogmatic truth valid for us to-day, but as examining the questions, what value a particular view has for the Biblical preacher himself; whether it is an outcome (*Ergebniss*) of his own mental life or a traditional heritage; whether it is for him kernel or shell; and further, whether it exhaustively expresses his own thinking on a particular doctrinal point, or is for him merely one mode of viewing it alongside of another."

Now—apart altogether from the questions, how far criticism, as thus described, is in itself legitimate or capable of yielding any new and trustworthy results; whether, for instance, we have materials for determining the value of a view in the writer's own judgment apart from the place which he has himself assigned to it or his own statements regarding it, or for settling how much is due to his own thinking and how much taken over from tradition (but withal, it may be, appropriated and assimilated), or for deciding, apart from indications on his own part, whether he has exhausted his thought, or how far his presenting of it is partial or full; and to say nothing of the further inquiry, whether what are really speculative conjectures on such points are entitled to pass current as constituent

elements of history—it is obvious that such a process has no claim to a place within the sphere of Biblical theology, which has the simple duty of ascertaining the facts and presenting what it finds, and which cannot, without injury to its proper function and value, combine with that presentation attempts either to account for their origin or to estimate their relative worth.

But if Weiss must be held to have rightly excluded from his book "criticism" in the sense indicated, still more must we deem him to have wisely abstained from engrafting on it the process of discovering or inventing materials not given, which Dr Beyschlag terms "divination." Here is what he says of it :—

"And as to divination, without which there can be no writing of history, because, without a certain reading-between-the-lines, the always scanty and fragmentary sources can never yield to us a living whole, where would it be—with all the caution doubly called for—more indispensable than just here? Here, where our object is to read out of the discourses of Jesus handed down to us in concise selection, or out of the occasional letters of His disciples consisting, for the most part, of a few leaves, a comprehensive view of things in general (*eine Weltanschauung*), and that view assuming in each case an individual form? If Jesus has beyond dispute given His teaching more amply than the Gospels reproduce it, if His disciples have out of a far more many-sided world of ideas given to us merely detached trains of thought on particular occasions, the task of correspondingly (*entsprechend*) reproducing the primitive Christian doctrine from the New Testament imperatively requires that we should not merely render (*wiedergeben*) the trains of thought that lie before us, but also that from bare hints, from the still background of the didactic utterance (*des Lehrvortrags*), we should guess at the world of thought of the Biblical teachers."

This is at least eminently candid. If it is not quite clear what, under the circumstances, is meant by "reproducing correspondingly" (correspondingly to what? to the actual fragmentary character, or to the assumed ideal integration?), the obscurity is simply due to Dr Beyschlag's having left the solid ground of fact and betaken himself to the cloudland of speculation. No doubt the divining process has its attractions for the writer or reader who desires, with the help of a lively imagination, to combine isolated statements into the unity and symmetry of a completed structure; and there have been brilliant instances of its seemingly successful application, as in the case of Niebuhr's conjectural reproduction of early Roman history. But even this effort, while remaining a monument of rare ingenuity, has been largely superseded, if not wholly discarded, in the light of subsequent research. And, while in every such case it is desirable

that the line should be clearly drawn between the facts that are given and the subjectively supplied conjectures that are used to link them together, in the case now before us the very term "Biblical" should preclude the introduction of aught that is extra-Biblical, and the unique importance and sacredness of the teaching should forbid its being alloyed with any admixture or addition, however well meant or confidently put forward. Reading between the lines is at best an imaginative exercise, open to endless possibilities of subjective caprice; and to serve up guesses as to the development of hints, or as to what may have lain in the background, by the side of, and without definite demarcation from, the objective presentation of the facts on the face of the record is a course as unsatisfactory as it is unwarranted.

If Biblical theology, then, is to retain its name and to preserve its distinctive character, the exceptions taken to the method of Weiss appear rather to bring into relief its points of excellence; and, so far as the elements, which are lamented as absent from the work of Weiss, are present in that of Dr Beyschlag, they detract from its relative value in the field to which its name assigns it. At any rate they suggest that the book should be used with careful discrimination between what is vouched for by the sources and what is brought in to supplement them.

At the same time it is only due to Dr Beyschlag to say that he makes, on the whole, but moderate use of the "powers" which he thus invokes. His book rests on thorough knowledge of the Biblical basis; and is throughout vigorous and interesting. I have left no room to touch on details; but I may mention one or two sections where the treatment has specially impressed me by its clearness or felicity, such as the remarks on the peculiar character of Jesus' teaching (i. 30 f.); on the assumed influence of Essenism and Alexandrianism (i. 33); on His relation to the Messianic idea (i. 56), and His attitude to the law and to ritual (i. 104 f.); the admirable summary of grounds for holding the genuineness of the Gospel of John, "reasons which its opponents may pass by in silence, but cannot invalidate" (i. 214 f.); the contribution towards solving the problem of the Johannine discourses (i. 216 f.); the discussion of the passages bearing on "Pre-existence" in that Gospel (i. 244 ff.); the remarks on the so-called community of goods (i. 314), and on the relation of the early Church to the law (i. 317); the handling of the Jacobine doctrine of justification (i. 354 ff.); the discussion of the Pauline doctrine of the resurrection in 1 Cor. xv. (ii. 259 ff.); the introductory notice of St Paul and of the theories of Pfliegerer and others as to his conversion (ii. 5-25); the conception of the place and character of the Epistle to the Hebrews (ii. 278-287); and the "key to the exposition" of the Apocalypse (ii. 345).

There is a refreshing vein of common sense and plain speaking in many incidental criticisms of the "critical" school, such as these: "Paul's subsequent zeal in persecution does not accord with his having sat at the feet of Gamaliel, and so we must distrust the statement to that effect; that is to say, the character developed by Alexander the Great does not accord with the philosophy of Aristotle, and so it must be a fable that Aristotle was his tutor" (ii. 7); the remark on Holtzmann's surprise that "the fundamental ideas of Jesus' synoptic teaching are lost or thrown into the background in the First Epistle of Peter" as "a bold inference *e silentio* to be drawn from a writing of eight pages with definite practical aims" (i. 371); and on Holtzmann's suggested instances of the dependence of that Epistle on other Apostolic letters: "We on our part must confess that we are unable to form any conception of the mental plight of a primitive Christian writer, be he Peter or not Peter, who, in order to call out to his readers, 'Requite not evil with evil,' or to make use of the phrase 'for conscience' sake,' should need to go and borrow from another author" (i. 372); as to the suggestion of Paul's having borrowed from the Book of Wisdom: "this whole Hellenistic factor in the modes of thought of a man who was brought up by his parents and teachers in the strictest Pharisaic tradition, is, as we shall show, a mere chimera" (ii. 22): on the suggestion of Ritschl and Wendt that in Matt. v. 18 νόμος means not the written law of the Old Testament, but that of which Jesus gave the fulfilment in the New Testament; "νόμος cannot in verse 18 mean anything else than it meant in verse 17, and one can only speak of 'jot and tittle' in the case of a written positive law, not in that of an unwritten ideal one;" above all, in the note, too long to quote here, where he effectively turns the tables on the supporters of the vision-hypothesis as to the resurrection by depriving them, on their own principles, of their mainstay for the alleged flight to Galilee (i. 296 f.).

The work is pleasant reading in German, but it well merits translation into English, which, it may be hoped, it will ere long receive from some competent hand.

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

### Lehrbuch der vergleichende Confessionskunde.

Von Ferdinand Kattenbusch, Dr. u. ord. Professor der Theologie zu Giessen. (Sammlung Theologischer Lehrbücher.) Erster Band. Die Orthodoxe Anatolische Kirche. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1892. 8vo, pp. xxv. 555. Price, M. 12.

WE have in this volume the first instalment of an elaborate work in that department of Theological Science which is known as Symbolics. A glance at the table of contents, however, is sufficient to show how largely the domain claimed by Professor Kattenbusch as his province exceeds that which has been traditionally assigned to this department. The latter has, indeed, usually been understood as restricted to an inquiry into the origin and contents of the Symbols, Creeds or Confessions acknowledged by the various sections of the Christian Church, and, when comparatively treated, has often amounted to little more than a tabulation of the various points of agreement or divergence exhibited by these documents, as, for example in Winer's well-known *Comparative Darstellung* (Eng. trans. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1873). But even Hagenbach long ago perceived that the subject was of wider import and susceptible of more extended and instructive treatment. In his useful and popular *Encyclopädie*, he observes (9th edition, p. 287) that the differences between Churches (he is referring especially to the Roman Catholic and the Lutheran) extend not only to dogma, but to their ethical, political, and social characteristics. "Symbolics, as hitherto conceived, requires to be expanded into a science which shall place side by side, for purposes of comparison, not only the dogmatic, but also the moral, principles and tendencies marking the different Churches, even those manifesting themselves in the spheres of politics, art, and science. . . . For such a science, which would be of the highest interest, even as a contribution to the history of culture, and for which the term 'Symbolics' would then certainly be far too narrow, the history of the Reformation, and that of the times from the Reformation period to our own, would supply the material." The adoption of a view akin to that of Hagenbach, but even more comprehensive, Kattenbusch signalises by changing the name of the discipline from comparative *Symbolik* to comparative *Confessionskunde*. Its object he conceives as the study and comprehension of the various Churches in all their characteristic features and relations. All sources of information whatever—whether the authoritative documents usually known as Creeds or Confessions, or not—are included in the *Confessionskunde*, or *Creed-lore*, if we may venture so to render the term. The Churches of the present day form the starting point. The aim is to take them

in their living present reality, to inquire into all the circumstances and influences which have combined to make them what they are, to examine into the phenomena they exhibit, and the principles which lie at the root of these phenomena, and so to estimate the relation in which phenomena and principles stand to each other. It is this reference to the *present* condition of the Churches which distinguishes Creed-lore from general Church History or from the History of Doctrines, of each of which it may in one sense be said to be a department. Church History has to narrate many an episode, the History of Doctrines has to exhibit many an opinion or theory, which have left no trace whatever upon the life or thought of the Churches of to-day, and of which therefore Creed-lore takes no account. Whether their present condition, however, be one of decay or prosperity, it has its roots in the past; it is, therefore, explicable from the past, and the collection as well as the use of the materials which enable us to execute the task of explaining it belongs to the extended and vitalised Symbolics—*Vergleichende Confessionskunde*.

The volume before us contains the introductory portion of the whole work, together with the complete treatment of the Eastern Church. It will be followed by others dealing with the Roman Church and the Evangelical Church.

The Prolegomena, after discussing the scope of the science, take up the important question of the symbolical documents strictly so called, and the extent to which they are recognised as authoritative and normative in the different Churches. This is found to be much less the case than is generally supposed. The Eastern Church adheres very strictly to the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, and the decrees of the seven Œcumenical Councils, but the value ascribed to them is mainly historical, and many more elements have to be taken into account before the true character and position of this Church can be understood. The Roman Church necessarily includes in its doctrinal definitions all Papal decrees and Papal interpretations. Even the great manifesto of Trent is continually subject to such interpretation. The Reformed Churches exhibit a great variety of purely national Confessions, while, among different sections of the Lutheran Church, the attitude towards the Book of Concord varies greatly, the *Confessio Augustana* being the only document which obtains anything like general recognition.

The three great divisions of the Church which Kattenbusch proposes to treat successively are in his view three *stages* of approximation to the true idea of the Church which he defines as "that religious community which receives with faith the Gospel as such, which knows the actual content of Revelation, and regulates its religious life accordingly." This leads to an explanation of what, in

the view of the author, is strictly meant by "the Gospel." Without following him into this discussion, we may note that his view of the "three stages" enables him freely to recognise the great thoughts and great services of the Greek and Roman Churches, while finding in the Church of Luther an advance upon those of Athanasius and Augustine. He repudiates, at the same time, the idea that sectarian division is a necessary mark or accompaniment of Protestantism. The Protestant Churches are comparatively young, they have their respective tasks to work out; as these approach completion, misunderstanding and division must fall away; but meanwhile every Protestant recognises, as beyond and above his own particular Church, that ideal community which it seeks to realise, and by virtue of its relation to which it has, as it were, its *raison d'être*, its root and life.

A sketch of the History of Creed-lore, or the Science of the relations of the different Confessions to each other, concludes the Prolegomena. Here the bearings of Pietism and Rationalism upon the development of the science are duly estimated. The most valuable contribution to the subject, so far as it goes, is said to be K. Hase's "Handbook of Protestant Polemic against the Roman Catholic Church." "He who could depict all the Churches," says Kattenbusch, "after the example of this treatment of Roman Catholicism, would deserve to rank in the best and highest sense as the historian of Creed-lore." He despairs of the possibility of attaining so living and sympathetic an understanding of the whole range of Churches as is there exhibited in regard to one; but it is something for us to know the ideal which our author has set before himself, and we may say at once that, if he is as successful in the execution of the remainder of his task as he is with the portion which lies before us, he will not fall far short of his ideal.

The "Orthodox Eastern Church" is the subject of the remaining seven-eighths of this volume. Kattenbusch lays some stress upon the propriety of designating Churches by the titles they themselves assume. It is also of importance to do so, as in such titles some hint may usually be found of the special function they regard themselves as discharging. All the three great divisions of the Christian Church believe themselves to be in possession of the truth. This possession the Eastern Church emphasises. To it belongs the inheritance of the Fathers. It is proud of, and rests peacefully content with, this inheritance. The Evangelical Church keeps before it, in its self-chosen designation, a principle of self-criticism. It believes itself to possess not only a knowledge of the truth, but a knowledge of the source of truth, by reference to which it can correct error, and maintain itself in the path of progress. The Roman Church claims to be "Catholic," all inclusive; and this claim it is not satisfied with

asserting, as the Greek Church also does, but apprehends as a task set before it to carry out.

The first chapter of this part naturally traces the various stages by which was accomplished the great schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, and is followed by an account of the attempts made from time to time to heal the breach both with the Roman and with the Protestant Churches. The prospect of a union, or even of a general federation, of these Churches is declared not to be a hopeful one. The next two chapters are occupied with a description of the present condition and organisation of the Orthodox Church itself, and those sections of Christendom which are more or less closely allied with it. As branches of the former, we have the Turkish patriarchates (Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem); the Churches of Greece, Servia, Roumania, Bulgaria, and the State Church of Russia. Among the latter are the Churches which, equally with the great Eastern Church itself, trace their descent from the early ages of Christianity,—the Armenians, the Copts, the Abyssinians, the Jacobites of Syria, the Nestorians, and the Thomas Christians of India. Here are also noticed the sects which have been formed within the province of the Russian Church itself, and the United Churches,—isolated communities scattered along the borderland between the Greek and Roman Churches, acknowledging the Pope formally, but adhering to Greek ritual, the fruit of Papal activity after the failure of the last great attempt at Union between East and West made at Florence in 1439.

After this survey of the present condition of the Orthodox Church along with its congeners, Kattenbusch turns to its characteristic dogmatic positions, considering successively the history and significance of the Creed of Constantinople, the Soteriological doctrines, the idea of God, and the *Filioque* and other controversies. From this we pass to a consideration of the Church as an organisation, including its priesthood and its worship, with a special and very important section upon the relation to the Church of the Emperors in earlier, and their successors, the Czars, in later times. The seven sacraments, the Christian year, the worship of the saints and religious pictures, the fasts and the liturgy, are all in turn passed under review. And finally, an attempt is made to estimate the type of piety which has grown up under the shadow and influence of the great Church of the East. In doing so a distinction is properly drawn between the religious life of the people and that associated with the monasticism, to which the East has always been specially prone. These are considered in their various phases, the religious life of the dissenting communities having also a section devoted to it.



So far we have endeavoured to give an idea of the scope of this volume, at the risk, it must be confessed, of making our notice somewhat resemble an abstract of the table of contents. There is, we may remark in passing, an admirable analytical table, designed, as the author explains, to take for the time the place of a general index, which will, however, also be supplied with the completion of the work. What has been said is at least sufficient to show how full and elaborate the treatment given to the subject is. That Professor Kattenbusch is an eminently competent scholar would be amply evidenced by his being selected to follow such men as Holtzmann and Harnack in the important series of *Theologische Lehrbücher*. He had, however, already proved his special fitness for the task entrusted to him by some articles in the *Studien und Kritiken*. In this large volume every page is crowded with facts, admirably arranged and clearly stated. The author is perhaps less happy in his introductory chapters than in his purely historical work. There is a lack of definitions, of distinct explanation, for example, alike of the new name and the new conception of his science which is not a little perplexing at the outset. The statement of his own theological standpoint in the second section of chap. ii. also leaves something to be desired in this regard. But the historical matter is thoroughly well put together. We propose, in the space which still remains to us, to touch briefly upon some of the more interesting topics which are passed under review. They will be selected chiefly from the theological sections.

Recent discussions in this country have brought into prominence the doctrine of the Incarnation. Following, and to some extent supplementing, Harnack's account of the Christological doctrine formulated at the Council of Chalcedon, Kattenbusch points out that the Christology of the East was never quite understood in the West. In the former the dominating conception was that of the redemption of man from death, from physical corruption (*φθορά*), through Christ, whose Person possessed a new quality of nature, and imparted a power, which, entering into and permeating the nature of man, purified and elevated that nature so as to render it inaccessible to death. The Western conception was rather that indicated in the terms applied to Christ in the Roman Creed (the forerunner of the so-called Apostolic Creed), viz. : "Lord" and "Judge of the quick and the dead." By what He does, as God representing God to man, as man representing man to God, He procures for us that grace which issues in the forgiveness of sins and deliverance from judgment. To the West the important point is what Christ, the God-man *does*, to the East what He *is*. Hence Monophysitism is the logically correct form of Eastern Christology, and most fully expressive of the religious interest involved in it, while the West,

in view of a certain duality of function, holds fast the two Natures in the one Person of the Redeemer.

The comparisons and contrasts to which our author thus from time to time calls attention are in the highest degree interesting and instructive. They remind us, also, that we have here not only an exhaustive treatise upon one of the great Churches of Christendom, but a *comparative* symbolic, where comparison is made subservient to the still higher work of criticism. So in the chapter dealing with the significance of the Constantinopolitan Creed—after explaining how this Creed is to the Eastern Church a symbol (in the less technical sense) and a summary of the whole faith, not to be interpreted or explained, but received—honoured alike when, in its liturgical use, it appeals to the ear, and, when sewn upon the robes of a bishop, it appeals to the eye—the token of the “Orthodoxy” of the Church and of its claim to be identified with the Church of the ancient Roman Empire—occasion is taken to point out the different relations to the past assumed respectively by the Eastern and Western Churches. Both claim the note of antiquity; but while the Greek Church is governed by the past, towards which it maintains an attitude of absolute dependence, and which sits upon it like an incubus, the Roman Church does not belong to the past so much as the past belongs to it—is made subservient to its purposes and needs. The Roman is a living, active Church, it makes history; while the Greek is content to stand like a guardian in defence of what it has received.

It was the same unreasoning conservatism which led to the attitude taken up by the Eastern Church in the great controversy in which divergence passed into collision and disruption. The doctrine of the Trinity having been reduced to Creed form and taken into liturgical use, was for the Church of the East fixed for ever. The West, under the leadership of Augustine, reached what was believed to be a necessary completion of the doctrine, and straightway sought to bring its Creed into conformity with its Theology. It is true that the doctrine had from the beginning been somewhat differently conceived in the two Churches, and what appeared as a necessary consequence to the one could not be so obviously necessary when regarded from the standpoint of the other. Nevertheless, Kattenbusch is distinctly of opinion that the point was not considered in the East upon its merits. The position was at once assumed and regarded as impregnable, that the Creed (which, it is true, was generally regarded as having been inspired by the Holy Ghost) should determine the course of theological thought, and not be in any way determined by it.

We pass over with reluctance the sections on the organisation of the clergy, the relations of Patriarch and Pope, besides many inter-

esting points connected with the sacraments, and religious customs generally. One remark in this connection is, however, deserving of special note. It is the extent to which, in the Eastern Church, worship, in its institutional and ritual sense, has overshadowed and absorbed every other interest. Throughout its whole range, it is one great organisation for the performance of rites and ceremonies. "All of which Christianity is thus conscious concerning itself, whether as regards its nature or its limits, is constituted and expressed as ritual. Whatever does not directly belong to ritual is yet, so far as the Church concerns itself with it, determined from this point of view. Ritualistic observances permeate the life of the citizen, and mould the forms of the State. Whoever compares the patristic with the Byzantine periods in the history of this Church must perceive the difference between them to be virtually that between a philosophic view of the world and an absorption in ceremonial observance."

This predominance of ritual is the determining factor in the notion of piety as conceived by the people at large. For them everything which concerns the Church is purely a matter of form, and their religious duty is fulfilled in the conscientious performance of the rites prescribed. Not that they are destitute of moral impulse and guidance. Social and political institutions are under the patronage and guardianship of the Church; and traditional moral principles, of a more or less wholesome kind, are at work in their midst. But the tendency of the system is to repress individuality in moral and spiritual things. Thought is indeed free, and makes use of its freedom in many and marvellous ways. The "orthodox" Church is not "orthodox" in the sense of exacting uniformity of dogmatic opinion. A man may hold whatever views he likes, provided he conforms to the ceremonial practices of the Church. Notwithstanding this, the Church has so established itself in the affections of the people, so inwoven itself with every detail of their life, that it is regarded as the centre and support of the patriotic and national spirit.

On the other hand, the essence of the Monastic piety of the East lies in its mysticism. The life of the monk is a living, a voluntary death. Here, again, a difference between East and West becomes apparent. The *μετάνοια* of the one is somewhat differently conceived from the *penitentia* of the other—it is change of mental attitude rather than self-inflicted punishment. The Eastern cœnobite looks not so much to the satisfaction of reward as to the freedom from the tyranny of desire. He would live the angelic life. He finds self-denial favourable to contemplation. To be capable of losing himself in God, of beatific contemplation, is his high and sole reward.

In the Bibliographical lists prefixed to the several chapters we notice references to the works of J. Mason Neale, Dean Stanley, and

Professor Schaff, but none to those of Heurtley, Swainson, and Lumby.

We can only remark, in concluding this review, that we await with pleasurable anticipations the treatment, by the same hand, of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches, which will touch our sympathies even more closely, and in which, no doubt, the same massive learning and the same discriminative judgment which are conspicuous in this volume will be again displayed.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

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### A Christian Apology.

*A Christian Apology*, by Paul Schanz, D.D., D.Ph., translated by Rev. Michael F. Glancy and Rev. Victor J. Schobel, D.D. Vol. III. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 8vo, pp. xix. 618. Price 12s. 6d.

THE third and last volume of the translation of Dr Schanz's apologetic work is now published. The two previous volumes having been duly noticed in our columns, it will not be necessary to expatiate on this last instalment. Its subject is the Church, and, of course, its pages contain much more with which Protestants cannot sympathise or agree than the first and second volumes, in which they could go a long way with the able author. But Protestant readers will find the volume interesting, and even instructive, though in its teaching entirely opposed to their convictions; and we should say that any one who wants to have in his library a book that might be referred to as an authoritative statement of Roman Catholic opinion on the subject of the Church could not do better than purchase this work. It has one great merit as it appears in English. There is little in the style to remind us of the original German. It is really English, not German idioms reproduced in an English dress, a result by no means common, or so steadfastly aimed at as it ought to be.

Not the least interesting part of the book is the translator's preface, nineteen pages long. Dr Schobel insists on the cardinal importance of the doctrine of the Church in an apologetic system. "All particular questions are simply dwarfed, and lose their importance when in presence of the paramount and all-momentous question of the true Church. This is the master-point from which alone we can survey the wide sweep of revelation." Holding this view, Dr Schobel naturally proceeds to canvass recent utterances of English divines on the subject of the Church, and, of course, as a Catholic, finds these unsatisfactory. He animadverts in succession on the views of Mr Stanton, the authors of *Lux Mundi*, and Mr Gore in his

Bampton Lectures on the Incarnation. We leave these gentlemen to defend themselves and their Church, if they think it necessary.

The first chapter of Dr Schanz's work has for its theme the "Finality and Development of Christian Revelation." The position maintained is that the Christian Revelation is absolute and final. Being God's word spoken by His Son, it is the perfect word, and therefore the last; no more needs to be said. But the revelation through Jesus, though materially absolute and perfect, does not exclude formal perfectibility or development. In point of fact there has been a continuous progressive movement in doctrine due to two causes: the attacks of heretics, and the tendency towards development which is inherent in all living faith. The Protestant theory is characterised as an "irrational supernaturalism," and it is claimed for the Catholic Church that she holds the golden mean between the fossil conservatism of Greek and Protestant Churches, and the indefinite material perfectibility of Rationalism.

Intelligent readers will know what to expect in a book on the Church by a Roman divine. There are, of course, chapters on the marks of the true Church—the Church apostolic, the Church one, the Church Catholic, the Church infallible, the Church necessary for salvation, the Church holy. Such themes as Scripture and tradition, the primacy of Peter, the primacy of the Pope, and the infallibility of the Pope were not likely to be overlooked. Much that occurs in the chapters dealing with these topics must needs be dull reading to a man of confirmed Protestant convictions. We have been most interested in the chapter which deals with the indispensableness of connection with the true Church in order to salvation. One feels a personal concern in that topic, and wants to know what his own chances of salvation are. We must candidly own that Dr Schanz is very considerate in his treatment of persons in our position. He makes the best excuse for us he can. "We are fully aware," he says, "that those who are born in Protestantism have their minds and hearts from youth upwards poisoned against all things Catholic. Many therefore are undoubtedly in good faith . . . . In this sense we grant that intelligent Protestants, from sincere motives do, at times, stay where they are." He even goes the length of reckoning good Protestants as within the Church in spirit, though formally without. "What are called *bonâ fide* heretics must, in all justice and fairness, be morally considered members of the one true visible Catholic Church, though they are not visibly in her communion. Thus it remains true that there is no salvation outside the Catholic Church." If this logic satisfies Catholics, Protestants have no cause to complain. The treatment they receive at Dr Schanz's hands is fully more satisfactory than that of English churchmen who relegate all nonconformists to the uncovenanted mercies of God. What sad

straits Roman and Romanising churchmen put themselves in by their artificial church theories, and how little all these theories and ecclesiastical pretensions have to do with Christ and Christianity. For us the Church is not the *crown* but the *crux* of apologetics, just as Rabbinism was the *crux* of Old Testament religion. An elect people, a God-given law, a sacred literature, and it all came to that!

A. B. BRUCE.

### **History of the Christian Church : Modern Christianity— The Swiss Reformation.**

*By Philip Schaff, D.D. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1893.  
2 vols. Pp. 890. 21s.*

MORE than forty years have passed since Dr Schaff published the "History of the Apostolic Church," in which he laid the foundation of this comprehensive work. Some ten years have passed since the earlier work appeared in "a new edition, thoroughly revised and enlarged," as the opening volumes of a General Church History. Subsequent issues have increased the number of volumes to eight, and brought the history down to the Reformation period. Now the veteran investigator and teacher of Church History shows that even his serious illness of last summer has not withheld him from completing another stage of his labours. These two volumes on the Swiss Reformation follow immediately on the two dealing with the German side of the movement, and leave only another volume to follow, to cover the French Reformation, and complete the survey of the period. There is still a gap in the chain, however, where two volumes are wanting to fill up the picture of "Mediæval Christianity." (Dr Schaff, in his prefaces, speaks of one volume but each of these is represented in our English edition by a pair.) Stimulated, no doubt, by the special attention directed to the Reformation period by the various "ter-centenaries" which have recently been celebrated, he has postponed the conclusion of the mediæval period, and opened his history of "Modern Christianity" with two pairs of volumes on the Reformation.

Though complete in themselves, therefore, and having an independent value of their own, these volumes must be received and estimated as a section of a General Church History, whose scope extends from the foundation of the Church until the present day. Regarded as a special period, the Reformation with its heroes has had more attention paid to it than any other, save perhaps the apostolic; and there are famous monographs, not a few, with which

a work such as this does not and cannot enter into comparison. But for such a general history of the Church as Dr Schaff proposes, and has gone so far to complete, written in English, and from the standpoint of reformed and evangelical theology, there is undoubtedly room. Neander's History, in its English form, may claim to be a standard work ; but it is forty years since the great scholar's death stopped his work at the threshold of the Reformation. Milman fascinates the reader, but provokes the student, who, if he goes on to Robertson, will miss the fascination without evading the disappointment.

Dr Schaff has many qualifications for the task, which few can attempt, and very few complete with success. It is a task for a lifetime ; and he reminds us that he has just passed his jubilee as a teacher of Church history ; and almost every year of the fifty has seen the issue from his pen of some monograph or special study cognate to his subject. His knowledge of the relevant literature is very wide and full, his familiarity with Germany and with the treasures of German libraries, stands him in good stead ; unwearied industry in the collection of materials, considerable skill in arranging them, and a facile style are the external features of his work. He has a keen eye for the results in modern Church history of mediæval principles and positions. His work is absolutely free from "tendency ;" no party spirit is disclosed, either in the selection or the grouping of the facts : the judgments likewise are sober and impartial. The littlenesses, follies and crimes of the Reformers, the blemishes in their systems, whether of doctrine or of government, are frankly exhibited and condemned. These are great excellences, and make the work one to be hailed with satisfaction, even though we miss the brilliancy of some of Dr Schaff's predecessors, and the fascinating generalisations of others.

In the history of the Swiss Reformation Dr Schaff has probably found his most congenial field. He is himself a native of Chur, the capital of the Graubünden, the canton where the Reformation found the most democratic soil. He is now a citizen of the great republic, which has drawn so much of its political and ecclesiastical life, directly or indirectly, from Swiss and Calvinistic sources. This history inevitably groups itself round two individuals and two centres of Reformation activity, Zwingli and Calvin, Zürich and Geneva.

Historians will probably always agree in placing Zwingli beside Luther and Calvin in the forefront of the Reformation movement, but history has done less justice to him than to his fellows. Certainly in the popular estimation and imagination Zwingli occupies far less space. As Dr Schaff shrewdly conjectures, his centenary is not likely to rouse the same enthusiasm as that of either Calvin or

Luther. Yet he only shares, in a greater degree, the misfortune that has befallen his compeers, the misfortune of being temporarily out of fashion, and therefore the safe butt of ignorant and irresponsible criticism. It is a sign of the times, of an age that would fain deny the necessity of the Reformation, and ignore the moral grandeur of the Reformers, that all three men and all three systems are popularly associated in England with their weakest points. Luther is identified with a bourgeois satisfaction in recovered worldly pleasures; Calvin with an unrelenting severity and fanatic intolerance only too indelibly recorded in the execution of Servetus; Zwingli with a reprehensible meddlesomeness in municipal and cantonal politics, of which his death and disrepute are the well-earned penalties. So with the systems—Lutheranism is put for a materialistic mysticism; Calvinism for the *horribile decretum* which the author of the system himself had branded with the name; and Zwinglianism for a low and unsacramental view of the sacraments, which was, in fact, only a stage through which his slowly developing apprehension of the truth must needs pass. Every fresh restatement of the history is a new protest against these one-sided representations. Set in their true relation and proportion, balanced by their true counterpoise, both the views and the characters display the power and grandeur which justify the admiration of three centuries.

The parallel which Dr Schaff draws between Luther and Zwingli is one of the best paragraphs in his work. More emphasis might be laid upon the effect on popular judgment of the character of the initial step in each man's religious experience. Here both Calvin and Zwingli suffer by comparison with Luther. That tremendous spiritual struggle which culminated in the Wartburg was an experience to which, so far as we can ascertain, Zwingli's life afforded no parallel. Luther performed at a bound the personal *volte face* which in Zwingli was the process of several years. The cynically lenient judgment passed by Zwingli on his own early life marks a stage of development which is obviously imperfect; but it is only a stage, and must not be held to determine the final character of the man. And as with his moral judgments, so with his theories. The just historian will trace a steady refinement of the one, and a steadily deepening perception of truth in the other. The German Reformer might well claim to be judged by the beginning, the Swiss by the end, of his spiritual career. Zwingli's rudimentary criticism of Mariolatry was as real though less conscious a breach with Rome, as Luther's violent renunciation of a fundamental doctrine. Both gates opened the way to evangelical life and doctrine; both men are essential types of Protestant life-history. On the only occasion on which the two came into personal contact, in the col-



loquy at Marburg, the honours were undoubtedly carried off by Zwingli. Dr Schaff confirms the opinion of Baur and Martin in saying that Zwingli on "that occasion showed marked ability as a debater, and superior courtesy and liberality as a gentleman."

The account of Zwingli's theology is a careful and sympathetic sketch, which might with advantage have been considerably elaborated. Zwingli's doctrinal divergences were not all of them, as might be inferred from this account, original developments. He not only "prepared the way for Arminian and Socinian opinions," or "anticipated modern opinions"; he did so in a particular way by reaching back behind the great Latin Fathers to the earlier Greek theology and soteriology, and his system exhibits many points of parallelism with Clement, Theodore, and Chrysostom.

In an interesting section on the spread of the Reformation in Switzerland, Dr Schaff takes up one canton after another, to describe the beginnings there of evangelical preaching and the organisation of an evangelical church. Whether it be Basel or Berne, Glarus or the Grisons, the history follows certain well-marked lines. More attention might have been directed to the general characteristics. Such, for example, as the sporadic character of the movement. Derivation from any central source is the exception. As Zwingli taught, preached, and organised in practical independence of Luther, so throughout Switzerland, both in the federated and in the dependent cantons, the Gospel was proclaimed, accepted, and assimilated independently of Zwingli. In its earlier stages in Switzerland the Reformation was less a movement communicated by direct and traceable contact than an atmosphere; it "blew where it listed." Another point to be noted is the administrative powerlessness of the Roman Church. Priests preached from Catholic pulpits against Catholic doctrines unchecked. Chapters and prelates convened and fulminated in vain. In many districts the Catholic Church capitulated and disappeared, almost without a blow. The progress of the Reformation in Switzerland thus lends itself to illustrate the relation between the prevailing form of government and the manner in which the new movement developed. Examples of monarchical or autocratic government conditioning the Reformation must be looked for in Germany. There the movement became a means to political liberty; in Switzerland the political liberty, already achieved, assimilated the Reformation. Among the various cantons may be found every variety of cantonal and municipal government, from oligarchies to pure democracies. Types of these are Zürich and the Grisons. In Zürich the revolt from Rome was consummated by the decision of the magistrates; the new religious organisation was a municipal one; the duties of the inhabitants as Protestants became identical with their duties as citizens. Zwingli

died on the field of Cappel, not as a Reformer, not even as a Protestant pastor, but as a citizen of Zürich.

In the Grisons the Reformation is seen permeating a purely democratic society. From town to town in the Engadine it advances by the vote of the people. The new doctrines are expounded for two or three Sundays in the parish church. The people are convinced. The Commune gives its vote. The mass ceases to be said. The images are removed. Priest gives place to pastor. A Peter Paul Vergerius or an Ulrich Campell becomes evangelical minister of the district. The Commune makes prompt provision for their support. The story of the Reformation in the Graubünden, the Valtelline, and Glarus is one full of picturesque details and of fascinating figures. Dr Schaff would have done well to let some of the realism and romance with which it is invested find expression in his pages.

It is, however, on the second portion of these volumes, the story of Calvin and Geneva, that Dr Schaff has put forth his strength. His method of arranging his material in a number of long paragraphs has the advantage of concentrating all that belongs to one topic under that head. But it necessarily involves considerable repetition and the loss of chronological continuity in the narrative. Apart from this drawback involved in the method of arrangement, this last part of the work can be thoroughly commended. The narrative cannot, of course, be expected to present any new facts. The whole literature has been already so thoroughly examined, Calvin's own voluminous and frank correspondence is so decisive on many points which might be subjects of controversy, that the historian must now lay aside the hope of new discovery and exert his powers on the restatement of familiar matter. By three points in particular he will be tested, his analysis of the Institutes, his account of the theocratic constitution of Geneva, and his treatment of the melancholy affair of Servetus. To each of these Dr Schaff gives careful attention; he is most successful with the last. His account of Calvin's theology leaves something to be desired, especially in regard to its relation with antecedent and subsequent systems. The history and opinion of Servetus are analysed with very great fulness. A valuable *resumé* of Catholic and Protestant opinions on Tolerance and Intolerance is wisely prefixed to the study of his case. No attempt is made to justify the Reformer, beyond showing how universal was the spirit in which he acted, how widespread the approval which his action received. If there is any case in which the "spirit of his age" can be pleaded, and must be pleaded, in extenuation of a man's conduct, it is in the case of Calvin and Servetus. And those who refuse to allow the plea in his case, will generally be found of those who most vehemently insist

on the very same mitigation of judgment on, *e.g.*, the coarseness of Rabelais, Rousseau, or Sterne. The plea must be made in defence of the movement and of the religion of which Calvin was a representative, but the altered standard, according to which we now unhesitatingly condemn such measures, provides in itself an apologetic of no mean value.

The impartiality with which Dr Schaff has treated this important subject, the wide field of authorities on which he has drawn, and his just appreciation of the work of the several Reformers, together give these volumes a claim on the respect and gratitude of the evangelical Church.

CHARLES ANDERSON SCOTT.

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### **Hegelianism and Personality.**

*By Andrew Seth, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. Second series of Balfour Lectures. Second Edition. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1893. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv., 242. Price 5s.*

IN this edition the author has added a few notes in reply to criticisms, and made a few slight changes in the text. But he has wisely left the lectures in other respects in the form in which they first appeared. They are too well known to stand in need of a detailed review; but the appearance of this second edition may fitly recall attention to their main argument.

Although the lectures are on Hegel, it is not difficult to see that the author is writing for and to his own time, and that it is the philosophy of T. H. Green, rather than of Hegel himself, that is called in question. Professor Seth treats Green very much in the same way as Green dealt with the writers who largely dominated English thought up to the time of the publication of the *Introduction to Hume*. J. S. Mill and Mr Spencer were the writers with whose influence Green had to contend; but his heavy artillery was directed hardly at all against their lines. He saw through them to the method of philosophising, beginning with Locke and culminating in Hume, of which they were the modern representatives. And it was his aim to show that the ruling sensationalism of the day was simply an anachronism—the survival of an organ whose work had been played out. To do this he fastened upon the fundamental position of this type of thought—the position that the real is to be found in sensation—showed how successive writers had discredited successive portions of knowledge, because they involved rational or mental “superinduction” upon the data of sense, and how the process had ended, in the hands of Hume, in dissolving reality into

mere atoms of sensation, deprived of the principles of connection which knowledge requires. The persistence and subtlety with which Green traced this process and brought its results to light constitute his enduring claim to the gratitude of students of philosophy. But they do not establish a claim for exempting his own constructive doctrine from the same kind of criticism.

There is certainly a curious resemblance between the progress of thought in the empirical philosophy from Locke to Hume, and the successive steps taken by Kant and the writers of the "transcendental" succession—amongst whom Green is to be classed. Locke's enquiry was a purely epistemological enquiry into the origin and extent of our knowledge. The existence of the individual thinker and of a real external world was never questioned by him: although the mind was represented as a mere blank till sensation entered. Sensation is regarded by him as the original of our knowledge; but it soon came to be used as the criterion of reality; and from this sprung the sensational atomism of Hume. Kant's enquiry also was epistemological, and his criticism vindicated the connectedness of knowledge, by tracing in it the presence of a universal element—forms of perception and thought—contributed by consciousness. This universal element is the formal condition of knowledge. By his successors it is identified with the real—an identification never expressed more definitely than by Green. Our knowledge is, he says, constituted by an "eternal consciousness," and this eternal consciousness is "so far realised in or communicated to us through modification of the animal organism."

As Professor Seth points out, Green "avowedly transforms Kant's theory of knowledge into a metaphysic of existence, an absolute philosophy." And the author takes the same way of criticising Green as Green took of criticising Mill. He passes in review the process by which the doctrine of self-consciousness, as the universal formal condition of knowledge, became transformed, in the hands of Fichte and Hegel, into a doctrine of the Absolute Idea, or Universal Self-Consciousness, which sums up all reality. It would be difficult to speak too highly of the clearness with which this point is brought out, or of the skill with which it is again and again enforced, as the author follows the successive steps of Hegel's thought. This argument forms, indeed, the groundwork of the lectures, and on it is based the author's examination of Hegel's philosophy of nature and philosophy of spirit. Against both the same objection is taken: the method of Hegel obliterates real distinctions, both the distinction between God and nature and the distinction between the Divine self-consciousness and that of the individual man. The stress laid on the latter contention justifies the title given to the lectures. "The radical error," says the author, in his conclusion, "both of

Hegelianism and of the allied English doctrine, I take to be the identification of the human and the Divine self-consciousness, or, to put it more broadly, the unification of consciousness in a single self. The exposure of this may be said to have been, in a manner, the thesis of these lectures. This identification or unification depends throughout, it has been argued, upon the tendency to take a mere form for a real being—to take an identity of type for a unity of existence.”

At the same time, the value of the work largely arises from the fact that the criticism is appreciative, although adverse on fundamental points. For Mr Seth himself belongs to the Idealist line of thinkers, amongst whom Hegel is one of the greatest of constructive geniuses. Even for the *Naturphilosophie*—a work which tries the faith of the most devoted followers of the master—Mr Seth is not without a good word, praising what, I venture to think, is not the most admirable quality of Hegel’s writings, his “superb contempt for nature as nature.” Indeed, the author is not without a trace of a similar feeling himself, and speaks of the “non-rational or allogical character” of nature in a way which, it seems to me, is not justified by the state of our knowledge, and would only be justified if knowledge of nature were impossible.

To say that these lectures leave much unexplained, both as to the nature of reality and as to the mode of our cognition of it, is only to say that their object is criticism and not construction. Perhaps the third series of Balfour Lectures will contribute something towards a solution of the questions raised in the present volume.

W. R. SORLEY.

### **Reformed Logic : A System based on Berkeley’s Philosophy, with an entirely new method of Dialectic.**

*By D. B. M’Lachlan. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1892.  
Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. 233. Price 5s.*

### **System der formalen und realen Logik.**

*Von Dr Georg Ulrich. Berlin : F. Dümmler’s Verlagsbuchhandlung,  
8vo, pp. 87. Price, M. 1.80.*

THESE works bear evidence both to the active interest shown in Logic at the present time, and to the confusion which exists regarding the scope of the science. The object of Mr M’Lachlan’s treatise is “to give an intelligible account of the principal facts of mind, with a method for the right expression and criticism of reasoning. It is based,” he says, “on principles not before applied to such a purpose,”—to wit, on “Berkeleyism considerably modified.” But Mr M’Lachlan does not sufficiently recognise the fundamental distinction between psychology and logic. Logic is not a science of

mental facts, but has to treat thinking from the point of view the criteria and laws which determine its validity.

Dr Ulrich's pamphlet of eighty-seven pages is an attempt at a new theory of logic as the science, not only of the form, but also of the content of thought, the latter part being, indeed, metaphysic, regarded as a division of logic. The pamphlet consists of two parts, on Formal Logic and Real Logic respectively. But in both parts the sequence of thought is arbitrary, while the classification of forms of thought seems hasty, to say the least. Thus the strange view of contrary and contradictory opposition would appear to result from overlooking the distinction between concept and judgment.

Both Mr M'Lachlan and Dr Ulrich seem to have attacked the subject without sufficient appreciation either of its difficulties or of the value of the work which has been already done in Logic.

W. R. SORLEY.

### Die Aristotelische Auffassung vom verhältnisse Gottes zur Welt und zum Menschen.

Von Dr Eugen Kolfes. Berlin: Mayer und Müller. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 202. Price, 3 Marks.

ON the question of how Aristotle conceived and stated the relations of God to the world and to men much has been written, and almost every writer states it differently. Ueberweg states it one way, Erdmann states it differently, and Schwegler differs from both, and Zeller has something different from all three. In our own country, expositors of Aristotle are by no means agreed on this momentous topic. Sir Alexander Grant, Edwin Wallace, Mr Benn, and Dr Hutchison Stirling have each taken his own view, and supported it by relevant texts. The question might be raised, whether Aristotle had a consistent view of the relation of God to the world, and has expressed it in unambiguous terms. If such a doctrine existed in his works, surely such competent men as those just mentioned might have come to some agreement with regard to what Aristotle actually taught. Is it true that we can find in Aristotle what Schwegler says (I quote from Dr Stirling's Gifford Lecture), "The answer of Aristotle is, that the Good exists in the universe as its designed order and intelligent arrangement; but it exists also, and in a far higher form, *without*, the universe as a personal being who is the ground and cause of this designed order and intelligent arrangement; the principle of *immanence* and the principle of *transcendence* are here brought together and combined in one"? or, as Dr Stirling quotes from Bonitz, "In regard to the nature of the supreme principle and its relation to the world, whether that principle as the Good is to be referred to the divine nature of the first substance or to the

order of the world itself. Aristotle finds that the Good has place in the world in both ways, the possibility of which he illustrates by the example of an army: for the commander is certainly the prime source of the discipline of the army; but, if he has rightly established that discipline, the individual parts of the army accord together of themselves. In the same way, the first cause of that order which we observe in the world is to be assigned to the Supreme Intelligence, but then the parts of the world have been so ordered by him that they are seen to harmonise of their own accord; for all things cohere with all things, and all tend to one." In his own magnificent lecture on Aristotle, Dr Stirling sets forth very much the same view as that held by Schwegeler and Bonitz.

On the other hand, we have such a view as that set forth by Dr Döllinger in his great work on "The Gentile and the Jew," which may be thus summarised. God is simply the final cause of the world. The world itself is eternal, and the cosmos is without beginning and without end. And the ultimate thought of Aristotle is a dualism, the two terms of which are God and the world. God cannot enter into relation with the world as a whole, nor with the particular beings in it. God exerts an influence indeed on the world, but only as the magnet exerts an influence on the iron. But His action on the world is not that of freedom. God is His own object. He thinks Himself, and for God to have any other object than Himself would be an imperfection. It would make Him a mere *δύναμις*, not an *ἐνεργεία*. A potentiality, not an actuality. Döllinger also asserts that for Aristotle there is no question regarding the righteousness or freedom of God, nor any possibility of discussing the relation of God to the good or evil that is in the world. God is apart from the world, its unmoved mover, the object of the world's desire, its goal and end; but God is eternally occupied with Himself, always engaged in the contemplation of Himself, and is always filled with the blessedness of contemplation.

Each of these views has had many exponents. The debate has been very keen, and there is no sign of agreement as yet. In these circumstances a fresh study of this great question is very welcome. Dr Rolfes' work is able and scholarly. On every page there is evidence that he has studied the text of Aristotle with ardour and success. He has also read widely in the literature of Aristotle, and is well acquainted with the scholastic commentaries on Aristotle, particularly with the work of Aquinas. He knows the views of Döllinger and of Zeller. In truth it would be difficult to say what treatise on Aristotle is not known to him. What, then, is the result of this fresh investigation? How are we to think of the relation of God to the world and to Man? We have read the book with very great interest. The result to which Dr Rolfes has come is in

striking agreement with that reached by Dr Hutchison Stirling, and each has arrived at it independently. So there must be some ground for it.

We shall give an outline of the argument. After an Introduction, which describes the interest and importance of the inquiry, Dr Rolfes propounds five theses, and marshals whatever evidence he can gather from Aristotle's works in support of them. These are—

1. The world-movement is evoked by God as its goal, and as its efficient principle.
2. The attitude of Aristotle in relation to the doctrine of Creation.
3. The Aristotelian doctrine of Divine Providence.
4. The Aristotelian doctrine of souls.
5. The Aristotelian doctrine of the final destiny of man, and his ethical teaching.

As regards the first thesis, Dr Rolfes has no difficulty in showing that God is the goal of the world-movement. All expositors are agreed on that point. But the controverted question is, Is God also the working principle, the efficient cause of the world? We are not persuaded by Dr Rolfes that Aristotle held or taught that view. He seeks to prove it, (a) by an analysis of the notion set forth by Aristotle in his physics, that God is the first mover, Himself unmoved. But from this notion we cannot get more than a mere deistic position. It by no means implies that the first mover gave any more than the first impulse to movement. It does not imply a continued action on the part of the first mover; and from this to Dr Rolfes' conclusion that God is the continued efficient working principle of the world's movement the distance is very great. Nor does the second argument (b) from the notion of "pure actuality," "*actus purus*," lead him any nearer to his desired conclusion. In truth, the notion that God is *actus purus* would seem to shut Him out from everything that is imperfect, and to make the process of becoming, altogether alien to Him, a conclusion which is confirmed by the Aristotelian conception of God, as a being who thinks Himself *αὐτὸν ἄρα νοεῖ, ἔπερ ἐστὶ τὸ κράτιστον, καὶ ἔστιν ἡ νόησις νοήσεως νόησις* (*Meta.* A 9. 1074. b. 34. Berlin Edition of Aristotle). If the characteristic of God according to Aristotle be the thinking of thought, if He is always to Himself the object of His own contemplation, how are we to conceive of Him as related to a world that is imperfect? The two Aristotelian conceptions of God as *actus purus*, and of God as self-thinking thought, are difficult to reconcile, and both of these notions seem irreconcilable with the third notion that God is the efficient cause of the movement of the world. It is quite true that Aristotle says that God is the final cause of the world's movement, and is also its first mover, Himself unmoved, but in both cases the divine action seems, as it were, unconscious, and neither desired nor intended by Him. Dr Rolfes has not been able to overcome this difficulty, and with regard to the first thesis we must



say that it is not proven. As a final argument on this head Dr Rolfes says, "Es ist aber nicht denkbar, dass ein Geist wie Aristoteles in dieser Weise philosophirt habe." As for ourselves, whenever we come across the "nicht denkbar" argument, we set it down as a counsel of despair, for we have often found that what is set down as "nicht denkbar" is the real fact.

If Dr Rolfes has great difficulty in establishing his first thesis, how much greater is the difficulty of setting forth the relation of the Aristotelian doctrine to any real doctrine of creation. He first endeavours to prove that God is, according to Aristotle, the Author of the existence of all things. How is this to be reconciled with the statement of Aristotle that the world is eternal, neither coming into nor passing out of being? (*De Cael.* II. 1, 283, b. 26). Dr Rolfes is himself somewhat conscious of failure here, for he endeavours to buttress his direct attempts at proof by the assertion that creation is not expressly excluded by the Aristotelian doctrine, and also by a reference to Aristotle's teaching as to the origin of souls endowed with reason, and of the heavenly spheres. But these considerations are powerless against the fact that Aristotle taught that the world is eternal.

Difficulties accumulate as we go on, but it is impossible for us to examine all his arguments in detail. We do not find that Dr Rolfes has been able to prove his third thesis regarding Divine Providence. He does not show how it is possible, or how it is consistent with the Aristotelian conception of God, nor has he been able to produce any evidence that Aristotle really held a doctrine of Divine Providence.

The fourth thesis regarding the soul of man is most admirable. It really helps us to understand Aristotle, and is itself a real contribution both to historical exegesis and to philosophy and theology. A similar testimony may be borne to his fifth chapter. But of the book as a whole we must say that Dr Rolfes appears to us to have begun his investigation with a certain presupposition. He wished to find in "the philosopher" the chief elements of the Christian, or shall we say the Catholic, doctrine of God? He has read Aristotle with the eyes of Aquinas. As a consequence, he has gone through the works of Aristotle, not mainly to discover what his teaching is, but with the aim of finding evidence for a certain view, and he has found what he sought for. He has not, however, taken other parts of Aristotle's teaching into account. These parts are in the background, and, when we allow them their due weight, the total result is somewhat different from the account given in the work before us. "It was only in virtue of the material element, which Aristotle included in the Platonic ideas, that these became effective forces. And yet this element is excluded from that which

is intended to be the most real of real things, viz., the Deity. This was unavoidable, for the time had not yet come for the Deity to be conceived as taking  $\pi\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  upon Himself, without which God lives in heartless enjoyment, troubled about nothing, and through which alone He is Love and Creator. What Plato in the Parmenides had beheld only in a passing flash, viz., the union of rest and motion, enjoyment and labour, is a conception grasped only by the Christian spirit. In common with the whole of antiquity, Aristotle also fails to transcend dualism, because he excludes matter from the Deity, to which it therefore remains opposed, even though reduced to a mere potentiality." (Erdmann's "History of Philosophy," English Translation, vol. i. p. 153.)

JAMES IVERACH.

### Die Sittliche Weltordnung : Eine Systematische Untersuchung.

Von Friedrich Traub. Freiburg : J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. iii., 96. Price, M. 1.60.

THE author states that the essay was written by him in response to a question set by the "Hague Society for the Defence of the Christian Religion." The subject was, "What are we to understand by the moral order of the world?" On what grounds does the recognition of it rest, and in what relation does this recognition stand to religious faith?" The essay is Herr Traub's answer to this question. The directors refused to crown the work, because the author had followed the critical method of inquiry. The directors could not approve of his distinction between theoretical and practical knowledge, nor of his attempt to ground practical knowledge on the moral law, and on the historical revelation of God. So he has published the essay on his own responsibility.

It was worth publishing, and it is pleasant to read. Such a clear, pleasant, incisive style we have scarcely ever met in German. And his thinking is as clear as his style. His exposition of the critical method, and his statement of its results, are most admirable. He follows Kant, no doubt. But Kant's meaning has never been made so clear; nothing could be better put than the distinction between theoretical and practical knowledge, nor anything more satisfactory than the distinction between psychology and the theory of knowledge. Of great value also is the distinction which is drawn between *à priori* and innate; *à priori* tells us what Kant's problem was, while innate tells us what Locke took the problem of knowledge to be. We should like to have this made clear in English psychology, in which these two things have always been confused.

The first part, which deals with the moral order of the world, is simply a clear and beautiful exposition of the critical theory of knowledge. It accepts Kant throughout, but whether Kant's theory is adequate is a question too large for our pages. A good deal has happened since Kant, and Herr Traub has not escaped the influence of the criticism to which Kant has been subjected. He has resisted as much as possible, but he is still troubled with the *Ding an sich*, and with other remains of a dogmatism which Kant had not overcome. He still accepts Kant's categories, notwithstanding their demonstrated insufficiency. Yet he says: "The categories, taken altogether, are only different forms by means of which the one self-consciousness—Kant names it the transcendental apperception—becomes operative and at the same time real. The unities of the categories are species, but the unity of self-consciousness is the genus." This, however, is to depart from Kant. If self-consciousness be the superior category, the critical work of Kant has to be done over again, and the results may be very different. For one thing, the distinction between theoretical and practical knowledge tends to vanish, as also does the distinction between constitutive and regulative principles. In fact, with this category we shall have passed from Kant to Hegel. Herr Traub will find it difficult to maintain these distinctions of his if he gives to self-consciousness all its rights.

Apart from the filiation of the moral order of the world to the general Kantian theory, there is much in the sections on the moral, on the idea of the moral world order, and on the worth of the moral world order of which one can highly approve. The difference between morality and nature is well set forth. "Nature is the expression of a matter-of-factness, as it is constituted by the empirical sciences; the moral is the expression of a law which raises itself above empirical matters of fact." There is an excellent and drastic criticism of the various attempts to deduce the moral law from Endaemonism, from moral feeling, from a moral disposition, from history, or from religion; all these questions are psychological, not ethical. For ethics there is no unconditioned moral law, and the possibility of ethics depends on the recognition of the categorical imperative. In connection with this we have a clear exposition of the universality of the moral law, of autonomy, of freedom, of purpose and personality.

What, then, is the relation of morality to religion? The question gives rise to a most interesting discussion, the practical outcome of which is to show that, unless there is some connection between morals and religion, the inner life of man would be lost in contradictions. Man does not reach his ideal, he cannot realise the good he sees, nor can he obey the categorical law which says, *Thou shalt*.

But at this stage religion comes, and gives to man the certainty "that the world of reality, notwithstanding all contradictory experiences, carries in itself the likeness of good." Religion and morality are thus contrasted. In morality an ideal stands out before the eyes of man; in religion, a good is bestowed on him. Toil in the service of the ideal makes a man good; the enjoyment of religious good makes a man blessed. In his subordination to moral law, man exercises his freedom; in his religious trust in God he experiences his dependence. But religion is such inner union with morality, that the one cannot be thought without the other. The blessedness which man experiences in religion is the blessedness of the moral man. The good which religion bestows on man is a moral good, and can exist only for such men as are in possession of a moral ideal. The dependence which is experienced in religion exists only in interchange with moral freedom, and so on. It is very true, and very edifying; but it is not quite clear how the synthesis has been effected. Herr Traub tries hard to give some independent worth to religion, but he seems to fail. For religion seems to come in only when morality has failed. On his view, if the categorical imperative could realise itself concretely, and if man could realise the good which is shadowed forth by the absolute moral law, then religion would be a superfluous addition. But the question rises, Is his exposition of religion adequate? Is religious faith simply a dependence? Is it not in religious faith, in fellowship with God, that man most fully realises his freedom? In truth, in this section the author is in great perplexity. He has no scientific account to give of the union of morality and religion. They lie side by side, or they work in interchange as mere matter of fact, which also may be a consequence of his distinction between theoretic and practical knowledge, and also of his other distinction between constitutive and regulative principles.

JAMES IVERACH.

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## **Vernunft und Offenbarung bei Johann Gerhard und Melancthon.**

*Untersuchung zur Geschichte der altprotestantischen Theologie von Lic. Theol. Ernst Troeltsch Privatdocent an der Universität Göttingen. Göttingen, 1891. (Reason and Revelation with Johann Gerhard and Melancthon: an Inquiry in the History of the old Protestant Theology.) Pp. 213. Price M. 4.50.*

THE object of this dissertation is to exhibit the position taken by the old Lutheran theology in regard to the relation of reason and revelation; and for that purpose John Gerhard is chosen as the

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representative of that theology in its fully developed scholastic form. The functions assigned to reason in his voluminous system are stated, and it is shown how they formed the basis of the practical arrangement of philosophical and theological study in the German universities under the direction of the Lutheran Church. The general theory under which this was done is traced back to Melancthon, in whose writings the same principles are found in a fresher and more living form ; and it is argued that in his view the distinction between reason and revelation and their mutual relation are identical with those between the law and the Gospel in the original Reformation preaching. All this is done with great learning and acuteness ; but it might be wished that the form of exposition had been better fitted to help the reader to follow and appreciate the line of argument. This is by no means easy, as the work bristles with quotations, references, and technical terms, and, beyond a brief table of contents that does not throw much light on the line of thought, there are only two divisions, without even titles, and the discussion goes on for over 200 pages of somewhat abstract reasoning, without landmark or guide to show what are the successive stages of the journey or the result of the whole. This makes it impossible to give any more particular account of the contents or estimate of their value.

J. S. CANDLISH.

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### **Dogmatische Studien.**

*Von Dr Fr. H. R. Frank. Geheimrat u. Professor der Theologie in Erlangen. Erlangen u. Leipzig. 8vo. Pp. iv. 135. Price 2 M.*

IN this collection of four treatises, the author's purpose is, as he explains in a brief Preface, to defend his theology, which is the Lutheran, from modern attacks, and to do this in such a way as to learn something from these. In the very opening of the first paper, which is entitled "Faith and Theology," he gives expression to the feeling of being in the midst of a hot conflict against a deadly assault upon the theology of the Church, which has its chief plausibility in the allegation that that theology has moved away from the foundation of living evangelical faith. The reference is to the school of Ritschl ; and in order to meet them Frank goes back to the Reformation doctrine of faith as essentially not assent to doctrines but trust in Christ. His opponents allege that it is a departure from this ground to regard any doctrines as necessary to Christian life, but Frank shows that the Reformers did not exclude *notitia* and *assensus* from being elements of faith, and that though later theologians went wrong in attempting to define fundamental articles,

even the Ritschlians cannot really dispense with doctrines of some kind. He then proceeds to a vindication of dogmatic theology, showing it to be founded on living Christian faith, and to have for its purpose to bring out the fulness of meaning that is implied in that faith.

The second paper is on "Subjectivism in Theology and its right"; and is directed in the first instance against those who, alarmed at the critical and religious questions raised in our days, would banish everything subjective from the basis of faith and base it simply on the sure word of God received as undoubtedly true. Frank shows, that however happy such a child-like faith may be for those who are not called to deal with controverted questions, it implies a latent subjective element, which must be distinctly brought out by those who have to explain and defend Christian truth. Then he criticises Ritschl as going too far in the opposite direction, making the ground of our certainty entirely subjective, and recognising no supernatural work of the Holy Spirit in conversion. The same fault he finds with Gottschick, one of the followers of Ritschl; and of the school in general he says, that the supernatural which they recognise is not the true Christian supernatural, but only the superiority of man as a rational and moral agent to the physical world.

The third paper, on "the duplicity of the old and new man, and the unity of the person," deals more fully with the last-mentioned point. The substance of what Frank is here defending seems to be the Augustinian doctrine of the new life imparted by regeneration; but surely he gives it an extreme and untenable form of expression, when he insists that it is the creation of a new ego (*Ich*) alongside of the old, and yet forming along with it but one person. His argument for this is either a mere logomachy, or it is an unintelligible and misleading statement, tending to expose a precious scripture doctrine to objection and ridicule.

The last paper, on "the Law and the Gospel," is much more judicious and valuable, dealing with Ritschl's treatment of the conception of moral government which underlies the evangelical Protestant theology. It shows very satisfactorily the superficiality and weakness of Ritschl's criticism on this point, and the true meaning and importance of the distinction between law and gospel.

Frank is a genuine Lutheran, though not a narrow-minded one; and while admitting defects and mistakes in their great theologians, he is eager to defend them against misrepresentations and objections. These treatises bear occasional traces of the faults incident to earnest controversy, such as excessive keenness of tone and imputation of motives, though on the whole the discussion is conducted in a worthy manner. The author, unfortunately, like too many Germans,

does not possess a clear or interesting style, and does little to help his readers to a distinct understanding of the profound and often abstruse subjects on which he writes.

J. S. CANDLISH.

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**Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften  
Alten und Neuen Testaments, etc.**

*Herausgegeben von D. Hermann Strack und D. Otto Zöckler. (A.)  
Altes Testament. Erste Abtheilung: Genesis—Numeri ausgelegt  
von D. Hermann L. Strack. Erste Lieferung enthaltend Genesis  
Kap. 1-46. Muenchen, Beck: 8vo, pp. 144. Price M. 2.75.*

PROFESSOR STRACK's name is not so familiar in this country as it deserves to be. For, as a pure Hebraist, he has probably no superior, at the present moment, either in Germany or elsewhere. He is certainly the ablest Old Testament scholar of the conservative Evangelical party in the Lutheran Church. But a conservative Old Testament scholar in Germany is one thing, and a conservative Old Testament scholar in Britain or America is another thing. Hence Dr Strack's readiness to accept the results of the modern critical school as regards the structure and date of the Old Testament books, while refusing to follow that school in its reconstruction of Israel's religious history, has gained for him the honour of being proposed by Canon Cheyne (see his paper "Reform in the Teaching of the Old Testament," *Contemporary Review*, August 1889) as a model for conservative theologians among ourselves, the results accepted by him to form the basis, "moderate enough," for a "provisional compromise" between the old and the new schools. It is with much interest, therefore, that one turns to this, the first instalment of his long promised commentary on the first four books of Moses.

The general plan of the "Kurzgefasster Kommentar" is familiar to English students from Professor Banks' translations of Orelli's "Isaiah" and "Jeremiah" (T. & T. Clark). Professor Strack deviates slightly from this plan by confining the notes which accompany the German translation to points of grammar and lexicography, with brief exegetical hints, while questions of the higher criticism and any historical or exegetical topics requiring special treatment, are relegated to excursuses appended to the various sections of the narrative. Thus the translation of chap. i.-ii. 3, with brief commentary (pp. 1-4) is followed by no fewer than five such excursuses, dealing respectively with (1) a summary of the creation story; (2) source of the narrative; (3) the Bible and

science, etc. Of the grammatical notes generally it is impossible to speak too highly. The author's long experience as a teacher of Hebrew has enabled him to give just the help that a beginner needs, and no more. References are given throughout to the grammars of Gesenius-Kautzsch and Strack. Professor Strack is at his best in the special notes he has prepared on certain points of special importance emerging from the text; as for example, the construction of אֱלֹהִים as a plural (pp. 67-68), on a certain peculiarity of Hebrew narrative style (p. 81), and on the ending ׀— in place-names (p. 139). What a wealth of historical and antiquarian research, again, is compressed into his notes on chapters x. and xiv.!

On the other hand his general treatment of the narratives of Genesis will disappoint many, and will certainly bring down upon him those whom Dr Stalker has named "the young lions of the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*." Dr Strack, as has been already indicated, accepts the now familiar analysis of Genesis, and even distinguishes, by the use of German and Roman type, the priestly narrative (P) from the prophetic (JE). But while accepting the "sources" as fully established results of critical science, he practically denies that there are any real contradictions among the data of these various sources. The account of creation in chap ii., for instance, is not inconsistent with the account in chap i., neither are the same authorities (P and J) really at variance regarding the duration of the flood (p. 29). Even in the notorious case of Esau's wives, we are cautioned against hastily assuming the statements of the sources to be contradictory on the ground of the "fluidity" of women's names in the East!

It is most to be regretted, however, in the interest of the Church catholic in her struggle with unbelief, that Professor Strack should still regard these early narratives as history. To bring them into harmony with the results of modern science, he is obliged to have recourse to somewhat violent measures, as *e.g.*, in defending the universality of the flood (p. 29), or the possibly historical longevity of the antediluvians of the line of Seth, not presumably of that of Cain (pp. 39-41). Personally I regret exceedingly that my old teacher and friend has not had the courage of an equally earnest and evangelical scholar in our own country (Professor Ryle, "Early Narrative of Genesis") who surely has chosen the "more excellent way."

ARCHD. R. S. KENNEDY.



**The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges—The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, with Introduction, Notes, and Maps.**

*By Herbert Edward Ryle, B.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Cambridge: University Press, 1893. Pp. lxxii. 328. Price 4s. 6d.*

THE commentator, or annotator rather (for this modest series does not profess to be a commentary), of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah must be prepared to grapple with difficulties in some ways more perplexing and more varied than are to be found in any equal portion of the historical books. His equipment must be of the best, and he must have, if not genius, at least that infinite capacity for taking pains which is said by some to constitute it. That Professor Ryle has this latter qualification in overflowing measure will be admitted by all who will read carefully through this unpretending volume of the Cambridge Bible. Instead of being repelled by, he seems rather to delight in, the almost endless lists and other antiquarian details of the books before us. To his task as annotator he brings a happy combination of enthusiasm and scholarship, the twin requisites of success. The result is a work whose chief characteristic is thoroughness. It is thorough in its handling of the topics coming under the head of introduction, thorough in its treatment of the many historical and archaeological difficulties emerging, and thorough in its exegesis.

As to the first-mentioned division of the book (Introduction, pp. ix.-lxxii.), it is certainly full enough to satisfy the most exacting student. In addition to the usual topics of a literary nature, contents, authorship, date, and the like, we have a section devoted to a rapid survey of the eventful century that followed the capture of Babylon by Cyrus (§ 6), and another entitled "Antiquities" (§ 7). Under this somewhat vague but comprehensive title, the author has brought together a large amount of information regarding the mode in which the Persian sovereigns governed the provinces of their great empire, and regarding the constitution of the small Jewish community, its civil and religious organisation, its social condition, etc. The sub-sections dealing with the relative positions of the Priests and the Levites (pp. lii.-lvi.) have been carefully and cautiously drawn up, and deserve the attention of all students of Israel's religious history.

Another introductory topic which Professor Ryle has treated very fully is the interesting but complicated question of the composition or compilation of the books themselves. It is almost needless to say that he assigns the compilation to a date which "can hardly be

earlier, and is very possibly later, than 320 B.C." The student will also find a remarkably complete presentation of the evidence in favour of the now generally accepted opinion that the compiler of our books is identical with the compiler of the books of Chronicles. With regard to the sources from which he worked, Professor Ryle, in my opinion, rightly holds that he had direct access to the Memoirs of Ezra and the Memoirs of Nehemiah. The view that the compiler knew these important documents only at second-hand (so Cornill) seems an altogether unnecessary complication.

On § 8, "Aramaic Dialect and Hebrew Characters," I would simply remark that "daric" is here given as of Assyro-Babylonian, but on p. 37 as of Persian origin. In the grouping of the North Semitic languages, I prefer "Canaanite, including Phœnician and Hebrew," to the author's "Canaanite or Phœnician, and Hebrew" (p. lx.).

In the notes there is ample opportunity for differing on many points where so much is still uncertain. Every page, however, bears witness to the author's patient investigation and impartial judgment. In some cases, indeed, the desire to do justice to both sides has led him to unnecessarily prolong the discussion, as in the note on Ezra iv. 2, where a whole page is occupied in stating the evidence for and against the competing readings  $\text{ב}$  and  $\text{נ}$ . Professor Ryle must be commended for his reserve in dealing with questions of topography, and the reasons given in the footnote (p. 166), will be appreciated by all. I would point out, however, that the map of Jerusalem at the end of the volume is very inadequate, and that in a second edition it would be well to bring it into accord with the conclusion recorded on p. 182, that "the 'city of David' . . . known as Zion, lay on the eastern or Temple Hill." In the map facing the title-page, too, "Persia" is somewhat misleading, if meant to represent the modern country, and erroneous, if meant to show the ancient kingdom of that name. I had, further, noted a few points of minor importance which seem to require re-consideration, but shall mention only the two following. (1) Is it likely that the people, assembled on a memorable occasion at the Water Gate, "resumed their seats" (see note on Neh. viii. 5) during the reading of the Law? Is it likely that they had seats at all? Does not the last clause of verse 7 show that they stood throughout, and is not this the natural attitude for an oriental crowd on such an occasion? (2) In the following chapter (Neh. ix.)—see note on verse 21—the statement that "the language of the Deuteronomist is doubtless hyperbolic" is not the explanation one would have expected from the author of "The Early Narratives of Genesis." The Deuteronomist was surely

stating what he believed to be an historical fact, a part of the miraculous experience of the desert wanderings. Have we not here (*i.e.*, in the original passages, Deut. viii. 4, xxix. 5) another hint that the exodus and the wanderings lay far behind the author of Deuteronomy?

ARCHD. R. S. KENNEDY.

### **Did Moses Write the Pentateuch after all?**

*By F. E. Spencer, M.A., formerly of Queen's College, Oxford, &c.  
London: Elliot Stock. Pp. x., 291. Price 6s.*

THE title of Mr Spencer's book sufficiently explains its *raison d'être*. It is a vigorous plea for the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and a counterblast to all modern critics in general, and to Professor Driver and his "Introduction" in particular. "*Elan and brilliancy*," we are told, may be the characteristics of those who would rob the Hebrew legislator of his literary fame, but "*the duller qualities of courage are needed in defence*" (p. 57). Of this latter virtue there is assuredly no lack in the volume before us. No leader of a forlorn hope on the field of battle has shown a greater courage than this latest apologist of Jewish tradition. But, unfortunately, other and perhaps duller qualities are required if one would undo, as Mr Spencer here attempts to undo, the work of a century and a half of patient and laborious research. Ability to understand aright the question at issue is one such quality. Does our author possess it? Surely a little hesitation on this point is excusable, when one reads in his preface that "*the writer is firmly of opinion that Moses is not played out*" (and passages of similar import and elegance abound), and that "*to restore him is one of the greatest needs of the age*" (p. vi.) Mr Spencer, in short, imagines that modern criticism, in refusing to credit Moses with the authorship of the Pentateuch, has reduced him to a myth, asserting "*that the towering genius and ascendancy of Moses was entirely the creation of a later and by no means famous age*" (p. 14). That such an opinion is a thorough misrepresentation of the critical theory *per se* need scarcely be affirmed.

When we find the author, further, in his opening chapter attempting to vindicate the Mosaic authorship, as handed down by "*literary tradition*," by an appeal to the "*Commentaries on the Gallic War*" and the "*Dialogus de Oratoribus*," which are accepted as the works of Cæsar and Tacitus respectively, on the evidence of contemporary writers, we naturally ask, but we ask in vain, for similar evidence in the case of the Pentateuch.

One of the most elaborate sections of the work is in the shape

of a note to Chapter I. (note C, pp. 57-97). It is headed "The unreality of the supposed documents or sources. The character and phraseology of P." Now, one would have supposed that, however Old Testament students may differ regarding the dates and, to a less extent, regarding the limits of the "documents or sources" in the Pentateuch, they are all agreed that documents of some sort are clearly recognisable. But Mr Spencer cannot away with any such modern delusions. These "divisive or compilation theories" are "as remarkable a patch-and-botch work as exists" (p. 57). Accordingly, when he suggests that Professor Driver must have "had apparently a private communication from the redactor" regarding a suggested distribution of Gen. vii. 1-10, we cannot help seeing how utterly out of sympathy he is with all that has been done by successive generations of students, from Jean Astruc downwards, in the literary analysis of the Pentateuch. There is no evidence from beginning to end of the book of the writer's acquaintance at first hand with the works of Eichhorn, or Hupfeld, or De Wette, or even of Dillmann; and in quoting from a translation of Riehm he is particularly unfortunate in calling him a disciple of Wellhausen!

Passing to another part of the book, which deals with the authorship of Deuteronomy, we find to our surprise that Mr Spencer is, after all, not so orthodox as we had supposed. Driven by the critics to admit the very clearly marked distinction between Deuteronomy and the four preceding books, Mr Spencer is obliged to maintain the Mosaic authorship of this book at the expense of the Mosaic authorship of the other four! "It is enough to believe that Moses was the mediator of the former part of the Pentateuch" (p. 178), a statement which is not so clear as it might be, but which is evidently to be understood in the light of the more explicit statement on page 192: "The rest of the Pentateuch was under the superintendence of Moses, but here in Deuteronomy we have his own words and compositions." In an earlier part of his book Mr Spencer has made merry over "The critical *ipse dixit*" (note B, pp. 52-57), but we have many examples of the same phenomenon from his own pen. Thus, in reply to Professor Driver's assertion "that the early prophets show no certain traces of the influences of Deuteronomy," he remarks: "But it is the theory that makes this so, not the facts. The facts are just the other way" (p. 180); or again: "The statement (of Professor Driver) must be met with a direct denial." But when we ask for proofs we are referred elsewhere (p. 181). The "critical *ipse dixit*" is no doubt very aggravating, but the *uncritical* is even more so. I must, in conclusion, warn the English reader against the formidable but thoroughly misleading list of antiquated words and expressions (pp. 224-243), alleged to prove the antiquity of the Pentateuch. A

single glance is enough to show an intelligent student of Hebrew that the great bulk of these are *termini technici*, never required, and therefore never occurring outside of the Pentateuch. Yet, while dissenting from the author's arguments, one must admire his courage and acknowledge his, on the whole, generous attitude towards his opponents.

ARCH. R. S. KENNEDY.

### **Das Alte Testament übersetzt, eingeleitet und erläutert.**

*Von Eduard Reuss ; herausgegeben aus dem Nachlasse des Verfassers von Lic. Erichson und Pfarrer Lic. Horst ; Zweiter Band. Die Propheten. Braunschweig : Schwetschke und Sohn. London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 574. 7s. nett.*

IN selecting the books to be included under the title "Prophets," Reuss does not wholly follow the grouping of either the Jewish or the Christian Bibles. He not only excludes Daniel, but also Jonah. He considers that Jonah does not possess the characteristics of a prophetic scripture, and accordingly relegates it, as a late didactic composition, to the company of Tobit and Susannah. But if criticism reduces the quantity of prophetic literature, it increases the number of prophetic books. The English Version has sixteen such books, Reuss has twenty, and one of these twenty contains five prophetic utterances, which are probably not all by the same author. Of these twenty books, seven are anonymous, Malachi being treated as a title and not a proper name. The order is chronological, and the way in which these changes have been brought about will be conveniently shown by a brief statement of Reuss' views as to the date and authorship of the books.

Joel is assigned somewhat doubtfully to the ninth century ; the Oracle on Moab, Isaiah xv., xvi. is dated about B.C. 800 and is anonymous ; Amos, about B.C. 790-770 ; Hosea and the anonymous prophecy, Zech. ix.-xi., about the middle of the eighth century ; Isaiah, B.C. 740-700 ; Micah, about B.C. 725 ; the anonymous prophecy, Zech. xii.-xiv., the first half of the seventh century ; Zephaniah, about B.C. 630 ; Nahum, the second half of the seventh century ; Habakkuk, about B.C. 604 ; Jeremiah, B.C. 628-586 ; Ezekiel, B.C. 594-572 ; the anonymous prophecy, Isaiah xxiv.-xxvii., about B.C. 570 ; the anonymous prophecies, Isaiah xiii. 1-xiv. 32, xxi. 1-10, xxxiv., xxxv., and Jeremiah l.-li., about B.C. 540 ; the anonymous prophecy, Isaiah xl.-lxvi., B.C. 536 ; Haggai, B.C. 520 ; Zechariah i.-viii., B.C. 520-518 ; Obadiah, fifth century ; and finally,

the anonymous prophecy which bears the title Malachi or Messenger, about B.C. 440. We may notice the chief points as to which Reuss is at variance with some prevalent theories. He adheres to conservative views in making Joel the earliest, instead of one of the latest, of the prophets. He declines to discuss the integrity of Micah. Isaiah xix. 18-25 is included among the genuine portions of the book. The integrity of Isaiah xl.-lxvi. is strenuously maintained; but when this is stated as the general opinion: "Jedermann ist überzeugt dass das Buch, wie es vorliegt, ein Ganzes bildet," it is clear that the introduction to II. Isaiah must have been written some time ago and not since revised.

The volume begins with an introduction of forty-six pages on the Prophets and their work; and a very brief introduction is prefixed to each of the books. Reuss insists with great emphasis that prophecy was the unique and supreme possession of Israel. Moses was the first of a continuous succession of prophets, and the source of a continuous prophetic tradition. To this continuity the schools of the prophets largely ministered. On the basis of a few scattered references Reuss constructs a comparatively complete account of those "schools,"—they condescended to teach reading and writing, they preserved and handed down what was known of medicine, they studied religious learning, social morality, and elementary jurisprudence. Our data, however, scarcely warrant a belief in such formal, continuous, and elaborate institutions; and it is very doubtful whether Isaiah or Jeremiah owed any appreciable debt to the professional guilds or schools of the prophets.

After showing how the title *Nabi*, Prophet, indicates a far higher spiritual level than the earlier title Seer, Reuss proceeds to speak of the prophets whose works are extant. Of these he says, "The leading elements of their writings are no secret to us; we understand their teaching and conflicts, as well as their contemporaries can have done, and infinitely better than those who, for two thousand years, have sought in their writings for things of which the prophets never thought." As the result of this full and clear understanding, Reuss claims for the prophets "an immediate communion with the source of all truth and goodness." He repudiates the idea that they countenanced polytheism in any form, or shared the popular idea that Yahwê was a national god of limited powers, one among many national deities. The religion of the prophets was pure monotheism. In speaking thus of "the prophets" generally, we have already indicated the comparatively slight treatment accorded to the theology of the prophets. In the general introduction this subject is not dealt with in periods, but under topics, and any attempt to characterise the teaching of individual prophets and the development of their theology is dealt with in the special intro-

duction to each book, and with exceeding brevity even there. The points dealt with in the general introduction are already familiar, but are set forth with great force and lucidity; the elements of permanent value in the various doctrines of the prophets are dwelt upon with most emphatic sympathy. Many sections are devoted to the prejudices which mislead students of prophecy; it is to be hoped, that when Christians become familiar with the principles and results of criticism, it may be possible to use a more positive method.

Other sections are devoted to the style of the prophets, and the symbols and figures used to convey their teaching. Reuss also deals with the relation between the extant books and the actual spoken prophecies. In some cases we have abbreviated and obscure reports of spoken addresses, as in Amos and Hosea; but for the most part, in Ezekiel, &c., we have literary works composed in the prophet's study at his writing table (*der häuslichen Arbeit am Schreibtisch*).

The translation and notes have the same popular character as those in the first volume. The translation is arranged as poetry, to represent the metrical structure of the original. The word-play of the original is often imitated: thus, Isaiah iii. 1, "*was schützt und stützt*," for "*mash'en umash'ená*," "*stay and staff*;" again, Isaiah v. 7, "and he waited for *mishpāt* (judgment) and behold *mishpāh* (bloodshed), for *ç'dhāqā* (righteousness) and behold *ç'ēāqā* (a cry)."

*"Er wartete auf Gutthat  
und siehe da Blutthat  
auf Gerechtigkeit  
und siehe da Schlechtigkeit."*

Here, as elsewhere, vigorous and idiomatic German is regarded as more important than an exact reproduction of the Hebrew. Reuss seems more anxious to make a fairly adequate impression upon the average reader than to bring out the exact shades of meaning for the benefit of Hebrew scholars. We may call attention to his rendering of two or three important passages. In Isaiah liii. 10, where A.R.V. have "thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin," Reuss has the remarkable rendering "thou wilt not give up his life as an offering for sin," taking *'im* as in an oath-formula. But *'im* can scarcely have this force in its present connection, nor does the sense suit the general context. In the text of Jer. li. 41 he replaces the enigmatical *Sheshach* by the *Babel* it is intended to represent, and in Jer. xxv. 26 omits the clause containing *Sheshach* as a gloss. In Zech. iii. 8, where Joshua's companions are said to be A.V. "*men wondered at*," R.V. "*a sign*," they are here "*Vorbilder*," types of a future holy dispensation.

There is one inconvenient feature in the arrangement; the authentic prophecies of Isaiah are arranged in chronological order,

but no table is given by which the reader can at once discover the whereabouts of any given chapter.

This volume, like its predecessor, renders a great service to the Church by setting forth the results of criticism in a clear, frank, compact, and suggestive exposition of text and summary of introduction. For scholars it will supplement larger works, just as a small map with clear outlines and a few leading names serves as a guide to more complete and elaborate charts, where the wealth of information bewilders and confuses.

W. H. BENNETT.

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### Three Centuries of Scottish Literature.

*By Hugh Walker, M.A., Professor of English in St David's College, Lampeter. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 2 vols. 8vo. Pp. x. 473. 10s. nett.*

THE object of these volumes is to examine a period of Scottish Literature which has not before been treated of as a whole. The writer points out that the History of Scottish Literature—Gaelic Literature is not included—falls naturally into two great periods. The first extends from the earliest times up to the beginning of the influence of the Religious Reform upon letters; the second from that time to the present day. It is with this latter period that we are here concerned: the essays begin with Lindsay and end with Scott.

Mr Walker's method is almost as fresh as his subject. One of the essays—that on Knox—has already appeared in print, but is almost entirely re-written, and forms an organic part of a book which is much more than a series of independent essays. The subject is Scottish Literature, not Scottish literary men. Thus it is that Hume and Robertson, Fletcher of Saltoun and James Hogg obtain no place in its pages, the reason given being very satisfactory—the historians were almost entirely Anglicised; Fletcher formed no integral part of any movement, and was not a big enough man to deserve treatment on his own merits; Hogg was eminently Scottish, but all that could be learnt from him could be learnt better from the greater Burns. It is a pity that Hogg is cast out, and if the principle of his exclusion were rigidly applied several of the smaller men treated of in the second volume would have to join the shepherd in the outer darkness.

These smaller men—the Anglo-Scottish poets of the eighteenth century—prove the least interesting of all the writers in the book, and that neither because they are uninteresting in themselves, nor because the author is not interested in this part of his work. On the contrary, many of the happiest touches in the book are to be



found in the two chapters dealing with those Anglo-Scottish poets. The cause of the comparative lack of interest here is the necessarily fragmentary character of the estimate of each of the men. Even writers of such acknowledged excellence of style as Saintsbury fail to make a chapter interesting, and yet cover a number of small men and their works. Indeed, Mr Walker has reduced the catalogue-style to its minimum of dullness. He has not learnt the art of making himself dreary by saying everything about a thing that can be said about it. He omits generously, and almost all the names he recognises can justify their claims on our attention. The book works with principles, illustrates by specimens, and reduces brute facts to that subordinate place in which philosophers love to see them.

Mr Walker's literary criticism is perhaps at its best in a somewhat unexpected quarter. His estimate of Thomson is singularly fresh and suggestive. Not only does he most skilfully maintain the somewhat paradoxical position that this poet, who only wrote one piece in Scotch, is more characteristically Scotch than most of his fellows, but in the more purely critical lines he throws much new light on Thomson's style and genius.

The chapters on Scott and Burns are equally happy, but here the author has less scope. It is almost impossible now for anyone to say anything new about these two names without rushing into foolish paradoxes or wild exaggerations, which is exactly the thing that Mr Walker never does. The leading feature of the whole book is its reasonableness. The author is in earnest, and the little playful side-touches, recurring at all points, only give zest to the reading without in any way detracting from the solidity of the work.

Where we in these pages come most into touch with Mr Walker is in the treatment of Lindsay, Buchanan, and Knox. Here Philosophy and Theology claim some attention, though our author is not very fond of parading his knowledge of either. To the ordinary lay mind it is surprising to find that an inferior poet is remembered longer than a better poet because the inferior poet wrote more on religious topics—and to the English lay mind the statement is incredible. Yet few Scotsmen will be found to challenge our author's explanation of Lindsay's longer popularity than Dunbar's. Not that Lindsay was a theologian in any strict sense of the term. Church Politics and the morals of Churchmen were his real subjects, yet here, as elsewhere, we cannot separate theory from practice. Every Ethic is based upon a Metaphysic, and Theology is not quite so far removed from the affairs of life as some practical people would have us believe. Thus our author clearly shows that whichever was the initial force, Lindsay's Church politics and his theology developed together.

The chapter on Buchanan is eminently just, alike in the estimate

of his character and of his influence on Scotland. There are three popular ideas of Buchanan, all widely different, and all having some foundation in fact. Scholars think of him as a brilliant Humanist ; ignorant country louts think of him as a lewder Joe Miller ; decent country folk of mature years speak of him as "the man that wrote the Psalms." To these estimates modern criticism adds a new term, and speaks of Buchanan *the Reformer*. His title to this character has been loudly questioned, but our author fairly establishes the claim. Like Lindsay, Buchanan became a Protestant from without inwards. He began attacking the Churchmen, and ended by rejecting the doctrines that could produce such men. Lindsay's Protestantism developed almost unconsciously, but Buchanan saw clearly where he was going. Only those who are still able to believe in the ambiguity of the *Palinodia* will be inclined to question Buchanan's deliberate rejection of the older doctrines. He is the Erasmus of the Scottish Reformation ; but his exact theological position is not dealt with in this book, nor is his relation to John Major more than hinted at. To a man of Mr Walker's philosophical bent this means great self-restraint.

The chapter on Knox gives an admirable account of the life and work of the Reformer. On the theological side our author is very cautious. He does not take a high view of Knox's powers as a theologian. He was an admirable polemic, and all his best work consisted of "replies." The man was born for fighting, and had he remained at Geneva would never have been more than a second-rate disciple of Calvin. "Doubtless, a professed theologian could point to some shades of opinion which he would mark off as the special contribution of Knox ; and he certainly showed great resource in adapting the ecclesiastical polity of Calvin to new conditions and surroundings. But the fact remains that no world-stirring doctrine, nothing that any spirit higher than the bigotry of sects would fight for, belongs especially to Knox." The treatise on *Predestination* gets a short shrift at Mr Walker's hands. "It is Calvin over again, but in a different atmosphere. Calvin knows, Knox feels ; and some of the weaknesses incidental to feeling appear in his pages." Again, "The doctrine of the book need hardly be criticised." With this remark no one will grumble. As stated by Knox, the doctrine has only an antiquarian interest, and even that interest is exhausted in the case of such a well-known subject.

Admirably done, but of less interest to us here, are the estimates of the *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women*, and of the *History of the Reformation in Scotland*. There is a specially virile ring about the treatment of Knox's character. Nothing is passed lightly over in either character or conduct, but

the whole examination is evidently the work of a man who is in intense sympathy with his subject.

The rest of the work—including The Poets of the Seventeenth Century, the Ballads, and the Songs—is not quite germane to the subjects of this Review. Throughout the book there is unmistakable evidence of wide knowledge, alike of original works and standard authorities. The style is excellently adapted to the subject in hand, and the book most satisfactorily fills a long-existing blank in the Critical Literature of Scotland. J. ADAMS.

### **Old Testament Theology. The Religion of Revelation in its Pre-Christian Stage of Development.**

*By Dr Hermann Schultz, Professor of Theology in the University of Göttingen. Translated from the Fourth German Edition by the Rev. J. A. Paterson, M.A. Oxon., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Literature in the United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh. In Two Volumes. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 438, 470. Price 18s. nett.*

AN English translation of Schultz's *Alttestamentliche Theologie* has been widely desired. It is now happily provided by Professor Paterson, to whom it has been a labour of love. Professor Schultz has himself revised the proof sheets, and gives the translation his *imprimatur*. Of the merits of the rendering, therefore, nothing further needs be said. Professor Paterson is thoroughly familiar with the book and with its subject. He has succeeded in furnishing a translation that is not only faithful but a delight to read. There is no cumbrousness in the style, and no doubt left as to the meaning of the original, even in its most lengthened and intricate discussions. The two handsome volumes in which the translation appears, show that the publishers also have done their best to make the book attractive to English readers.

It is superfluous to speak of the value of Professor Schultz's work. Its merits have long been acknowledged by students of all schools, even by those who dissent most vigorously from its treatment of much that is contained in the historical books. To a large extent Professor Schultz holds a middle position, as his translator remarks, between the school represented by Delitzsch and that of which Stade is a fair example. His construction of the Theology of the Old Testament combines in some measure the best elements in the comparative conservatism of the former with the more reasonable methods and conclusions of the extremer criticism of the latter. Professor Schultz, indeed, is refreshingly appreciative of

other scholars (not an every-day virtue of the German theologian), and frank in his recognition of any points of agreement between their work and his own. In many respects Von Hofmann of Erlangen and Beck of Tübingen stand far apart from Professor Schultz. But this does not prevent our author from doing ample justice to the many points of contact between his own *Alttestamentliche Theologie* and the *Schriftbeweis* of the one or the *Lehrwissenschaft* of the other. The only recent writer of real importance whom he inclines to underrate is, strange to say, Ewald, whose *Lehre der Bibel von Gott*, rich as it is in large, suggestive thought, is described as of little service in these inquiries by reason of its "peculiar combination of ethical dogmatics with Biblical theology." Oehler's contributions to the subject are more justly valued. They are allowed to have been "specially great," although his *Theologie des Alten Testaments* is said "not to contain very much beyond what the author himself had previously given to the world in separate essays." Oehler's work, indeed, was all of the first order. We confess to a partiality still for his treatment of Old Testament Theology. His book was a masterly book for its time, greater in relation to its time than any more recent work of the kind, and of conspicuous service still, especially in the newer editions, which have been brought very much up to date. But Professor Schultz's book has the great advantage of having been written throughout in the light of the most recent criticism. It is also much more complete and systematic than Riehm's *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, published in 1889. It stands at present, therefore, in the foremost place in this fruitful field of theological inquiry, and it is based throughout on a careful exegesis.

The first difficulty with a treatise of this kind is to find a plan that will fit the existing condition of Old Testament criticism. In the first edition, which appeared in 1869, Professor Schultz dealt with the facts and conceptions which made the religion of Israel as falling within the three successive stages of Mosaism, or the Mosaic period, the Prophetic period, and the Levitical period. In the second edition, issued in 1878, the change in the critical view led to a radical change in the scheme of the book. *Mosaism* ceased to occupy the distinct place which it formerly had, and the method followed was to arrange the matter under three topics—*first*, the development of the religion on to Ezra's time; *second*, Israel's consciousness of salvation at the end of the Prophetic period; and *third*, Israel's religious view of the world at the end of the same period. To this was added a historical account of the passage of the Old Testament religion into Judaism. In the fourth edition neither of these plans is adopted; but we have the whole matter brought under two main divisions—viz., *first*, The Development of

Religion and Morals in Israel down to the Founding of the Asmonæan State ; and *second*, Israel's Consciousness of Salvation and Religious View of the World, the Product of the Religious History of the People.

Probably this, though by no means an ideal method, is as good a plan as is practicable at present. Indeed, unless we were able to fix with certainty the dates of all the documents, and also to determine how much earlier the beliefs themselves were than the documents in which they happen to be conveyed to us, we must be content with something far short of the ideal in the scheme of an inquiry of this kind. The method which Professor Schultz adopts has the advantage of giving us first a continuous study of the movement of the life of the Hebrew people from its pre-Mosaic origins, through the periods associated with the names of Moses and Samuel, on to the eighth century, and through all the changes which took place in the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian Ages, till it came to its conclusion in the Greek and Maccabean times. He is then in a position to attempt a systematic study of the religious beliefs, hopes, and doctrines. Both things are done with great skill, and the former is made the scientific preparation for the latter. In the sketch of the history of the nation's life he brings the beliefs as far as possible into relation to historical events and periods. On the basis of this, he proceeds in the latter to give a scientific account of the Hebrew ideas of the Covenant, righteousness, grace, faith, law, holiness, atonement, the Hebrew doctrine of God and His relation to the world, the Hebrew view of man, sin, death, and the state after death, and, finally, the hope of Israel.

The results of the studies of many years are applied to the discussion of these subjects. No one can read without instruction, though he may sometimes dissent. The thing that many will find openest to criticism in the historical statement, is the treatment of the earlier history. There is so much of it that is shortly disposed of as legendary or mythical. This is done, not only very summarily, but without any adequate investigation of Hebrew tradition in its connection with, or in its difference from, the general Semitic tradition. In the treatment of the doctrine, too, there are some things, though not many, in which Professor Schultz gives way to certain views of his own. He takes over the most characteristic of the positions stated in his earlier work, the *Voraussetzungen*, and among these his idea of the Old Testament doctrine of man's natural mortality. In what he says on this subject, he is less clear than is his wont. He fails to see that the Old Testament does not concern itself with dogmas like that known among us as Conditional Immortality, but has a broader and more fluid doctrine of man. In point of fact, too, he practically concedes all that those of the opposite

way of thinking need contend for, when he grants that persistent life for man was in the *idea* of man according to the Old Testament.

Among the many points of interest which present themselves in Professor Schultz's interpretation of the faith of Israel, we can at present notice only one or two. One of these is the view which he takes of the earlier stages of the religion of Israel. He denies the historical probability of Stade's theory that the primitive religion, and indeed the dominant element in Israel's whole mode of worship and in the entire pre-prophetic period, was a species of *animism*, or more particularly, a form of spirit-worship consisting in the adoration of departed ancestors and heads of families and clans. He holds that the pre-Mosaic religion rose out of the simple elemental religion of the Semites, which was not pure Monotheism, though favourable to it; that the worship of a tribal god passed, as reverence for that god deepened, into what was practically the faith in one God; and that the worship of Jehovah was older than Moses.

The subject of *sacrifice*, again, is discussed at length and with much acuteness. He is unable to interpret it as having a vicarious, substitutionary, penal, meaning. He thinks that the idea of atonement by substitution did not arise till a comparatively late period, when the Mosaic principle of earthly reward for righteousness and earthly penalty for sin was seen not to square with the experience of the nation and the individual, and when as yet there was no distinct belief in the compensations of a future life. The spectacle of the suffering of the innocent was in these circumstances accounted for, our author thinks, by supposing that the righteous suffered vicariously, as a substitutionary sacrifice, with a view to remove the sins of the people. But he is equally unable to accept Professor Robertson Smith's theory, that the import of sacrifice lay in the idea of a "communion of life between God and His worshippers," which was "effected by their partaking of the flesh of the same animal." His own conclusion is, that the thank-offerings were "meant merely to express a specially pious frame of mind;" that it was "simply as a part of human food, of human property, that the animal was given back, just as a vegetable gift might be, to God the Lord and Giver of all"; that the burnt offering merely expresses the idea of unreserved devotion to God; and that, even in the case of expiatory offerings, the sprinkling with blood means nothing more than the "appropriation to God of the animal's life, the accomplishment of the penance demanded by Him through the surrender of that sacred thing, the mysterious centre of life." There is much that seems short of the case in these discussions, able and interesting as they are. Is it enough, *e.g.*, to say of the blood shed and sprinkled, that it forms the "robe in which the priest arrays the sinner, so that he may appear before God"?

In nothing is Professor Schultz more successful than in his account of Hebrew belief and Old Testament teaching on the *state after death*. Occasionally he may have recourse to a *tour de force* in dealing with exegetical difficulties, as for instance, in Job xix. 25, &c. But he gives us much of his best work in following the history of the great conceptions of Resurrection and Judgment, until in Daniel we reach the belief in a resurrection and righteous award for all at least in Israel. The book is a weighty contribution to the just appreciation of Old Testament teaching, one which all scholars must value, and which will open to many English readers a world of new ideas.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

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### **The Evolution of Religion.**

*By Edward Caird, LL.D., D.C.L. Glasgow: Maclehose & Sons, 1893.*  
 2 vols. Vol. I., pp. 400; Vol. II., pp. 335. Price 14s. net.

WE have here at last a Gifford lecture of primary importance, with all the merits proper to the work of a strong and scrupulous philosophical mind. Whatever the defects of this book, it cannot be charged with haste or incidentalism, the sin to which such lecture-ships most sorely tempt men. The last fault that can be attributed to its author is that, having been called to a serious business, he lacked either the time or the will to take it seriously. The materials here used have all been passed through the mind again and again before being worked up into their present shape, which may indeed be described as due to a process of crystallisation rather than of architecture. And the purpose has been as serious as the labour. The book is a sort of *Eirenicon*; its aim may not be to "succour a distressed faith," but it certainly seeks by detaching "what is permanent from what is transitory," to enable those who cannot be orthodox to remain still religious and still Christian. It attempts to do this by means of what we may call a threefold philosophy—of religion, of the historical religions, and of Christianity both as historical and as theological. But beneath all, and determining all, is a metaphysic which must be understood before the argument can become intelligible, and accepted before its relevance or cogency can be felt. Apart from the metaphysics, the history and the historical interpretations will hardly appear adequate or valid.

The standpoint, method, and terminology tend to awaken recollections that rather embarrass by the comparison they challenge. These lectures do anything but repeat Hegel's *Religionsphilosophie*,—Professor Caird is too independent a thinker to be the echo of

any man—but they recall it quite as much by their differences as by their agreements. The doctrine is Hegel's—the idea of religion, the formal distinctions, what we may call the philosophy of the religious consciousness and its dialectical explication, giving the law and process or stages of its development—but the history and the theological interpretation are not. Professor Caird's history is more occasional and less detailed; he does not attempt like Hegel to classify, characterise, and describe the historical religions, but contents himself with illustrative discussions, save in the case of Judaism and Christianity, though also in a degree of India and of Greece. And as regards theological interpretation, he is much less speculative than Hegel: dogmas attract him less, the historical and personal attract him more. He does not so much seek to construe the doctrines of Christianity into their philosophical equivalents as to exhibit its history as an exemplification and verification of his psychological idea or law. He does not insist on the material identity, in spite of their formal difference, of philosophy and religion, though he as radically conceives the whole process of religious evolution as an intellectual movement, a dialectic worked by the successive positings, articulation, and correlation of the three ideas of the Not-Self, the Self, and God. We may express the difference by saying that Hegel lived before the era of historical criticism, but Caird lives after it, and so, while the former was more concerned with the theological conception of Christ, the philosophical truth of the idea or belief of the Church concerning Him, the latter is more occupied with the mind and person of the historical Jesus, and the relation in which He stood to Judaism on the one hand, and the Apostolic men on the other. But in both cases the regulative idea is philosophical; the religion appears and is construed in obedience to a law that is expressly and essentially intellectual, and so is conceived more as philosophy than as religion.

From this fundamental attitude of thought comes one of the main defects of the book—a law of mind or logic is made to govern the development of religion and the course of its history, with the result that we have an inner and dialectical process made the formula or framework for an outer and actual. The theory controls the history; the history does not suggest and verify the theory. Thus particular instances which happen to illustrate the philosophical principle, are raised to the dignity of universal laws. And so it is said, "Pantheism is simply the culminating phase of Polytheism; and Monotheism, in the strict sense of the term, always arises in direct opposition to both" (Vol. i. p. 41). But the historical study of religions proves that this is not by any means always the case. Out of the Polytheisms that have become Pantheistic no Monotheism



has ever arisen ; while the Polytheisms out of which Monotheisms have come have had no innate tendency to Pantheism. What determines the movement in each case is not simply the dialectical law, but the forms it uses or the medium in which it lives. The Nature that confronts mind, and the vehicles it presents to thought, are as necessary factors of religious development as the mind itself. They are factors indeed in a somewhat different sense, but each alike helps to determine the complete result. Thought, or the inner factor, creates the matter, the religious idea or content ; Nature, or the outer factor, creates the form, the religious terminology or organism. Thus the idea of the supersensuous or divine is common to mind, everywhere posited by it, everywhere articulated and developed by means of forms that struggle to become more adequate ; but those forms are given by Nature and history, wear the complexion or colour of the environment, and reflect the experience of the tribe or nation or race. And so peoples whose primitive home is the river valley or fertile plain, come to conceive deity under forms suggested by the phenomena of growth, the rain or moisture that refreshes, the soil that feeds, the sunshine that ripens the grain ; while peoples whose primitive home is the desert, as naturally conceive Him under forms given by what most speaks of life, man, and beast, and their familiar or common relations. In the former case Nature lives, the gods abide within it, are inseparable from it, and thought, as it seeks after unity, tends to Pantheism or some form of Monism ; but in the latter case life belongs to those who act upon Nature, the gods are above rather than within it, and thought, as it feels after unity, seeks it in a personal rather than an impersonal form, in a Monotheism which may be a Dualism, though not a monism. The theistic idea is in the one form immanent, but in the other it is transcendent ; and in the history of the ancient religions where immanence has been the regulative idea the unity reached has been abstract, impersonal, a *natura naturans*, but where the regulative idea has been transcendental, the unity reached has been concrete, personal, supernatural, a magnified and deified Man. And this explains the so-called "monotheistic instinct" of the Semites. The phrase has no more meaning and no less than would the "pantheistic instinct" of the Hindu or the Greek. Each denotes a tendency due to the form in which the theistic idea was expressed, and the form in each case depended on the Nature that, through speech, conditioned thought. And so we may say that Pantheism and Monotheism stand distinguished thus—the one is the abstract unity of a deified Nature, the other is the apotheosis of a supernaturalised man, and each was in its origin entirely independent of the other. And as regards their relation to Polytheism, it is enough to say, the one

may be described as its antithesis, the other as its synthesis. Monotheism is, but Pantheism is not, the negation of Polytheism. The most rigorous Pantheism is the basis and justification of the most extensive Polytheism known to the history of religions, but an absolute Monotheism can recognise no God but one. I cannot, therefore, regard these "phases of religious belief" as representing "different stages in the development of the idea of religion," but rather as distinct lines of development, whose differences are due to the different forms thought had to use because of differences in the medium in which it lived.

This point has been discussed in detail because it represents a fundamental defect in these lectures. The philosophy is not corrected and verified by a sufficient analysis of the historical religions, with all their conditions and factors of change. But it is necessary to proceed beyond this point. The scheme of the book, made up, as we have said, of three parts—a philosophy of religion, or an explication of the consciousness, which is the source and law of the religious development; a sketch of certain selected religions; and an exposition of Christian history and thought, as illustrative of the philosophy, is large and impressive. Man is viewed as a unity, and in his unity his religion participates; both are capable of continuous development, which proceeds according to a defined and definite law. In the very idea of his nature the religion is contained, and the progressive evolution of the one is represented by the progressing development of the other. The religious nature is so supernatural that the whole religious movement is miraculous, without any single part in it being a miracle. This review cannot concern itself with the whole book, but only with a few special points.

The very title of the book is significant of its underlying metaphysical idea—"the evolution of religion" is but a phase and consequent of the development of mind. The natural history of thought is the philosophy of religion. Hence the emphasis that is laid on the creative or developmental process; the determinative idea is to be sought, not in "something which is common to all religions," but rather in "that which *underlies* them all as their principle" (Vol. i. p. 51)—i.e., the generative or "motive power working in the human mind, and essentially bound up with its structure, which manifests itself" in all religions, from the lowest up to the highest. Now, what is this "motive power" or "underlying principle"? "Our conscious life"—i.e., "our life as rational beings" "is defined, and, so to speak, circumscribed by three ideas": "the idea of the object or not-self, the idea of the subject or self, and the idea of the unity which is presupposed in the difference of the self and the not-self, and within which they act and re-act on each other—in other words, the idea of God"

(Vol. i. p. 64). Of these three the last is the determinative, "the ultimate pre-supposition of our consciousness"; and the evolution of our intelligence is but, as it were, the complete explication of this ultimate element of consciousness. But before this element is embodied in a form suitable to its own nature, it has to be expressed in forms, first objective and sensuous, and then subjective and particular. The objective is primary, because our conscious life begins by a looking outward; the subjective is secondary, because we turn from without inward; and the final stage begins with the look upward; but in all the same principle is present and active. In the first rational act the end of the reason is given, and this end is God; but the form in which the end appears is first sensuous, then personal, and finally absolute—i.e., completely and consciously articulated. The subjective process, or natural history of the religious consciousness, thus defines the objective course or historical stages of religion. When the consciousness is dominated by the idea of the object, religion is sensuous in form; when controlled by the idea of the subject, religion is personal, but rational; when determined by the idea of God, it is spiritual. The distinctions between the religions thus correspond to the several stages of the rational process, and, like it, these distinctions are formal rather than material. The realised religion is but the outward measure and mark of the inward development.

Now, this theory has the merit of remarkable simplicity and completeness. It enables us to see the unity in the mental life of man, and the continuity in his religious development. It helps us to deal with his religions as an ordered and orderly whole, all reasonable because all creations of reason. In its light we can construe their history as a dialectical movement whose changes succeed each other by logical necessity; and the intellect struggles through thesis and antithesis to the ultimate synthesis. It helps us, too, to see how, in the noble words of our author, "it is no mere pious metaphor, but a simple expression of the facts to say, that all our life is a journey from God to God, that in Him we live and move and have our being" (Vol. i. 166). And, we may add, this is as true of the race as of the individual. But the theory has one radical fault—it is too simple, tends too much to identify the evolution of religion with the evolution of the rational consciousness. The process is too purely intellectual and subjective, emphasises too much the independent activity of thought, constituting and controlling its environment, and too much forgets the action of the environment on thought. Into the religious process a dialectic, that is all the more complete that it is unconscious and undesigned, certainly enters; but it is a process in which conscience, heart, and imagination are all as active as the reason. And it is a process

in which the symbols are almost as important as the mind, for they define for the thought that uses them the idea of the divine which thought struggles towards. "Development" is here defined as "a process in which identity manifests itself *just in* change and returns upon itself *just by means of* change" (Vol. i. 172). But, so conceived, it is more a conditioning than a conditioned process. We ought to distinguish between "evolution" and "development." "Evolution" is creative, a process of organic change producing new species or new forms, with new functions and activities; but "development" is explicative, a process that perfects organisms, reducing latencies and evoking energies that enlarge the identity they preserve. Correspondent to this distinction is another: "Evolution" is the more objective, "development" the more subjective process; religions are evolved, but the religious consciousness is developed. And so, while in the former case change creates distinction, in the latter it maintains identity, and these processes are so related that the evolution of religion results from the development of consciousness; but the religions differ not simply because they represent different stages in the conscious development, but differently conditioned consciousnesses. For the dialectic that evolves religion is never a purely self-regulated process, working out its conclusions according to its own laws. All kinds of accidents or digressions interfere with its harmonious working. Sometimes, as with the thought of Greece, influences from older civilisations, Assyrian, Phœnician, Egyptian, disturb its action by the introduction of new gods, or still more by new ways of conceiving God; sometimes, as with the Hindus, contact with lower and conquered races causes qualitative changes in the idea of the divine, and produces a social order that may be said to turn back the development or divert it into entirely new channels, far more objective and sensuous than those in which it had been proceeding. It seems to me, then, that religion is much too complex, and that the outer factors of its development are too potent both as regards matter and form to allow us to represent it as a sort of spontaneous product or immanent dialectic, or self-regulated evolution of the rational consciousness. The realisation of self may be the discovery or at least the determination of God; but the form under which the Deity is discovered and determined, depends less on an absolute law of the consciousness than on the factors which condition its development.

In his discussion of early religions, as also of the Indian and the Greek, Professor Caird is at his happiest, always suggestive, and often profound. His sketch is rapid but careful, his lines broad but clear and firm. He helps us to see the secrets of the higher in the gross forms of the lower religions, and never allows us to forget

that what we study becomes intelligible only when viewed in relation to the creative intellect. But he is most instructive when he comes to Greece. Hegel here was also at his best : he made us see how much was done for the notion of Deity by the race who first made us feel the human form divine. And so, Professor Caird says Greek religion "not only personifies the natural powers which it lifts to heaven, but humanises them"; "whereas in most Asiatic religions, and particularly in the Vedic system, they are only personified, and their fictitious personality easily melts away into the natural power from which for a moment it has been detached by the poetic effort after realisation" (Vol i. pp. 264, 267). The Hindu drew man down to Nature, but the Greek lifted Nature up to man. The discussions on "Poetry and Truth," and on the "Logic of Subjective Religion," are full of acute and cogent criticism, as of Deism and Positivism, and also weighty exposition and argument. He pleads for what Carlyle called "*a natural supernaturalism—i.e., the doctrine, not that there are single miracles, but that the universe is miraculous,*" and urges that "in order to conceive it truly, we must think of it, not as a mechanical system, occasionally broken in upon from above, but as an organism which implies a spiritual principle as its beginning and end" (Vol. i. 319, 320). And the subject which determines the form religion assumes at this stage has amplest justice done to him. "In the drama of our experience," he says, with one of the felicitous metaphors that light up his pages, "the Ego may be the Hamlet, or it may be only a walking gentleman : one thing is certain, it is always on the stage ; and if it were not, the play could not go on" (p. 325) ; and as he is indispensable to the play, it is through the fit performance of his part that its success is assured. The more the Ego realises itself, the more Nature, and with it objective or sensuous religion, is transcended, and the ethical and subjective attained.

In the lectures devoted to Hebraism and Christianity there are many excellent discussions and lucid statements. Israel is to Professor Caird the typical subjective religion, Christianity is the absolute or spiritual religion, which through its conception of God at once unifies the truth in the objective and the subjective, and transcends both. The defects and the excellences in his presentation proceed from the faithfulness with which he follows his philosophical principle ; where he has an antithesis to present, he is almost always at once clear and striking ; but where he has a positive idea he as often minimises its profounder meanings. He is much less successful in his interpretation of the religion of Israel than of the differences it presents to other religions, and even to Christianity. A good example at once of his excellences and defects is the passage in which he compares the action and influence of Jesus and

Paul, having specially in view certain modern attempts to place them in opposition :—

“It is easy to see that the clearness with which St Paul realised the central lesson of the cross, the force, and we might even say, the violence of abstraction with which he tore it away from its Jewish setting, and expressed it in its universal meaning, were necessary to prevent Christianity from sinking into a Jewish sect, such as it actually became for a time in the Church of Jerusalem. But, on the other hand, what would have become of the healing virtue of Christianity, what of its power upon the general heart of man, without the subtle personal charm of the forgiveness of Jesus, and His invasive charity for all the ills that afflict the flesh or the spirit of man ; without the direct appeal of His words of comfort to the fallen, His denunciation of the oppressor, His proclamation of peace out of the depths of human sorrow, and His prophecy of good in the face of the most violent outburst of evil ? . . . If we might venture to paraphrase the passage in the Gospel in which Jesus compares Himself to John the Baptist, we should express it thus : Jesus Christ came uttering the pregnant words of wisdom in the closest union of thought and life, and they say He is merely a pious Jew of more than usual purity and depth of character. Paul came idealising and generalising the facts of Christ's life and death, and they say he is only a philosopher who reduces life to a theory, if not a sophist who disguises it in high-sounding abstractions. But ‘wisdom is justified of her children.’ Action and thought, intuition and reflection, are not enemies, though they are often opposed. They are both the necessary stages in the development of one spiritual life ; and that life needs them both for its advance to a fuller consciousness of itself and of the divine unity which is at once its source and its goal ” (Vol. ii. pp. 134-7).

But what we have to say relative to his positive interpretation of Christianity, may be summed up in two remarks, which best apply our earlier principles to this subject. (1) He apprehends it so much as a series of stages or momenta in a subjective intellectual process, that he fails to relate it sufficiently to the object through which and for which it is—viz., God, and the action of God, in the universe. This is the developed form of the defect before criticised in connection with the notion of religion and its development. The environment works on the organism and through it, but behind the environment is the living mind and will, whose name is God. In the lower phases of religion He reaches man through Nature, in the later and higher He reaches man through men. But the development of man, with the correlated evolution of religion, represents the continuity of the creative action upon him, as well as the continued intellectual activity within him. (2)

The higher ideas of the religion are not so adequately handled as in the older philosophies of the same type. And the older seem to me here the higher and truer. The ~~Christian doctrines of the God-head, Revelation, Incarnation, and the Holy Spirit,~~ are capable of a philosophic construction higher and broader than they have here received; and ~~without this even the historical behaviour and action of the religion cannot be understood.~~ This means that God ought to be represented not simply as an ideal but as a real factor of the evolution, and the idea of Him which is not articulated into doctrines expressive of His manifold relations and activities is most certainly incomplete. And Hegel was right in emphasising this speculative side of Christianity, and in making its conception of God determinative of the aspects under which he viewed it. If Professor Caird has not done this in anything like the same degree, he has yet given us a reading of the religious process in the individual and in the race, and an interpretation of aspects and elements in Hebraism and Christianity, that must interest all students of philosophy and instruct all students of theology, especially where it least commands their assent.

A. M. FAIRBAIRN.

### **Books and their Use: An Address, to which is appended a List of Books for Students of the New Testament.**

*By J. H. Thayer, D.D., Litt.D., Bussey Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in Harvard University. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1893. 7½ in. x 5 in. 75 cents.*

A SMALL but very useful book by the learned and accomplished editor of the best Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, issued by the publishers in their usual tasteful style. The list of works appended betrays the hand of the master in his department. Besides being unusually full, it is well classified. The brief occasional condemnations and commendations are as discriminating as they are fair.

The remarks, whilst chiefly limited to the professional needs and dangers of those who are either preparing for or have entered the Christian ministry, occasionally take a wider range. They are characterised by critical candour, wisdom, and felicity. As an example of the author's severer tone, the following anent Professor J. Estlin Carpenter's little work on the "Origin and Relations of the first three Gospels," may be quoted. Though allowed to be a book of great attractiveness and some originality, so far as intended for Sunday school use, it is described as a blunder, seeing that it "gives out with assurance to youthful minds views which have yet

to run the guantlet of criticism." With regard to persons who thus early get dogmatically prepossessed—and Dr Thayer does not refer exclusively to one school—he adds : " Anybody who has had occasion to watch the changing fashions of criticism, can call to mind one person and another who, in the first jubilant exercise, perhaps, of his thinking faculties upon inherited opinions about the Bible, caught up with avidity the view that happened to be the vogue among the so-called 'advanced' critics, and still clings to it. You meet him years afterwards, and you find him still holding that the Tübingen 'motley's the only thing to wear.' He reminds you of one of those venerable survivals of a bygone style of dress sometimes seen in our streets. For in critical theories the rhymester's advice is as good as respecting fashions in clothes—

'Be not the first by whom the new are tried,  
Nor yet the last to lay the old aside.'

D. W. SIMON.

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### Three Gates on a Side, and other Sermons.

*By Charles H. Parkhurst, D.D., Pastor of the Madison Square Church, New York. Author of "The Blind Man's Creed" &c. London: James Nisbet & Co., 1892. Pp. 271. Price 6s.*

Dr Parkhurst deserves to be better known on this side of the Atlantic than as yet he appears to be. He holds a prominent position among the leaders of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, and he has made for himself a considerable reputation as a popular preacher. That this reputation rests on a solid foundation, is evident from this volume of sermons. One has only to read a few pages to understand how the thoughtful, the perplexed, the inquiring, find in the Madison Square Pulpit a centre of attraction. Dr Parkhurst's method is topical rather than textual. Even such a text as Eph. vi. 13, which describes the Christian's armour, is made to yield the topic "that patience rather than aggression is our prime business . . . that the power to endure is greater than the power to do." This method gives the preacher the greatest freedom in treating his subject, and lends itself in a peculiar way to oratorical effect. Dr Parkhurst, though sometimes fanciful in applying it, knows well how to use it; and in doing so, he draws liberally on the stores of a well-filled and well-trained mind. The topics selected have a living interest; each is treated with great freshness and vivacity; and the thought is usually characterised by great vigour. These sermons are at once very human and very manly. Exclusive devotion to the topical



method is apt to lead to the neglect of doctrinal preaching ; and in some respects, Dr Parkhurst sits loose to matters of doctrine. He says :—"We have been hearing in these days a deal about the 'New Theology' and about the 'readjustment' of our doctrinal symbols. I do not so much care whether it is new theology or old theology ; whether it is re-adjusted theology or unadjusted theology or no theology at all. Both as relates to myself, and to my congregation, I am a good deal less concerned about heresy in doctrinal opinions than I am about heresy in practical every-day aims and admirations." Personally, I should prefer more doctrine, and more definite statements of doctrine than I find in these sermons ; but the old doctrines are there and form the real basis and substance, of Dr Parkhurst's preaching. There is a great lack of finish about these discourses. The style is seriously marred by Americanisms ; and at times both in expression and in illustration, Dr Parkhurst verges on the vulgar. But when all has been said, these sermons must be recognised as a very fresh, vigorous, thoughtful, and effective presentation of the Gospel and its claims.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

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### **The Four Men, and Other Chapters.**

*By the Rev. James Stalker, D.D., Author of "The Life of Jesus Christ," "The Life of St Paul," &c. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1892. Pp. x., 192. Price 2s. 6d.*

THIS is a volume of sermons to young men. The main title is taken from a discourse on 1 Cor. iv. 3, 4, a passage which suggests to Dr Stalker four distinct judgments, and leads him to say that "in every man there are four men." The sermons are eight in number, and excellent sermons they are. If they are not very profound in either subject or treatment, they are eminently practical. Dr Stalker says his "sole endeavour has been to handle a few important themes of faith and conduct in a way that may be found instructive and readable by young men." The topics discussed have an interest of their own for young men. Dr Stalker's method is always simple and direct ; his thought, clear and vigorous ; his diction, smooth and flowing. He makes considerable and, for the most part, happy use of classical illustration. I should hesitate, however, to give Ulysses and the Sirens as an illustration of the method of resisting temptation. In saying that Christ "is made unto us wisdom and righteousness and sanctification, and redemption," Paul may have had in view the Greeks, the Romans, the Hebrews, and the slaves respectively ; but Dr Stalker's treat-

ment of sanctification runs some risk of confounding it with justification. And it is a somewhat odd combination of ideas to find "the wretched man who is more thought of in public than he is at home" afterwards spoken of as "a skeleton in the cupboard." Still these addresses are admirably suited for their purpose. There is in some of them a sense of strain and effort which makes one wish for more of the art that conceals art. But they are models of clearness and simplicity; they happily combine the old and the new, and show how the ethical and the doctrinal presentation of the Gospel should be correlated.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

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### **The Servant of Christ, being Papers on some Points in the Character and Conduct of Christians of To-day.**

*By the Ven. William Macdonald Sinclair, D.D., Archdeacon of London, Canon of St Paul's, and Hon. Chaplain to H.M. the Queen. London: Elliott Stock, 1892. Pp. xiv, 124.*

THESE papers have nothing elaborate about them. They are short and simple discussions of Christian duty. They appear to have originated in addresses to the people; and they still retain not a little of their original liveliness of character. The only approach to any display of learning in them is to be found in the large amount of quotation and illustration. But these are never carried to the extent of becoming wearisome; they really add to the interest of the discussion. As indicating the character of the book, I may refer to one or two of the topics discussed. "Decision" is enforced as against an unlimited flexibility, always ready to make compromises even in matters of principle. The "discipline of the imagination" brings under review the danger of naturalism, the need of retaining old-fashioned restraints, and the futility of mere culture as a moral check. The discussion of self-respect shows that Christianity alone provides the essential conditions of its cultivation, because in Christianity alone is there provision for true repentance. The Archdeacon is sometimes impetuous and one-sided, but he has a very warm heart for all good work and earnest workers. His book will be found helpful and suggestive in directing attention to some of the less frequently discussed aspects of Christian life and work.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

## Notices.

PROFESSOR MAYOR'S Commentary on the *Epistle of James*<sup>1</sup> is one of the most considerable contributions made in recent years by English scholars to this branch of theological study. It has been almost the work of a life, having occupied its author's thoughts more or less ever since he was an undergraduate. It is almost encyclopedic in its compass. The notes are very full, leaving little untouched that comes fairly within the compass of annotation. The Introduction is elaborate and exhaustive. The question of the Text is dealt with at length. A large critical apparatus is provided, and the Latin versions are compared throughout. In this part of his work Professor Mayor mainly follows Tischendorf and Westcott and Hort. The grammar of the Epistle is very carefully examined, every peculiarity in orthography or in syntax being noticed. The Style is investigated with no less care, and the result is reached that the "general impression produced by the Greek is much in favour of its being an original." The question of the possibility of such idiomatic Greek being written by the son of a Galilean carpenter is answered by showing the place held by Greek in Galilee. The author of the Epistle is identified with the president of the Church at Jerusalem. Evidence for the authenticity of the Epistle is collected from all accessible sources, and presented with much force. One of the most interesting chapters is devoted to the consideration of the date of the Epistle, and a strong argument is built up in favour of this being the earliest of the New Testament writings. It is referred to the fifth decade of the Christian era, and is understood to give us a picture of Pre-Pauline Christianity. There are longer notes, some of them of great value, on such topics as *Regeneration*, *Faith*, *Wisdom*, the *Divine Jealousy*. There are many points of interest in the interpretation of difficult passages. In iii. 6, for example, Professor Mayor prefers τροχόν, *wheel*, to τρόχον, *course*, and takes γενέσθως in the sense of the *whole life of man*—an idea partly Jewish and partly Platonic. Thus understood the phrase will refer to the incessant change of life; or, if the metaphor is taken from the wheel at rest rather than in movement, it will express all that is contained in *our life*, and point to the tongue as "the axle, the central fire from which the whole is kindled." The book is a mine of material, carefully collected and diligently used, which will

<sup>1</sup> The Epistle of James. The Greek Text, with Introduction and Comments. By Joseph B. Mayor, M.A. Camb., Litt.D.D. Dubl., Emeritus Professor of King's College, London. London: Macmillan. 8vo, pp. ccxx., 248. Price 14s.

demand the attention and repay the study of all who follow Professor Mayor in interpreting this Epistle.

Dr Alexander Whyte has done an important service in reviving the memory of one of the deepest and most devout of our older English divines, *William Law, Nonjuror and Mystic*.<sup>1</sup> The introductory lecture gives an interesting sketch of the life of the author of the *Serious Call*, and a vivid portraiture of the man himself. The passages selected from his works, under the titles of *Characteristics* and *Characters*, bring under the notice of a generation that has almost forgotten him, the choice thoughts of a theologian whose mind dwelt with the secrets of the human heart and the Divine nature. This volume, so handsome in external form, so rich in profound reflections on the deep things of God, will be like great spoil to the mind that delights in high thinking on the spiritual verities and mysteries.

Mr Blake continues his popular *Studies of the Prophets*. With *Jeremiah*<sup>2</sup> he reaches the third section of his scheme, and he is no less successful in carrying out his excellent idea in this division than in the preceding. There are few books of the Old Testament that more require to have their words arranged in their proper historical setting and chronological order. Mr Blake brings to the discharge of his task not only sufficient knowledge of the facts, but also a just appreciation of the noble personality of Jeremiah, his great influence, and the lofty spirituality of his message. His book will give a new meaning to these prophecies to many a reader.

Professor Stokes, of Dublin, completes his survey and exposition of the Book of Acts.<sup>3</sup> The second volume covers the entire narrative from ch. vii. 58 to the end. It goes into much less detail, therefore, than the former volume, but it follows the same plan. The theories of the critics on the origin and character of the book are left out of account, or disposed of by a simple reference to the refutations provided in Dr Salmon's well-known *Introduction*. Dr Stokes gives his strength to the historical matter. In illustration of this he makes large and most profit-

<sup>1</sup> *Characters and Characteristics of William Law, Nonjuror and Mystic*. Selected and arranged, with an Introduction, by Alexander Whyte, D.D., of St George's Free Church, Edinburgh. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 8vo, pp. xlvii., 328. Price 9s.

<sup>2</sup> *How to Read the Prophets*. Being the Prophecies arranged chronologically in their historical setting, with Explanations, Map, and Glossary. By Rev. Buchanan Blake, B.D. Part III., *Jeremiah*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 287. Price 4s.

<sup>3</sup> *The Acts of the Apostles*. By the Rev. G. T. Stokes, D.D. (*The Expositor's Bible*). Vol. II. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. 480. Price 7s. 6d.

able use both of the testimony of ancient documents, and of the information furnished by recent travellers like Professor Ramsay. He is also often very happy in his applications of the matter in the Book of Acts to the practical need and duty of the Church and the individual Christian of the present day. His patriotism and his churchism, however, tempt him sometimes to give a very peculiar turn to his interpretations. What he says, for example, on the sacrament of baptism in connection with the case of the Philippian jailor, will not be very convincing, save to a moderate Irish Episcopalian, and he contrives even to bring the political question of the hour and the position of the Irish police within the scope of his exposition. This, however, is by the way. The value of this volume, as of the former, is in the use which is made of inscriptions, coins, geographical and historical lore, and the researches of travellers and explorers. In this way it makes many things in the narrative clear, and contributes at the same time to the defence of the credibility of the book.

The new volume of the *Expositor*<sup>1</sup> is to hand. It is as rich as its predecessors in goodly matter, containing, as it does, the important series of papers by Professor W. M. Ramsay on *Saint Paul's First Journey in Asia Minor*, and those by Professor G. A. Smith on the *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*. Other interesting sets of papers are contributed by Professor Beet on the *Doctrine of the Atonement in the New Testament*, by Professor Milligan on two groups of Parables, and by Dean Chadwick on certain Miracles. There are sketches of *Newman*, *Köstlin*, and *Dora Greenwell*, by Dr Rainy, Dr Stalker, and Mrs Macdonell; articles on *Herod the Tetrarch* and *Jonah*, by Dr David Brown and the late Professor Elmslie; critical contributions by Professors A. B. Davidson and Sanday, Canons Cheyne and Driver, Professor Marshall, and the Rev. John Cross. In addition to all this there are occasional papers, each in its own way instructive, by Mr Bartlet, Dr Danson, Dr Dykes, and others.

The *Sermon Year Book and Selected Sermons for 1892*<sup>2</sup> contains some notable discourses by men of very different schools, together with the usual provision of Sermon Outlines, Anecdotes, and the like. The preachers include Canon Ainger, Stopford Brooke, Page Roberts, Joseph Parker, John Clifford, Alexander Maclaren, to mention only a few out of a brilliant list. Among the recent volumes of Sermons we have a collection of *University*

<sup>1</sup> The *Expositor*. Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. Fourth Series. Vol. VI. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 408. Price 6s.

and *Cathedral Sermons*, by J. R. Illingworth, M.A.,<sup>1</sup> which deal in a sober and judicious spirit with such subjects as Prayer and the Incarnation, and in a clear and instructive way with the practical questions of Christian service; and a similar collection of *Cathedral and University Sermons*, by Charles Parsons Reichel, D.D., Bishop of Meath,<sup>2</sup> which discuss the profound topics of the Fall, the Resurrection, the Limits of Christ's Knowledge, and others. Strength and reverence characterise Bishop Reichel's discourses. These qualities are especially conspicuous in his discussion of the last mentioned subject; in which he affirms the position that one part of Christ's humiliation consisted in His having emptied Himself of every divine prerogative inconsistent with the limitations, of mind as well as of body, which pertain to our present earthly state.

Among new editions we have pleasure in noticing Mr Taylor Innes' *Church and State*,<sup>3</sup> the best book on the subject, written in a candid spirit, and invaluable for its historical information; Henry Rogers' useful and popular book on *The Superhuman Origin of the Bible*,<sup>4</sup> now enriched by a Memoir from the pen of Dr Dale of Birmingham, from which we learn much that is of interest regarding the personality and the career of the author of the *Eclipse of Faith*; and Mr Brown's brief, but acute treatise on *Scripture Baptism*,<sup>5</sup> in which objections to the common practice of the great churches are ably dealt with.

The volume on 2 *Timothy, Titus and Philemon*,<sup>6</sup> is one of the best in the *Biblical Illustrator* series. The illustrative matter is abundant even to excess. But, so far as we can judge of it by testing it on some of the most important texts in these Epistles, we may say that it seems well chosen. Writings of all kinds, expository, sermonic, scientific, and popular, have been consulted and laid under contribution for the convenience of the preacher. If he knows how to make his selection out of the vast wealth and

<sup>1</sup> London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 223. Price 5s.

<sup>2</sup> London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 325. Price 6s.

<sup>3</sup> Church and State: A Historic Handbook. By A. Taylor Innes, Advocate. Second edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 275. Price 3s.

<sup>4</sup> The Superhuman Origin of the Bible inferred from itself. By Henry Rogers, with a Memoir by R. W. Dale, LL.D., Birmingham. Eighth edition. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. lxxii. 359. Price 5s.

<sup>5</sup> Scripture Baptism: Its Mode and Subjects. By the Rev. Alexander Brown, Aberdeen. Second edition—Revised. London: Simpkin & Co. Small 8vo, pp. 64.

<sup>6</sup> The *Biblical Illustrator*, &c. By Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A. 2 Timothy, etc. London: Nisbet & Co. 8vo, pp. 384, 219, and 90. Price 7s. 6d.

diversity of matter brought together in this volume, as in previous volumes of the series, and if he understands at the same time how to make a restrained use of it, he will find not a little to help him.

The latest addition to the *Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students* is Dr Candlish's clear, compact, and scholarly treatise on the *Biblical Doctrine of Sin*.<sup>1</sup> Dr Candlish begins by giving a broad statement of the conception of sin which is taught in Scripture, a comparison of this with the views of other religions, and a vindication of the truth of the Biblical idea. This being done he proceeds to examine the notion of *guilt*, the *punishment* of sin, the *universality* of sin and the different explanations offered of it, the Biblical doctrines of the *Fall*, the *depravity* of nature, the *inability* of man, the *inheritance* and *imputation* of sin. His closing chapter deals with the *elements of hope* in man's sinful state. The book, though of small compass, covers many questions, some of them among the most difficult in theology. It discusses them in a way that is possible only where fulness of knowledge is combined with sound judgment and sobriety of spirit. These qualities are seen all through the volume, and nowhere are they more to the purpose than in handling such subjects as *imputation*. Students will find Dr Candlish's volume of great use.

Dr Robson's *Hinduism*<sup>2</sup> was very favourably received when it was first published, now a good many years ago, and a second edition brought up to date will be welcome to many. A lengthened stay in India, combined with a wide and careful study of Indian literature, gives Dr Robson a good title to speak. He deals with his subject in four parts, discussing in the first the *Earlier Religions of India*; in the second, *Hinduism*, its philosophy, its customs, &c.; in the third, *Hinduism and Mohammedanism*; in the fourth, *Hinduism and Christianity*. He keeps in view the changes which have taken place during the last twenty years—the march of civilisation, the fortunes and effects of the Brahma Samaj; the rise of the Arya Samaj, the formation of the Theosophical Society. The accounts which Dr Robson gives of these recent movements, as well as his estimates of the original Hindu faith and philosophy, have the value of large information and sober reflection. The closing chapter on the *Position and Attitude of Christianity* says much that is wise and opportune on the results of previous mis-

<sup>1</sup> The Biblical Doctrine of Sin. By James S. Candlish, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 128. Price 1s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Hinduism and its Relations to Christianity. By the Rev. John Robson, D.D. New Edition. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. Small 8vo, pp. xi. 269. Price 3s. 6d.

sionary effort, the encouragements to further effort, and the spirit in which it should be prosecuted.

Dr Matheson's object in his *Distinctive Messages of the Old Religions*<sup>1</sup> is to "photograph the spirit" of the Ethnic faiths, and "fix the dividing lines which constitute the boundary between each religion and all besides." The systems which he examines with this purpose are those of China, India, Persia, Greece, Rome, the Teuton, Egypt, and Judea. He remembers the mixed character of the greater faiths, but endeavours nevertheless to show that each has its own distinctive note. He admits, for example, the wide differences between the three religions of China, but concludes that the three have still the same underlying characteristics—namely, the spirit of regression or reverence for the past. He admits that to speak of the *Message* of India looks like a contradiction, because India seems to "exhibit rather a clash of opposing voices striving for the mastery in the temple of truth." Yet he is of opinion that there is "one comprehensive idea which binds together her seeming elements of conflict," and that this idea is "human life—the proclamation of the pilgrim's progress."

Dr Matheson's book is a philosophy of these faiths rather than a historical study, and it is a very acute philosophy. But different minds catch different aspects of complicated phenomena, and in order to take Dr Matheson's view of the messages of the several religions, we should have Dr Matheson's eyes. The question also remains whether each of these religions, after all, had one great idea ruling it, or making so distinctly its peculiar burden. *Hopefulness* for example, may be held to have been the prevailing note of the earlier Indian faith. But may it not be said with equal or greater propriety that *hope* was the characteristic message of the Persian faith? Dr Matheson's opinions on some questions on which he has to touch in connection with his main subject are also open to criticism. This is the case with what he says of the *impossibility* of Polytheism, of the passage of Indian thought from optimism to despair, and, above all, of primitive man, to whom he ascribes a wonderful capacity for reasoning and reflection, if not for speculation. But, apart from these things, the book is a quickening one, full of life and interest, written in a most attractive style, and concentrating attention on aspects of these religions which are apt to be overlooked. It is most interesting and most convincing in the comparisons which it draws between these faiths and Christianity—comparisons which are altogether appreciative as regards the former, but just and instructive in exhibiting how they failed in

<sup>1</sup> The *Distinctive Messages of the Old Religions*. By the Rev. George Matheson, D.D. Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Son. Pp. viii. 342. Price 5s.



the very things that made their messages, and how they pointed to something beyond themselves.

Our readers will be glad to know that *The Cambridge Companion to the Bible*, which is meant to form part of *The Cambridge Teachers' Bible*, is announced as ready for publication in April. In addition to Indexes, Glossary, Concordance, and a new series of maps, it is to contain papers, prepared by a large staff of eminent scholars, on the books of the Bible, the Apocrypha, the external history, the relations of the Gospels, Chronology, Antiquities, and other subjects—all under the general editorship of Professor Lumby.

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## **The Formation of the Gospels.**

*By F. P. Badham, M.A. 2nd Edition. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 196. Price 5s.*

## **The Synoptic Problem for English Readers.**

*By Alfred J. Jolley. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 124. Price 3s. net.*

THESE books have little in common, except a belief that the oral hypothesis does not account for the origin of the synoptic gospels. Mr Badham does not concern himself about the oral hypothesis. He is satisfied with documents and redactors. Mr Jolley is more reasonable. He admits that for forty years (oral) tradition, together with personal reminiscences, supplied the wants of the Churches. He admits that the (oral) tradition grew larger as the personal reminiscences grew less, until, on the death of the last eye-witness, our written gospels superseded both. But Mr Badham does not take account of those forty years. Until the first document appeared—close upon 70 A.D.—he leaves the whole question to silence.

Yet surely forty years, in which the number of Christians amounted to myriads, and Churches, each with its cycle of oral teaching, were established in most parts of the inhabited world, would exercise a preponderating influence upon the formation of the gospels. Tradition, I believe, was neither so vague nor so fluctuating as some persons have imagined. It had a distinct source in St Peter's teaching—not his "preaching," as Mr Badham says. On that point turns the whole controversy. Preaching varies. New subjects drive out the old, or if sometimes the same story is told, it is told in different words. Our gospels could not have been formed in that way. The very existence of the catechists proves that a compact body of lessons was drawn up, which they taught to the catechumens. Those who had mastered these lessons became catechists themselves, and carried the same teaching into every corner of the Roman world.

Thus St Peter's memoirs formed a framework into which, from time to time, the personal reminiscences of other witnesses were worked. In every Church the oral gospel must have had peculiarities of its own, but at the end of forty years a broad distinction lay between the tradition of the East and that of the West.

Our three gospels are the final result. St Mark's is neutral, giving little besides St Peter's teaching. St Matthew's gives the same teaching, enriched by the accumulations of the East. St Luke



has gathered materials from every available source. Having no knowledge of his own, he has been a diligent collector. Aramaic documents, fragments of the *Logia*, and new contributions are worked up into one remarkable whole.

The oral hypothesis has the supreme advantage of making each evangelist give us all that he knew. He did not pick and choose from an enormous mass of floating amorphous matter; nor did he, by a free use of scissors and paste, patch together cuttings from a number of lengthy documents; but as a faithful historian, he recorded all that he could collect. And his work was not originally intended for the use of the Church Catholic, but (as St Luke plainly says in his preface) for the local congregation, whose oral gospel he had committed to writing.

After these preliminary remarks, let us proceed to our task. Professor Stanton wrote for the *Expositor* of last March, respecting Dr B. Weiss's theory of the gospels, "Weiss does not appear to have made any converts. There is an arbitrariness about the explanations offered by this theory which renders it very unattractive." Before the number was published, a convert was forthcoming. Mr Jolley has accepted Dr Weiss's views, and made them the basis of this book.

According to his theory (1) St Mark's Gospel was used by the other two evangelists. Mr Badham denies this. So of course do those who hold the oral hypothesis. I think that it is refuted by an examination of the proper names in St Mark. Under oral teaching I should expect a large proportion of those proper names to be gradually riddled out and lost, especially in the Gentile Churches; for what wise teacher would burden the memory of his pupils with foreign names, in which they could take no interest? But if an historian, like St Luke, had St Mark's written Gospel before him, I should expect that, whatever else he neglected, he would preserve the whole of the proper names, for names and dates are the backbone of history. Well, how does the matter stand? I find that out of eighty-six proper names in St Mark, twenty-four, and these the rarest and most interesting to an historian, have disappeared from St Luke's parallel passages.

(2) St Matthew and St Luke wrote independently, and were not acquainted with each other's gospels. Mr Jolley has no difficulty in showing this by comparing Matt. i.-ii. with Luke i.-ii.; but Mr Badham is forced by his theory to hold that St Luke had Matt. i.-ii. (or rather the source from which it was taken) before him when he wrote. In proof of this he submits, amongst other considerations, that "the star in the east" (ὁ ἀστὴρ ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ) "is surely alluded to in the Day-spring" (ἀνατολή) "from on high . . . to guide our feet into the way of peace."

(3) All three evangelists drew largely upon an earlier document which has perished. This document, commonly called the *Logia*, is styled by Mr Jolley the Primitive Gospel, or for brevity P. G. He restores it on the lines of Dr Weiss, and prints an English version of it at full length. It constitutes the main feature of his book, and he demands for it the patient examination which it is sure to get at the hand of scholars.

I reserve my remarks on P. G. for the present, and pass on to describe how Mr Jolley holds our three gospels to have originated. (1) St Mark wrote down what he recollected of St Peter's teachings, combining with it certain portions of P. G. Out of his 666 verses, I reckon that, according to Mr Jolley, 427 are Petrine, and 239 come from P. G. (2) St Matthew's Gospel—I call it so for convenience: it is really a composite work, as Messrs Badham and Jolley agree in thinking—is built, Mr Jolley holds, upon St Mark, with much more copious extracts from P. G., some personal reminiscences and traditions, “the latter of which are not always trustworthy.” (3) St Luke not only used St Mark and P. G., but also a document unknown to the other evangelists, and of Ebionite tendency. The idea of this Ebionite document, which praises poverty and denounces the rich, is not taken from Dr Weiss, but from Dr Colin Campbell's “Critical Studies in St Luke's Gospel.” Out of St Luke's 1151 verses it certainly supplies 212, probably 218, possibly 313. But this is not all; in the history of the Passion and Resurrection it is largely used in combination with St Mark. It may give some idea of this document to state that, according to Mr Jolley, St Luke's two introductory chapters come from it; so do the stories of the rich man and Lazarus, the Good Samaritan, the Prodigal Son, the Widow's Son of Nain, and some other, but by no means all, nor even the most striking, of the narratives which deal with poverty and wealth.

Mr Badham's account of the origin of the gospels is altogether different. Whereas Mr Jolley writes, “the Petrine character of the second gospel is universally admitted,” Mr Badham denies it. Papias, he says, has been misunderstood from the first. St Mark, so far from being the author of the second gospel, is the author of all that is peculiar in St Luke's Gospel, of much that is common to St Matthew and St Luke, of more than half of the Acts of the Apostles, and of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Of the second gospel he only wrote the last twelve verses, which textual critics declare to be not genuine.

Historical criticism has done much to restore honour to St Mark, but Mr Badham in this respect surpasses every one. Those portions of St Luke which we call Pauline are really Petrine; it is St Mark's Gospel that was written by an unknown Pauline Christian. These

views Mr Badham published as a Bachelor of Arts in 1891 in a pamphlet of ninety-nine pages. As a Master of Arts he published in 1892 a volume at least six times as large, greatly improved in tone, with new and various pleadings, concluding with the three gospels in English, according to the authorised version, printed in red type, black type or italics, to indicate the sources in detail. Earnest work like this demands attention. We cannot afford to treat it as Mr Jolley does.

Mr Badham holds (1) that the earliest document (A) was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, the next (B) after the flight to Pella. A and B were speedily combined into AB. (2) Somewhat later a Pauline Christian, with A, B, and AB in his hands, but with little original knowledge, produced our second gospel. This was "an improved harmony," intended to supersede AB, but not A and B. The writer omits very large portions, especially of B. (3) St Mark in Rome (*circ.* A.D. 72) writes down what he remembers of "the Preaching of St Peter." His work soon perished, but not before the greatest part of it—in fact, all but forty verses—had been incorporated into other writings. (4) St Luke composed our third gospel by combining "the Preaching of St Peter" with St Mark's Gospel. He omits some passages, especially of the latter work. He had A, B, and AB before him, but seldom used them. (5) Our first gospel was made up of AB and a few sections from "the Preaching of St Peter." Contrary to most critics, Mr Badham makes this the last of the synoptic gospels.

It is not surprising that increased examination has caused Mr Badham to somewhat shift his ground. In his second edition he includes in "the Preaching of St Peter" Luke i. 5-iii. 3; iii. 7-14, 18-20; iv. 5-8, and many other sections, verses or even half verses, which he treated differently in his first edition. I think he has rather weakened his case by these changes. Strange to say, in both editions he includes in the "Preaching" St Luke's genealogy, which would form a curious sermon. Mr Badham's theories are based upon doublets and inconsistencies. Let us look at the doublets in St Matthew. Mr Badham denies that the same document could have held the following doublets. (1) "This is Elijah which is to come," "Elijah is come already." (2) "The sign of Jonah" (twice). (3) "More tolerable for Sodom" (twice). (4) "Trees known by their fruit" (twice). (5) "Unfruitful trees hewn down and burnt" (twice). (6) "Greatest be your servant" (twice). (7) "Every idle word that men shall speak they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment," "Whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the judgment." It is unnecessary to continue the list. St Matthew uses the phrase, "There shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth," six times; "The end of the world," five

times; "Eternal life," seven times. The conclusion which Mr Badham, it seems, would have us draw is, that when a phrase occurs twice, diversity of documents is proved; when it occurs more than twice, identity. But will any one admit that? That there is one doublet in St Matthew (ix. 27-34=xii. 22-24) is made probable by St Luke's parallel. That there is another (xii. 41=xvi. 4), and several in St Luke, will scarcely be denied by those who have studied the question, but Mr Badham's four lists, with an aggregate of one hundred doublets, can only excite our amazement.

Mr Badham, however, rightly follows Dr Weiss and others in maintaining that the central third of St Luke (ix. 51-xviii. 14) is not, as it appears to claim to be, an account of events which happened during the last journey to Jerusalem, but "the main-stock of a record, covering," not "the whole period of our Lord's life," but a considerable part of His ministry. His arguments on this point are mostly convincing. Chapter viii., also, is interesting in its suggestion that "St Peter's Preaching" is arranged according to subject matter. In many cases there is good reason to think so. In chapter x. a less successful attempt is made to show that Tatian used "the Preaching of St Peter," as well as our four gospels, in drawing up his *Dia tessarôn*. Chapter xi. maintains that certain sections of the Acts of the Apostles are a continuation of the "Preaching of St Peter." He goes further than I should go in extending these sections over the whole book. Chapter xii. deals with the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Those who think the epistle to have been written by St Luke will, if they accept Mr Badham's views, have no objection to transfer the authorship to St Mark. To others Mr Badham's reasons are not likely to be convincing. Chapter xv. deals with the inconsistencies. They are weaker than the doublets. The first I consider the only good one. "How strange it is to hear Christ enjoining secrecy on the leper when great multitudes are present" (Matt. viii. 1, 4). True, but Matt. viii. 1, I maintain, is an "editorial note." It is absent from St Mark and St Luke. It is only one of those connecting links which bind narratives together, but are not based on the original authority, and are sometimes demonstrably wrong.

Mr Badham assumes that Matt. xvii. 21 is genuine. A critic should take care to use a good text. How strange it is, he continues, "to hear Christ bidding certain women, *All* hail, when the context (Matt. xxviii. 1) only assures us of the presence of two." When Shakespeare wrote, "Cæsar, all hail," he did not imply that several persons were present. The Greek is simply *Χαίρετε*. A critic should work upon the Greek text and not upon the "authorised" English version. In pages 77 and 78 Mr Badham gives lists

of words peculiar to A and B. He derives the imperative ἐξετάσατε from ἐκτάζειν. When a writer, who is capable of such errors, speaks about Greek style, the reader will learn to discount his confident assertions.

The list on page 77 contains twenty-one words peculiar to A, and the list on page 78 nineteen words peculiar to B. What reason can be given why we should not add the lists together and say that they give us forty words peculiar to St Matthew? They are mostly such. κατ' ὄναρ occurs five times in Matt. i.-ii., once in Matt. xxvii. 19, and nowhere else. Would it not be fair to argue, on Mr Badham's principles, that the author, who has shown such a predilection for the phrase in chapters i.-ii., cannot have written the next twenty-four chapters? In this case the argument, I believe, would be in accordance with the facts, but it would wreck Mr Badham's theory. But there are further inaccuracies to be noticed. ἀθῶος occurs in Matt. xxvii. 24 only, for it is a false reading in Matt. xxvii. 4. The same may be said of ἀπέναντι, which is a true reading once, but false twice. The accents οἰκίακος, ἡλιός, ἀλαλός, στείρα, ἐώς, ἀνάστασις ἐκ νεκρῶν are wrong. πυρετω, ὥρα (dative), and ἀθῶος require ι subscript. Many of these "peculiar words" are found in St John, St Paul, St James, and other writers; several occur in the Acts of the Apostles, which was not written by the author of A or B.

Mr Badham has a greater show of reason when he argues, from the discrepancies in the order of narration between St Matthew and St Mark, that two documents, A and B, were used and pieced together differently. But even so, he cannot account for St Matthew's order; he only reduces the number of variations. The explanation that the Eastern catechists omitted numerous sections of St Peter's memoirs in order to put the Sermon on the Mount near the beginning of the ministry, and then turned back and gathered up the fragments that remained, preserving in both cases the relative order, seems to me to be far more probable.

The strange difficulty which those critics who support the documentary hypothesis feel about the preservation of the same order of narration in oral tradition, extending, as it does, even to minute particulars, is surely unwarranted. Systems of mnemonics were largely used by the ancients, and they were necessarily based on order and association. There are clergy now, who can repeat the litany from beginning to end without book: if they changed the order of a single petition, their memory would break down.

It will be seen that both these authors deny the unity of St Mark, or of the "Triple Tradition," and expand the volume of the *Logia*. Mr Badham's B corresponds in the main to the *Logia*. Mr Jolley's P. G. professes to restore it. They both hold that the second gospel

(St Mark) made free use of the *Logia*. Herein I cannot agree with them. If St Mark had the *Logia*, why did not he make more use of it? An evangelist who deliberately omitted the Sermon on the Mount, the Lord's Prayer, the longer parables and discourses, when he had them before him in writing, is an incomprehensible enigma. But the other evangelists are hardly better. What should have induced St Matthew to omit the parables of the Prodigal Son, the Rich Fool, the Rich Man and Lazarus, or the journey to Emmaus? Why should St Luke have omitted the healing of the Syrophenician woman's daughter? The critic who accepts the oral hypothesis has an intelligible answer. They omitted what they had never heard.

No critic who works on the documentary hypothesis has ever accounted for the multitudinous diversities in the identical sections of the triple or double tradition. Those who attempt the task say that the evangelists, although they had documents, and used them as guides to the order, and in a few other respects, trusted rather for their language to local oral tradition, because the congregation for which they wrote would tolerate nothing else. If that is the state of the case, Apostolic authority had sunk rather low. Cannot we dispense with these imaginary documents if they were of so little use?

But when once you leave the triple tradition, the question of order appears to be fatal to the documentary hypothesis. Look at Mr Jolley's order. He divides P. G. into seventeen chapters of about twenty-two verses each. St Matthew copies them in the following order (to save space the first verse only is given): i. 1, 3, 6, 8, 9; ii. 1, 5; xv. 18; v. 14; ii. 7; xiii. 6; ii. 11; v. 19; ii. 12, 15; ix. 5; xii. 18; v. 15; viii. 25; xii. 11; ii. 18; ix. 10; v. 17; xiv. 9; ii. 21, 23; xiv. ii; ii. 24. I need not continue the catalogue, though I have only come to the end of Matt. vii. St Mark's order is no better; St Luke's is even worse. Did three men, working independently on the same document, ever copy it so erratically? Does any one believe after this that Mr Jolley's "hypothesis explains all the facts?"

Mr Badham's chief argument for identifying St Luke's original matter with "the Preaching of St Peter" is the statement of Papias, that St Mark wrote, "but not in order." Our second gospel, Mr Badham insists, is a conspicuously orderly document, because nearly every event follows "immediately" after the preceding; but the central third of St Luke's is as famous for disorder. Without denying the latter assertion, I protest against the former. St Mark's Gospel is not orderly. Papias explains why it is not so in the next sentence. It consists of lessons loosely strung together, because St Peter did not assay to write a continuous history, but adapted his teaching to the needs of his pupils at the moment. A better descrip-

tion of St Mark's Gospel could not be given. His fifty-six "immediately's" are merely "editorial" connecting links, and cannot be pressed.

We are asked to believe that all the supposed documents, and combinations of documents, came into existence by a mushroom growth at Jerusalem, Pella, Rome, or other places between the years 68-72 A.D., and perished, as a rule, before 80. Yet they were so widely circulated that three evangelists, living at widely severed places, had a copy of all of them, except the heretical Ebionite work.

We cannot suppose that the evangelists got copies sooner or more surely than other men. Therefore, at least, a hundred copies must have been made and circulated with extraordinary rapidity. Yet they all perished. Not even at Ephesus, at Alexandria, or at Rome did a copy remain. Nay, such was the ignorance of the earliest fathers of the Church that they confused St Mark's work with St Luke's, and the mistake has been continued till Mr Badham has at last exposed it.

I think it is time that men began to consider once more the claims of the oral hypothesis.

ARTHUR WRIGHT.

### **Philosophy and Political Economy in some of their Historical Relations.**

*By James Bonar, LL.D. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1893. Large 8vo, pp. xvi. 410. Price 10s. 6d.*

WE are accustomed to expect good work from Mr Bonar, and this book will add to his reputation. It is, he says, "the first attempt to present a view of the relations of philosophy and economics through the whole of their history," and there are few writers who could handle this large subject with fuller knowledge or in a more judicial spirit. Beginning with Plato, he shows us how the economic science of each succeeding generation has been moulded by prevailing philosophical, ethical, and political ideas. In the social scheme of the Greek philosophers, wealth has an important but a subordinate place. It is, in itself, neither good nor evil, but necessary; it is good as a means to an end, the satisfaction of human wants, and this end is subordinate to a higher end, the realisation of the best possible human life. So far, the teaching of Plato and Aristotle is sound, but in applying it to practice they were hampered, and to some extent perverted, by the Greek prejudice against trade and manual labour, and by the tendency, natural enough in men who regarded the State as a small homogeneous com-

munity, to lose sight of the boundary between legislation and moral education. The manifest want of connection between the ideal and the actual state leads the later Greek schools to turn away from the state altogether, and to work out the problem of ethics on individualist lines. "Live according to nature," the one commandment of the Stoics, is addressed to the individual; the Roman was satisfied with this gospel; by temperament and habit he was disposed to keep his moral ideals for private use; he never applied them directly to the business of government; he knew instinctively that what the statesman aims at is not the best, but only the best practicable. From Greek philosophy Mr Bonar passes at once to Christianity and Canon Law. We could wish that the interval had been filled up with a chapter on the Roman law of property and contract; the subject is within the scope of Mr Bonar's design, for law, in one aspect of it, is a kind of philosophy; "*Jurisprudentia est divinarum atque humanarum rerum notitia, justī atque injusti scientia.*" It is to the Romans that we are indebted for the precise notions of legal right which moralists and economists often seem to take for granted; the prejudice against the civilians which pervades the socialist literature of Germany is exactly what we might expect to find in writers of that school. Progress is the resultant of two forces—the desire for a just and business-like administration of existing law (this we take from the Romans), and the belief that existing law is hopelessly incompatible with our moral ideal (this, if we confine our attention to the modern world, we may describe as the Christian socialist element in civilisation).

According to Mr Bonar's reckoning, the modern world begins with the fall of feudalism, the rise of great monarchies, and the consequent increase in the burden of general taxation. Machiavelli shows the Prince how he may strengthen himself by promoting the industry of his subjects; Grotius attempts the higher task of bringing economic policy within the limits of moral law. His range is wider than that of the ancient philosophers; they were disposed to say, Set up the true State, and it will make good men for us; Grotius says rather, Make men what they ought to be, and they will guide the State in the path of virtue. This is modern individualism of the good kind; Hobbes carries the theory to a vicious extreme. Man, he holds, is not social by nature, or at least he is imperfectly social; he has sense enough to see that the law of nature (the law of *self*-preservation) requires him to live at peace with his neighbours; this is the origin of Leviathan, the State, which, with all its unlimited powers, is only an aggregate of individuals after all. To the individualism of the Protestant seventeenth century the eighteenth adds humanitarianism (belief in the perfectibility of man) and utilitarianism (belief in virtue as a means



to happiness), and so at last in the fulness of time Bentham and Ricardo become possible. Of Bentham Mr Bonar gives us a full account; of Ricardo he says comparatively little, regarding him perhaps as an economist out of relation to philosophy.

Kant, though his absolute ethic would be dismissed by the utilitarian as unpractical, comes nearer even to economic truth than the Benthamite school. Property, he says, is not derived from labour; appropriation of land precedes cultivation. Civil society exists to secure freedom, not happiness, the negative, not the positive, conditions of a moral and happy life. He corrects individualist politics by showing that the State has *made* men (civilised men), and therefore has a right to their service and obedience. The most valuable chapters of Mr Bonar's book are those in which he expounds the doctrines of Kant and Hegel, and estimates their influence on Karl Marx and others. In reading these chapters, we feel that our author has not merely read philosophy and political economy and "combined his information." He understands, and makes his reader understand, the vital connection between the great subjects of which he writes. As a book for students, his work is much to be commended; it is full of instructive detail; the style is sober and careful; and the index is all that an index should be.

T. RALEIGH.

### **Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Hebrews.**

*By C. G. Montefiore. (Hibbert Lectures, 1892.) London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 8vo, pp. 598. Price 10s. 6d.*

THE task undertaken by the Hibbert Lecturer of 1892 was in every respect a formidable one. The prominent and honoured position which Mr Claude Montefiore holds in the Jewish community doubtless added peculiar anxieties to the discharge of his duties as a lecturer. Those who are at all acquainted with the pages of the *Jewish Quarterly* will indeed experience no surprise at the line which is followed in the present work. But that useful and interesting journal is unfortunately not very widely known, and to many a reader it will come as a new and strange thing that an orthodox Jew should accept the conclusions of modern criticism upon the Old Testament. When, however, this fact is realised, it will be understood with what interest we turn to a work from the pen of a Jewish scholar who is true to his religion, and has been no less receptive of the best teaching of his time.

It was obviously impossible for him to evade, even if he had wished to do so, the chief subjects of controversy in modern criticism. "The Religion of the Ancient Hebrews" can only be understood in the light of the history of the people; and the history of the people is presented to us in very different aspects, according as the ancient literature preserved in the Old Testament receives the interpretation of the simple traditionalism of the Jewish Synagogue and the Mediæval Church, or that of the unsparing analysis of modern scientific studies. Those of us who are acquainted with Mr Montefiore's previous contributions to Old Testament study will find here all that we might expect from so ardent a disciple of the New Learning. He states the new positions with great clearness, and with uncompromising courage; and few could rival him in the fulness of his acquaintance with the literature of his subject.

His treatment of the Hebrew Religion is strictly historical. The reader is led on from the first obscure beginnings of Israelite religion down to the age of the Maccabean Revolt. The first six lectures are occupied with the six obvious stages in the growth of the Hebrew religion, the first the Mosaic, the second the pre-prophetic, the third that of the prophets of the eighth century B.C., the fourth that of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah, the fifth that of the Exile, the sixth that of the Restoration and of Ezra. The three last lectures are occupied with different aspects of the Judaism "from Nehemiah to the Maccabees," with occasional excursions into the region of Rabbinic Judaism.

Into the vast range of details which so comprehensive a scheme necessarily deals with, I have no desire to enter. The lecturer in every lecture traverses country which has been the battle ground of many controversies. He, himself, would be the last to expect that those who agree with him in his general literary position should not differ from him frequently in important details. Perhaps the most interesting, and in some respects the ablest lecture, in the volume is the very first. It is almost a relief to find nowadays the Mosaic stage of Hebrew religion so strongly maintained. Its sources, indeed, are left undecided. Our author, uncertain whether the vital nucleus of Hebrew religion took its rise in the teaching of Moses or in the still ruder age of pre-Mosaic Hebrew ancestors, is content to leave the matter in suspense. The whole subject of Divine Revelation he leaves severely alone. In protesting against Renan's famous dictum that the Semite was naturally a Monotheist, Mr Montefiore brings out the resemblance of the early Hebrew worship to that of neighbouring tribes, and emphasises the distinction which is too often ignored between the "Monolatry" of the primitive Hebrew and the "Monotheism" of the devout Jew. The patriarchal narratives are dismissed from consideration as un-

historical, but the period between Moses and Amos receives full attention. It is satisfactory to observe that the antecedents of the eighth century prophets can no longer be neglected in a scientific investigation of Israelite religion. Lectures iv., v., vi., although not contributing any new light, contain much that is useful and suggestive for the understanding of the three phases of religious thought associated with the names of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Ezra.

The last three lectures (vii., viii., ix.) are in some respects the least successful portion of the work.

The obvious want of firmness in these concluding lectures is due partly to the fact that the writer fails to restrict himself, as he proposed, to the limits of the Maccabean period, but chiefly to his reluctance to adhere to any decided opinion upon the Rabbinism of the two centuries that followed the Maccabean Revolt. He is almost nervously afraid of going too far in blame or praise. Thus, in one passage (p. 475), he says that "the Scribes took up and worked out the laws of clean and unclean with the greatest zeal and zest. They developed them with extraordinary subtlety, and spent upon them the full force of their hair-splitting and casuistical dialectic. It would seem as if the ideal of the rigorists among them in the age of Christ was, as it were, to transform the layman into a priest, or even to transform him, for his whole life, into the condition of a priest when performing the functions of his sacred office." Fearful, apparently, that he has here spoken too strongly, Mr Montefiore in another page takes Schürer to task for making merry over the distinction of "clean and unclean," and asserts that "these distinctions and rules did not concern the layman, and are themselves merely the precipitate of the discussion of the schools, and were probably unknown to nine-tenths of the pious and observant Israelites in the age of Christ" (p. 477). This is indeed a startling assertion. It would imply that the Scribes very generally failed in their attempts to leaven their countrymen with their own scrupulous reverence for the details of ceremonialism, and that the heathen and Jewish writers who impute this attitude of scrupulosity to the pious Jews, whether priests or laymen, were labouring under a misapprehension. And yet in another passage the lecturer freely admits (p. 478) that "the existence of a large priesthood, who were bound to follow out the rules of clean and unclean to the utmost of their knowledge and capacity, and the existence of an extreme section of Rabbis, who even sought to outdo these professional observers, were grave evils. These puerile prescriptions not only interfered with social intercourse, but tended to set up a false ideal of external sanctity." Now it was precisely this "extreme section of Rabbis," *i.e.*, the Pharisee Scribes, who

were absolute masters over the religious life of the people in the time of our Lord.

The practical question then is, whether this development of legalism conduced to healthy spiritual life. "The two voices" to which the lecturer is listening are nowhere more distinctly heard than in the peroration with which he concludes the seventh lecture. "The Maccabean revolt drove out Hellenism, and prepared the way for the full development of Rabbinism. It left the law triumphant and supreme. . . . Nationalism, particularism, legalism are now all-powerful, and their influence is all-pervading. All this would seem to indicate retrogression, and in one direction it actually does so. Let no one, however, suppose that it actually indicates stagnation, sterility or decay. Above all, let no one suppose that it indicates a lower level of personal religion in the heart of each individual believer. For the religious fervour which marks much of the literature of the pre-Maccabean period was no less, but even more, a characteristic of the Judaism which preceded it. Religion has never been a purer joy and a deeper satisfaction" (p. 413). This somewhat plaintive appeal against the "post hoc, ergo propter hoc" argument rather loses its force when we remember that the responsible religious teachers were "the extreme section of Rabbis." It may be perfectly true that "the characteristic hair-splitting which characterised the legal disputations on the ceremonial law, the penal code, or the agrarian injunctions does not seem to have entered to any appreciable extent into the field of morality proper" (p. 484). But anyone who chooses to judge for himself what the religious influence of the Scribes probably amounted to has only to study the Mishnah. There is no need to impute any odious charge against the moral sincerity of the Scribes. Theirs may indeed have been "a pure joy and a deep satisfaction." Many of them were truly religious, most of them intensely zealous. And yet it was not the moral or the spiritual lessons which engrossed their attention, it was "the characteristic hair-splitting" about ceremonial trifles. This characterised their disputations, this was their satisfaction, this the subject of their fervour.

No one, of course, need necessarily suppose "that it actually indicates stagnation, sterility or decay"; and yet no one could deny that St Paul had good reason for refusing to impose upon the Gentile converts that network of prohibitions which entangled on every side the strict observance of Judaism. It is difficult to believe that such "obscurantism," as it would perhaps now be termed, did not indicate a wholly inadequate conception of personal religion.

The tone of reverence and regard which Mr Montefiore adopts towards Christianity is so uniformly and so generously expressed

that one would be glad to pass over in silence the strangely unworthy piece of declamation about the Apostle St Paul. But the argument is evidently regarded as a crucial one, and cannot be neglected. "An habitual lack of impartiality upon the Christian side seems mainly due to the influence of St Paul. The Rabbinic religion is doomed because Paul abjured it. . . . If you estimate the Judaism of the first century according to Paul's judgment, you estimate at the same value the Judaism of eighteen hundred years. But to accept Paul as a correct critic of Judaism is a fallacy. Do you consider that a convert from Liberalism to Toryism is the most adequate and impartial judge of the political system which he has abandoned? is a convert from evangelical Protestantism to Roman Catholicism the best judge and critic of evangelical theology? Would you accept his evidence without cavil, and say that just because he abandoned the religion of his fathers for possibly a greater and fuller faith, he was the best possible critic and pathologist of the religion he has forsaken?" (p. 542).

Such a piece of rhetoric is really unworthy of the writer and of his book. No one, as indeed the writer well knows, would think of relying on St Paul's statements *because* he was a pervert. It is because his allusions to Rabbinism correspond so exactly to all that is known of its characteristics from other sources that we cannot call in question their general accuracy. It is forgotten that the writings of St Paul are animated by a stronger feeling against Judaisers than against Jews; and his fairness as a critic of Rabbinism is not to be summarily dismissed on the assertion that he was hostile to the Jewish religion. St Paul never "abandoned the religion of his fathers," he continued to attend the Synagogue worship and the Temple Feasts. He denounced, indeed, the idea that the ritual and ceremonial restrictions of Judaism should be forcibly extended to all Christians. While he recognised and boasted of the privileges and the responsibility of the Jews, he protested against subjecting foreigners to the burden which that responsibility entailed.

Whether or not the legalism of the Rabbis was a burden and had become a yoke on the neck of the Jewish nation is in this book disputed. But it will not be disputed that, as practised and taught by the Rabbis, Rabbinism could become all the slavery which St Paul imputes to it. It is no argument against the yoke of the law being a heavy one to say that the Jewish Rabbis rejoiced in it. They, indeed, were willing to bear it; and it nowhere appears that St Paul ever denied the duty of a Jew, whether willing or not, to bear it. He only objected to its being laid upon those who had not inherited its responsibility. The teaching of St Paul did not differ from that of his Master: the law was made of none effect by the tyranny of

the tradition. "As touching the law," St Paul continued to be "a Pharisee" (Phil. iii. 5): but to him "the end of the law" was not Rabbiniſm but Chriſt (Rom. x. 4).

In conclusion, it muſt be confeſſed that while theſe lectures are characteriſed by a reſreſhing enthuſiaſm, it is probable that they were eaſier to liſten to than they are to read. The ſtyle is apt to be cumbrous, and often dull. Sometimes we come acroſs ſentences which it requires a real effort to conſtrue, e.g., "From that day and forward Iſrael and the nations will both know Jahveh as in his relations to either he reſpectively is, the one as omnipotent and compaſſionate, the other as omnipotent and malign" (p. 249). "Deutero-Iſaiah would have hailed in cloſer relations with the remnant of Judah and Iſrael, and with the half-pagan, half-converted foreigners, a firſt practical realiſation of his univerſaliſtic dreams" (p. 291). "The third was the diſcovery, as an end in itſelf, parallel with and ſuperior to material proſperity, of ſpiritual ſatisfaction in communion with God and in the fulfilment of the Law" (p. 445). Such ſentences are doubtleſs translatable, but they are too laborious to be good Engliſh.

We may be pardoned, perhaps, for inquiring whether the neceſſities of modern ſtudies really compel us to have recourſe to ſuch uncouth expreſſions as "the *moralization* of Jahveh's character" (p. 101), "the pitiful hypotheſis that the anger of Jahveh was occaſionally *unmotivated*" (p. 198), "a rapid *integration* of the exiles into the body of the Babylonian Empire" (p. 223), "the exerciſe of *ablutory* purifications" (p. 411). Such phraſes have poſſibly been drawn from the technical terms that abound in the writings of the great German authorities. But our language is ſo rich and facile that there can be no juſtification for the adoption of monſtrous forms from the artificial diction of foreign literature. The multiplication of ſuch technical terms is a common ſnare to a growing ſcience. They do not make the meaning of ſcientific language any clearer; and they do erect the barrier of a horrid jargon between the ſtudent and the public.

HERBERT E. RYLE.

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### John Locke und die Schule von Cambridge.

Von Dr Georg Freiherrn v. Hertling. Freiburg in Breisgau.  
London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. xi. 319.  
Price, M. 5.

THE main object of this book is to diſcover what previous writers Locke had in mind when writing his *Essay*. That is no ſmall undertaking, for Locke himſelf gives almoſt no aſſiſtance, and, if he had foreſeen this book, would probably have given leſs; he

expressly avoids giving the names of almost any authors with whom he either agreed or conflicted. Dr v. Hertling has gone into the matter with great thoroughness. He is specially concerned to show the influence of the Cambridge Platonists upon him, and for this he does not confine himself to matters of importance. Turns of expression like "light of nature," "candle of the Lord," serve the purpose. A very casual remark in the chapter on Space, in the second book of the *Essay*, gives occasion for ten pages to show that Locke had Henry More in view when he made it. Near the end of the first book we read, "What censure doubting thus of innate principles may deserve from men, who will be apt to call it pulling up the old foundations of knowledge and certainty, I cannot tell; I persuade myself at least that the way I have pursued, being conformable to truth, lays these foundations surer." This does not deter v. Hertling. He thinks it is probably a kind of apology to the Cambridge Platonists.

The chief value of the book consists in bringing together what lies scattered in several English books. But it must be confessed that the interest is more biographical than philosophical. Indeed, the philosophical interest will mostly appeal to the historians of philosophy who feel it to be necessary to classify Locke, and deduce him from his predecessors. Dr v. Hertling begins by objecting to the usual classification of Locke as "sensualist," and "empiricist"; but neither will he call him an "intellectualist." After an examination of the *Essay*, he concludes that the empirical and rational tendencies are equally matched; the second chapter gives an account of the Cambridge Platonists, and the third endeavours to find traces of their influence in the *Essay*. This is a very rational position to take up, and it is justified by the facts of Locke's life, and by his pronounced sympathy with the religious and ecclesiastical views of the school, though some account might have been taken of a letter in which Lady Masham (Cudworth's daughter) shows that his acquaintance with its work was not so early, at least, as might have been expected. The fact seems to be, that Locke was much more a conversing than a reading philosopher. It is impossible, for example, to find any author upon whom the first book of the *Essay* could be anything like a direct attack. Dr v. Hertling says that he was astonished at the result of his investigations. English readers will hardly confess to the feeling. He is, of course, able to make out Locke's acquaintance with the Platonistic doctrines; if he had failed, a suspicious man might have been tempted to infer Locke's acquaintance with them all the more. But it certainly did not require Cudworth and More to bring Locke to any of the conclusions which they have in common. It is quite probable, too, that he had read Glanvil on the limits of

human knowledge, and Samuel Parker against Descartes, but we should hesitate to draw a conclusion. As for the results of Dr v, Hertling's very minute inquiry, it cannot be said that there is one of any importance with which English authors have not made us familiar. In short, this detective method of treating the *Essay* throws almost no light on it that is not better afforded by a study confined to the *Essay* itself. Professor Fraser's exposition, for example, is in every way more conclusive. It was Locke's own wish to be treated as an independent thinker. "This, I am certain," he says (i. 4, § 23), "I have not made it my business either to quit or to follow any authority in the ensuing discourse," and again in *Thoughts Concerning Education*, "It is an idle and useless thing to study what have been other men's sentiments, where reason only is the judge."

It is true that there are many unassimilated elements in Locke, but for that very reason there is little but a biographical interest in tracing them to others. And it is a hazardous employment at best; there are so many channels through which one may come by inconsistency. The historical importance of Locke is not to be found in his relation to his predecessors, but in his influence on the future course of philosophy. And that importance lies, not in his views upon this or that, but in his method. If it is necessary for the classifying historians to believe that it was brought to him from somewhere else than out of the problem he set himself, they will find no source more likely than the scientific activity of the time. The "plain historical method" was the method of natural science, and remains the method of psychology. With Locke, in the fourth book, it serves to discover the criterion of truth as well, revealing the judgments that carry complete or partial conviction with them when clearly appreciated. The degree of conviction respecting clear judgments thus became the measure of their truth, but when a history was assigned to conviction itself, the criterion had to be placed somewhere else. It is idle to speculate whether he would have placed it with Hume in impressions, or with Kant in the necessary implicates of experience; their question was not before him. If he thought of the "chemistry of ideas," it was only as a source of error. He did not doubt that we can "perceive" truth and falsehood quite as the eye sees light, but how?—that did not trouble him. Perhaps his influence has been all the greater that more has been read into him than he says, or would have said. The attempt to find in him something of the Cambridge Platonist could not altogether fail. But Locke would have been pleased to learn that he has defeated so well the prying eyes of Dr v. Hertling.

W. MITCHELL.



**Von der Welt zum Himmelreich oder die johanneische Darstellung des Werkes Jesu Christi synoptisch geprüft und ergänzt.**

*Kritisch-theologische Studie, von H. Köhler. Halle: Max Niemeyer. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. xxviii 335. Price, M. 5.*

THE somewhat lengthy title sufficiently explains the scope of the volume. It is an attempt to show that a comparison of the Synoptic Gospels with the Fourth Gospel leads, on critical principles, to a confirmation of the latter. St John's representation of the life and work of Jesus Christ is corroborated and completed by the narratives of the other three, rather than weakened and contradicted by them.

The writer starts from the principle that the religious value of the Gospel is inseparably bound up with its historical truth, and that each of these gives support to the other. Its spiritual effects produce the conviction that the narrative cannot be fictitious, for such intense reality could not be the result of empty unreality; and the recognition of its historical character greatly enhances its spiritual effects. It is quite true that in the documents which stand in the very first rank as evidence respecting the life of Jesus, viz., those Pauline Epistles which are of admitted genuineness,<sup>1</sup> there is very little appeal to the details of that life. St Paul rarely quotes our Lord's words, and never appeals to a miracle or a parable. But that was because, when St Paul wrote, there were abundance of people who could still remember the look of Christ's form and the sound of His voice. To have attempted in a later generation to preach Christianity without any details respecting the historical Christ would have been futile. If we want to see the way in which Christianity was preached to the heathen world, who knew nothing of Jesus, we must study the account of Him given in the Gospels: for they contain the written record of what that preaching was. Just those portions of the life of Christ, which experience proved to be of most value for propagating and strengthening the faith, were those which were most fully stored up in the memory of preachers and their audiences, and thence passed into written documents. A missionary who refused to know anything about the doings of Christ upon earth, and yet strove to win the world over to Christ, would have been an impossibility.

But who at that time had any idea of the importance of the step

<sup>1</sup> Köhler accepts, besides the four great Epistles, I. Thessalonians, Philip-  
pians, Philemon, and (with some hesitation) II. Thessalonians.

which those were taking, who first caused narratives, which had hitherto been stereotyped in the memory, to be stereotyped also in writing? The want of written information respecting the words and works of Jesus Christ would be felt in many Christian communities simultaneously, and would become more and more pressing as the number of those who had seen and heard Him during His life on earth contracted, and as the time during which He delayed His coming was prolonged. It is quite possible that in some matters of detail the traditions respecting His life became blurred and confused before they were written down, and that here and there the documents reflect the times in which they were written rather than the time in which Jesus ministered to His people; but, nevertheless, when allowance has been made for all such probabilities and possibilities, our four Gospels remain as trustworthy witnesses of the past: and it is quite evident from their contents that they were intended by their writers to be such. This position respecting their character, natural and manifest though it is, need not and ought not to be assumed; for, it is sometimes disputed, and it admits of verification.

One of the most ready and satisfactory tests is to compare the four accounts with one another; and here Köhler gives his adhesion to the "two-document theory" respecting the genesis of the Synoptic Gospels, which he regards as "one of the most certain results of the New Testament criticism" (p. vii). One of these two documents was mainly a narrative of facts, and is preserved almost unaltered in our Second Gospel. The other was mainly a record of discourses, and is largely made use of, together with the narrative of facts and other material, in our First and Third Gospels. It is a matter of comparative unimportance whether Mark, under the guidance of Peter, was the original writer of the narrative of facts, and Matthew the original writer of the record of discourses. But it is manifest that the position of Peter, as chief of the Apostles and one of the chosen three, would cause his narrative of the things which he witnessed to be regarded with special interest and trust; which would lead to its being at an early date secured and preserved in writing. This cannot be said in anything like the same degree respecting the relation of Matthew to the discourses. But with regard to them no such special authority was needed. "It is less easy to invent words of Jesus than it is to invent acts of Jesus." As Matthew Arnold said long ago, respecting the authenticity of the discourses recorded in the Fourth Gospel: "The doctrine and discourses of Jesus cannot in the main be the writer's, because in the main they are clearly out of his reach" (*Literature and Dogma*, p. 170). Not even St John could invent such words, for "never man thus

spake" (John vii. 46). When, therefore, an attempt is made, as in this volume, to test the trustworthiness of the Fourth Gospel by comparing it with our other sources, it is mainly these two documents—the narrative of facts as preserved almost intact in Mark, and the record of discourses as preserved in unequal proportions in Matthew and Luke—which come specially into consideration.

In the present condition of opinion among Biblical critics, it requires, Herr Köhler confesses, a certain amount of courage to profess one's belief in the old-fashioned view, that the primary intention of the author of the Fourth Gospel was to write actual history, and that, as an intimate disciple of the Lord, he was in a position to carry out that intention. But he has the courage to make this profession: moral considerations compel him to do so. He finds no alternative between regarding the Fourth Gospel as either in its fundamental elements actual history, or as a fiction *which professes to be history*. If his narrative is in the main unhistorical, then it is impossible to defend him from the charge of *deliberate deception*. Had he intended that the whole should be understood, not as history with a symbolical meaning, but as pure symbolism without historical basis, then, as an honest man, he ought to have told us so plainly: passages such as ix. 3, 39 and xi. 4, 25 are altogether inadequate for any such purpose. But the whole internal evidence of the Fourth Gospel is against this alternative. The spirit of truth, which seems to breathe from every one of its glorious pages, forbids the critic from adopting the hypothesis that he is here dealing with a gigantic deception. H. Holtzmann is no doubt right when he contends that in that age the practice of writing under a false name, or at least of concealing one's true name, amounted to a literary passion. But if the Fourth Gospel is a case in point, then we are confronted by no ordinary case of concealment or misappropriation of name. The writer does not persistently hide his own personality: nor does he persistently assume the personality of another. The former of these two courses is consistent with absolute honesty; and the latter, if judged by the literary customs of the time, is not deserving of severe censure. But the Fourth Evangelist does neither of these. He wears a veil, which here and there is for a moment slightly raised, in a manner which, *if* he is a writer of the second century, can only be explained as a most subtle and artful contrivance for deceiving the reader. He suggests, without asserting it, that he is an intimate disciple of Jesus Christ; and it is perhaps not too much to say that he wishes to be taken for the Apostle St John. It is difficult to excuse such a proceeding as that; and it is impossible for an earnest Christian to regard the Johannean authorship of the Fourth Gospel as a matter of purely literary interest. There

are some who adopt the heroic position of thanking Providence for the fact that, by the development of Biblical criticism, all worthless crutches have been taken away from us; and they include among such crutches our trust in the historical character of the Gospel narratives. E. Haupt<sup>1</sup> says, with special reference to the Johannean question, "If I am told that the Gospel of John is not historical, I can still look at the narrative of the raising Lazarus with the conviction that in it my God is speaking to me, and that every word in it is eternal truth": by which he does not at all mean that, in spite of all objections, he holds fast to the narrative as historically true; but that for him the spiritual value of the book is quite independent of its historical truth. No one has the right to dispute such a statement. But an internal experience of that kind is no sure guide to any one but the person who has it,—even if it be a sure guide to him; it is a purely subjective test. What ordinary believer can look calmly at the portrait which is sketched for him in the Gospel and say, "It makes no difference to me whether it is fiction or fact?" Even to the critic it is a matter of some moment whether the portrait which looks out upon him from the evangelistic frame is that of a real or an imaginary Christ.

And the loss would still be considerable if we were confined to the Synoptic narrative. It may contain everything that is essential. It may be an adequate protection against mere subjectivity and evaporation. But it is incomparably richer and more effective when combined with the Johannean narrative, and therefore nothing short of absolute necessity excuses us for dispensing with the Fourth Gospel. Modern criticism contends that a rational combination of the two narratives is impossible; and it is to combat this view that *Von der Welt zum Himmelreich* has been written. The author has had no scruple in making use of the First Epistle of St John to complete the material supplied by the Fourth Gospel. On the other hand he makes no use of the Apocalypse, which in his opinion *mit dem Apostel Johannes nichts zu schaffen hat* (p. xxi.).

In executing his purpose, Herr Köhler begins by discussing the import of the coming of Jesus from heaven into the world, meaning by the world men alienated from God. He then passes on to consider the ideas of Light and Truth as set forth in the Synoptists and in St John, and endeavours to show that there is harmony between the two representations (pp. 21-43). Next the Johannean idea of Jesus as the Life is compared with the Synoptic idea of Jesus as the Originator of the Kingdom of Heaven (pp. 44-78). From the ideal side we now pass to the practical; and in chap. v. Light and Truth in activity are discussed both from the Synoptic

<sup>1</sup> *Die Bedeutung der heiligen Schrift für den evangelischen Christen*, 1891, pp. 46, 48 (*Christliche Welt*, 1890, Nr. 29).

and from the Johannean point of view (pp. 79-144). After which we have two long parallel chapters on the Communication of the Life of Jesus to others, as represented by St John (pp. 145-241), and on His admitting others to Membership in the Kingdom, as represented by the Synoptists (pp. 242-326).

The most original part of the book seems to be its arrangement, as just sketched; and there are numerous, but not too numerous, subdivisions. The whole volume amounts to one hundred and twelve sections, each of which has a separate title, both in the table of contents and also in the margin of the page: all of which conduces very much to clearness. Whether anything very substantial has been added to what has already been done by previous writers in exhibiting the substantial harmony between the first three Evangelists and the fourth may be doubted. But, from his own point of view, the author has made some rather damaging concessions to those who maintain that the Fourth Gospel is idealized history, or even ideal fiction, without any historical basis at all. In discussing the sixth chapter of St John he says that nothing is further from the Evangelist's intention than to garble or falsify the historical contents; but nevertheless Christ's discourse is reproduced in the freest manner, and "shows itself to be more than usually interwoven with materials which belong exclusively to the Johannean, and not to the historical, Christ," and "an elimination of these materials is not practicable" (p. 150). And a little further on he speaks of the tendency which the "Spiritual Gospel" exhibits, viz., to select incidents in the life of Jesus and turn them to account as mere illustrations of the ideas in the freely imagined discourses (p. 151). But even the incidents mentioned in the sixth chapter are not to be taken as strictly historical in their details. "Rather the section bears quite unmistakably the impression of an artistic composition freely sketched from historical data; and its main purpose is a didactic one" (p. 157). And then Herr Köhler describes the way in which the memory and the imagination of the Evangelist combined to produce this "artistic composition," aided by a power of reflection, "which alters much and adds much, yet without marring the unity and unique character of the mental picture." After which he adds the legitimate remark that "what is produced in this manner can of course make no claim to historical value in the strict sense." His attempt to evade the effect of such an admission is perhaps not so legitimate. He urges that, "inasmuch as the manner of production lies quite open before us, we are from the outset precluded from supposing that the Evangelist intends to make any such claim. He lets his own additions be recognized as such plainly enough" (p. 158). If this were the case (one may remark in passing), what an easy problem the Fourth Gospel would

be! As to the concluding part of the discourse, in which Jesus speaks of His pre-existence with the Father, and of His having come down from heaven as food for the life of the world (vv. 44-58), our author says that to attribute all this to Jesus is to place "an absolute bar to bringing the Synoptic representation into harmony with the Johannean" (p. 161). Of the part which the Jews are stated to have taken in the scene, we are told that "the more violent their tone becomes, the further it is removed from the given historical basis." That the discourse refers to the Eucharist is regarded as so clear that even those who are interested in denying the reference are commonly obliged to admit it: but then the reference is created, or at any rate made clear, by the fact that the Evangelist has embellished Christ's words about the Bread of Life with the Eucharistic phraseology prevalent in his own time (pp. 162, 218). As to the concluding words, "For this cause have I said unto you, that no man can come unto Me, except it be given unto him of the Father" (v. 65), criticism allows us to conclude that Jesus never uttered them at all (p. 238).

After this, one is quite prepared to find that the farewell discourses (xiv. 31-xviii. 1) are treated in a similar manner. The conversations with Thomas, Philip, and Jude are admitted to be in the main historical, but after that all runs away into indefiniteness. The Evangelist's own reflexions come more and more to the surface and dominate his recollections (p. 183). The allegory of the Good Shepherd and the promise of the Spirit are allowed to be historical, but about most of the remainder, and about the form in which the promise of the Spirit is made, there is utter uncertainty. "The section is a striking example of the sovereign freedom with which the Evangelist moulds his material, and interweaves it with elements of doctrine which were developed later, and with his own inner experiences."

These, and similar concessions to those who impugn the historical character of the Fourth Gospel, seem to leave sadly little that can be successfully defended. Herr Köhler may be able to decide to his own satisfaction what is a genuine saying of Jesus Christ, what is a compound between His teaching and that of the Evangelist, and what (although put into Christ's mouth) is really wholly Johannean. But other persons will doubt the security of his processes, and will conclude that the position which he endeavours to defend is, upon his own showing, indefensible, and that nothing which rests upon the unsupported testimony of the Fourth Gospel can be safely maintained. They will remind him of his own dilemma. He told us at the outset that "this Gospel is either in its fundamental basis actual history, or fiction which professes to be history." There is "no other alternative" (p. viii.). In the course of his investiga-

tions, he has assured his readers from time to time that the fundamental basis is actual history, however much it may be mixed up with elements which are the creations of the Evangelist's own mind. He assures them also that he can tell when the Evangelist is simply remembering and narrating, and when he is imagining and inventing ; and that these imaginary elements are added with such frankness and openness that the author ought not to be accused of any attempt to deceive. But there are many persons who will say that they cannot detect any such frankness on the part of the author. St Paul sometimes says that the direction which he gives is his own personal advice, and not a Divine command (1 Cor. vii. 12). But where does St John even so much as hint at any distinction between what was actually said and done, and what he imagines might have been said and done, or between historical scenes which have been selected on account of their instructiveness, and fictitious scenes which have been invented in order to convey instruction ? That "sovereign freedom with which the Evangelist moulds his material, and interweaves it with elements of doctrine which were developed later, and with his own inner experiences," leads to the result that Christ's acts and words are dramatized almost beyond recognition. Herr Köhler seems to know that John v. 26, vi. 15 and 56, are genuine sayings of Jesus ; but how can we be sure of that if the passages in which they are imbedded are in the main, or in their entirety, unhistorical ? We are reduced to the position which Grote taught us to adopt with regard to the old Greek myths. There is a great deal in them which *cannot* be true,—all the supernatural portions, for instance. With regard to the remainder, there are probably some elements of truth mixed up with the fictitious elements ; but we have now no means of separating what is historical from what is not. We must take the myths as they stand, neither accepting them as history until they are confirmed by other evidence, nor rejecting them as pure and unadulterated fiction.

But there are plenty of students of the Fourth Gospel who will decline to accept this position. The principle laid down by Herr Köhler is a sound one,—that this Gospel is too manifestly full of the Spirit of Truth to be accepted as a gigantic deception : and such it must be if it is a historical romance or drama, like the "Harold" of Bulwer Lytton or of Tennyson. That St John translates Aramaic into a language which he has not entirely mastered ; that he sometimes condenses a conversation of one or two hours into a few verses ; that in his chronology and other matters of unimportant detail his memory is not always exact ; that he selects his incidents, and narrates them concisely or fully, with a view to didactic effect ; that we cannot always determine when the sub-

stance is Christ's while the wording is John's, and when the Evangelist is simply reproducing or accurately translating the Master's very words,—all this may be conceded. But to go the lengths which are recommended in this volume, and recommended as a defence of the truthful character of the Fourth Gospel, seems to require us logically to go on to the position from which the author would call us back, that in fact and in intention this Gospel is a fiction that imitates history. A far more sure way of avoiding this position is to remember that the Fourth Gospel has been for eighteen hundred years a *transcendent success*; and that in the case of the Gospel history a *successful imitation is impossible*. The apocryphal gospels which remain and which have perished are conclusive proof of that. Those which are still extant show us the best that pious Christians could produce, even with the canonical Gospels to copy from, when they fell back upon their own imagination as to what Jesus might have done or said: and with these specimens of fiction at work upon the life of Christ we need no further explanation of the fact that many which were once extant have perished. A Gospel which from the outset has satisfied the spiritual instincts of Christendom cannot be other than true.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

### Theosophy or Psychological Religion : The Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1892.

By F. Max Müller, K.M. London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1893.  
Pp. xciii and 585. Price 10s. 6d.

In this course of lectures Professor Max Müller completes his survey of the philosophy of religion, and gives us the latest results of his "life-long studies in the religions and the philosophies of the world."

The two fundamental postulates of the system expounded in these volumes are, that thought is inseparable from language; and that the makers of language could only form the names of objects by means of roots expressive of actions. In this last volume, the author has, however, modified the first of these by defining thought, not as a mere percept, but as what that intellectual act means as soon as it is expressed in a word. In this sense, certainly, thought and language are self-evidently inseparable. Professor Max Müller's philosophy may, in brief, be expressed in the words of the Aitareya Aranyaka (II. 1, 6, 1) "Speech is his rope; the names are the knots, so by speech as by a rope and by names as by knots all these are bound together; for these truly are names alone, and by speech he arranges everything."

In the progress of the development of religion among men three



stages may be recognised. In the initial condition of primitive culture, by reflection upon the names given to the phenomena of nature, man was led to infer the existence of causal actors behind and independent of the phenomena. The growth of this conception, unaided by special revelation, culminated in the recognition of these actors as gods, and ultimately as different manifestations of one God. To this discovery of the Infinite in nature Professor Max Müller has given the name Physical Religion.

The second stage is that in which man, meditating on the manifestations of his own mind, discovers that behind the mere phenomena there must be something akin to that Infinite; some faculty which feels after God; and to this he gives the name *Soul*. This is the stage of Anthropological Religion, and, as the soul in man longs for a closer knowledge of God, this naturally leads to the third stage, or that of Psychological Religion, in which man makes the discovery of the relationships existing between his soul and God, between the Infinite in man and the Infinite in nature. This third stage, with the consideration of which the volume now before us is occupied, is, in effect, the search for a bridge whereby the soul can pass from earth to the eternal abode with the Infinite in nature. The ethical and ritual consequences which flow from this discovery of the soul, and from the search for its divine connections, vary among different nations only so far as they are modified by the diversity of national and individual environments, and according to the degree of perfection with which the primary idea of God has been developed. In these respects Christianity is but one of the many forms of the world-religions; and its characters differ from those of the others only in degree. Whatever superiority it may possess, it owes to its synthetic nature, being built up by a combination of the philosophic and religious thoughts of the Aryan and Shemitic peoples. The example of prayer as a ritual observance is taken, and specimen prayers from non-Christian systems are given by the author at considerable length.

The written records of man's progress in groping after these eternal relations constitute the sacred books of the world. To their study we must look for our knowledge of the growth of human religious ideas. There is a certain fitness in the prominence given in these lectures to the sacred writings of the East, for Professor Max Müller has himself been instrumental in bringing this extensive and polyglot literature within the reach of Western students by means of the series of forty-two volumes which he has edited for the Oxford Press.

The perusal of these books cannot fail to impress us with a sense of their fundamental unity of thought, feeling, and aspiration, arising from their common human substratum. Professor Müller

believes that the Christian religion, which he regards as the highest of these products of the human religious faculty, is fitted in special measure to make the world comprehend the oneness of the objective Deity with the subjective Deity or Logos. The human soul, identical in essence with the Divinity, is separated from God chiefly by ignorance; and when that dividing cloud is removed it becomes reunited to Him. Christ, the most perfect human soul by virtue of His clearer view of the godhood of humanity, was thus a divine man in the fullest sense. This constitutes His claim to the title of Son of God, and is the true historical solution of the Incarnation, according to Professor Müller. Psychological Religion is represented in these lectures by the simile of a bridge between the finite and the infinite, spanning the gulf of ignorance which separates man from God. In the philosophy of religion, as expounded by the author, this bridge is built entirely from the human side. The religious man is the bridge builder; and his structure unites man by "arches of hope and fear, or by the iron chains of logical syllogism" to a Godhead which is of his own fashioning; and the farther end of the bridge is consequently, like that in the Vision of Mirza, enveloped in cloud. Such a bridge differs essentially from that of which we are taught by St Paul or St John, whose doctrine concerning union with God is that of a bridge stretching down from God to man, of which God is the builder, and across which there is a way of reconciliation through the Incarnation, Life, and Death of Christ, in whose personality the Christian can hope, on whom he can depend by faith, and whom he can approach in prayer. The stability of this bridge rests on the belief in the direct revelation of God in Christ.

The merit which Professor Max Müller claims for his system in preference to the Pauline is that it sweeps away all that claims to be from above. Inspiration and miracles seem to him to be delusive phases of thought natural to a low horizon of the historical search for a philosophical religion. The belief in a *sruti* or revelation is in his view one of the weaknesses of the Vedanta philosophy.

The thread of connection running through these lectures is the historic study of opinion concerning the nature of the mode whereby the human can be brought into contact with the divine. This is sought in the pantheistic philosophy of the Hindu; in the dualistic religion of the Avesta; in the enthusiasm of the Sufi dervishes; in the world-spirit of the Platonist; in the logos of the Stoic and Neo-Platonist; and in the mysticism of mediæval Christianity.

In a series of successive, disjointed courses of lectures such as these, there is of necessity a considerable amount of repetition. This, together with the dreary verbosity of the long quotations

setting forth the Hindu philosophical systems, renders this volume less interesting to the reader than its predecessors were.

The survey of the Indian religious philosophy, as set forth in the Upanishads and Vedanta Sūtras, furnishes the materials for five of the lectures. We are here presented with a pure pantheism: Brahman is all in all. Our souls, which are of this divine nature, seem to us to be personal, separated from the all-pervading, and therefore impersonal, deity, because of our ignorance. By meditation and revelation this nescience is removed, and the soul is enabled to rejoin the great universal soul of the world, of which it is but a phase. This is the philosophy of illusion which is expounded by Sankara in his Commentary on the Vedanta Sūtras, and according to which species are only recognised by us as separate on account of our ignorance of their real relations.

There is a second and more popular exegesis of the Vedanta philosophy, that of Rāmānuga, according to which the course of nature is one of unending successions of cycles of integration and disintegration, the world and the soul springing from Brahman by a kind of evolution, to return to him at the end of the kalpa, or cycle.

The course of the individual soul after death is determined mainly by ethical considerations. Three paths are open: one, the way of the gods, leading by certain stages to Brahman, for those who have attained to the highest knowledge; their souls ascending in the flame of the pyre. The second road, the way of the Fathers, is a longer course. The soul ascends in the smoke of the pyre, but again descends to the earth, enters certain food-plants, thence re-enters a human body to live again on the earth. The third course is that for evildoers, who enter the bodies of unclean or accursed living things.

The origin of this metempsychosis is ethical not animistic. It is a substitute for a Hell in the primitive Hindu eschatology. It is interesting to find that, while similar views were current in Greece, there are no traces of any belief in transmigration in ancient Egypt, except in such magical transformations as those in the story of Bata. These probably gave rise to the belief expressed by Clement (Strom. vi.) that this philosophy had come from Egypt to Greece.

The close connection of India with Persia is testified by the likeness of the mythological and eschatological teachings of the Avesta to those of the Vedic literature, of which they seem a later development. Professor Müller, for some occult reason, strenuously denies that the doctrine of dualism is an essential in the Zoroastrian teaching; but no unprejudiced reader of the Gāthas, the oldest of the Zoroastrian writings, can agree with him in this. There is a distinct assertion of the existence of two primeval

causes in Yasna xxx., which is occupied with the story of the contentions of these warring spirits. The denial of dualism is made on the high authority of Haug, who bases his opinion on passages such as Yasna xix. 9, in which "the better of the two spirits is represented as speaking to Zarathustra, indicating that the dual principles are immanent in the one divinity; but not only is that ancient commentary on the Ahuna Vairya formulas evidently corrupt and obscure, but this deduction from it is at variance with much older and clearer statements in the Gâthas, which are of higher authority. Thus, in Yasna xlv. 2, it is written, "Yea, I will declare the world's two first spirits, of whom the good thus spake to the evil, Neither our thoughts, nor commands, nor our understandings, nor our beliefs, nor our consciences, nor our soul, are at one." Here, and in other passages which might be cited, we have as strong a contrast as possible between the vahistem manô and the akistem manô. In Yasna xix. itself there is an equally emphatic denial of the unity of the two.

Evidence of this kind abounds in the Avesta. The first Fargard of the Vendidad is occupied with the description of the rival creations of the good and of the evil spirit. In the twentieth Fargard we are told that Ahura Mazda brought down from paradise 10,000 healing plants to the first physician Thrîta; whereupon Angra Mainya created 99,999 diseases to afflict humanity.

The relation between post-exilic Judaism and Zoroastrianism, suspected by many scholars, is touched on in passing; and traces of Jewish influence are supposed to be shown in the monotheism of the Avesta, while traces of Median influence in later Judaism are surmised, especially in the doctrines of immortality and of resurrection.

While the derivation of the old Persian religious philosophy from an Indian source is almost certain, it is at least improbable that there was any direct genetic connection between the doctrine of transmigration, as taught in the Platonic eschatology, and that in the Vedantas. Our author follows Zeller in his treatment of this subject, and agrees with him in his conclusions.

The elevation of the one God to a supreme place produces a gulf between Him and humanity. Among the Greek Pantheists, such as Heraclitus and the Stoics, this was bridged over by an emanation from the Divinity, to which the name Logos was given. The development of this Logos-philosophy has been sketched in outline by Dr Bigg in his Bampton Lectures for 1886, and Professor Müller follows Bigg closely in his twelfth and thirteenth lectures, as he traces the Logos through the Neo-Platonism of Philo to the Alexandrian Fathers. His treatment of this subject is disappointing and superficial, and shows but little traces of original thought.

This is the more to be regretted, as the subject is one of great interest, and one which has been treated from different standpoints by several authors, not only by Drummond and Harnack, whom he has taken as his guides, but by Siegfried,<sup>1</sup> Soulier,<sup>2</sup> Laemmer,<sup>3</sup> and many others, who have carefully traced the course and development of the Logos-philosophy.

Professor Müller, however, seems to attach far greater importance to the Greek side of the Logos-element in Christian philosophy than did the early apologists. There is at least as much to be said on the other side in favour of the Palestinian origin of the Johannine "Word." But whether Greek or Hebrew, the "Word," as such, plays but a small part in the Christology of the Gospels. The Jesus of St Matthew is as much a personal link between God and man as the Christ of St John. It is not the Name, but the Person, who is the real revealer of the Father.

Even Professor Max Müller's hero, Clement, whom he considers far superior to Paul, both in learning and philosophical strength, uses the name "Word" as a personal name for the personal Son of God, that is Christ, more frequently than in any mere philosophical sense, taking the name Word, as he found it in St John. (See *Protrept.* i. 7). It is surely misleading when the Professor says that Clement conceived this Logos in its old philosophical sense as the mind and consciousness of the Father. He speaks of the Logos as "divine, the likeness of the Lord of all things, the most manifest true God." The passage thus travestied is *Protrepticus* x. 110, and runs as follows: "For it was not without the divine care that the Lord finished so great a work in so short a time. He, though despised in appearance, was in reality adored, the sin-cleanser, the Saviour, the merciful, the Divine Word. He that is truly most manifest God. He that is equal to the Lord of the Universe because he was his Son," &c. The "Word" here is plainly the personal Christ.

In the writings of Clement the name Logos, as applied to the person of Jesus, was not merely a philosophic term, but was used to characterise a Historic Christ to whom his contemporaries had borne testimony. Jesus was to him a living active presence in the Church, as he says in *Paedag.* i. xi. 97, "So that from this it is clear that one alone, true, good, just, in the image and likeness of the Father, His Son Jesus, the Word of God is our Instructor, to whom God hath entrusted us as an affectionate father commits his children to a competent tutor," &c.

Nor was the Clementine Logos that which pervaded every human

<sup>1</sup> "Philo v. Alexandria als Ausleger des A. T." Jena, 1875.

<sup>2</sup> "La Doctrine du Logos chez Philon." Turin, 1876.

<sup>3</sup> "Clementis Alexandri de Λογῶν doctrina."

soul, for while he recognises in the complex soul a certain element, which makes it dear to God, "καὶ τὸ φίλτρον ἔνδον ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐμφύσημα λέγεται θεοῦ" (*Paedag.* i. 3); yet this ἐμφύσημα is quite distinct from the nature of God, "ὁ θεὸς δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἔχει πρὸς ἡμᾶς φυσικὴν σχέσιν ὥς οἱ τῶν αἰρέσεων κτίσται θέλουσιν οὔτ' εἰ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων ποιοίη οὔτ' εἰ ἐξ ὕλης δημιουργίη, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδ' ὅλως ὄν, ἡ δὲ κατὰ πάντα ἑτέρα τυγχάνει τοῦ θεοῦ," &c. (*Strom.* ii. xvi.).

There are many digressions in the course of these lectures which call for notice. Professor Müller repeats again his belief that book-writing does not appear anywhere in the history of the world much before the seventh century B.C. He qualifies this statement by saying that he refers to alphabetic writing, but the line between a phonetic syllabic system and a phonetic alphabetic system is a slight one, and if by means of the former man can write down and communicate to others his hopes and desires, then the work so written is as much a sacred book as the Qûran or the Upanishad. The abundant sacred literature in Egypt more than ten centuries before the date given by the Professor shows that, in that country at least, there were not only many who could write, but many who could read. Our Aryan ancestors may have been behind their Khamitic and Semitic contemporaries in culture, but the absence of a name for the art of writing in the oral tradition of the Aryans is no proof that the others were equally ignorant.

There is also an amusing digression on the origin of species and heredity on pp. 386-7, wherein the hypothesis of what the late Professor Laycock used to call "teleiotic ideas" is set forth.

The system of Christian Theosophy expounded in these lectures, with its easy explanations of the deepest mysteries of the Christian faith, is not likely to commend itself to the thoughtful student of the Gospels. The treatment of Christian doctrine reminds one of the methods of those eclectic philosophers whereof Clement speaks, "τῶν μὲν γὰρ κλέπται, ὧν δὲ καὶ παρήκουσαν ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἃ μὲν κινούμενοι εἰρήκασιν, ἀλλ' οὐ τελείως ἐξειργάσαντο· τὰ δὲ ἀνθρωπίνῳ στοχασμῷ τε καὶ ἐπιλογισμῷ, ἐν οἷς καὶ παραπιπτουσιν."

ALEX. MACALISTER.

**Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften : Vierter  
Theil : Kirchengeschichte.**

*Von D. Karl Müller, Professor der evangelischen Theologie in  
Breslau. Erster Band. Freiburg i. B. 8vo, pp. xxii. 636.  
Price M. 9.50.*

PROFESSOR MÜLLER'S aim is to furnish not a mere outline, but, in some measure, a philosophy of Church History. In his preface he declares the necessity of discarding "the old selection and arrangement of historical material." He desires to set forth the history in such a way as to exhibit "the close connection of its elements," and to survey events and circumstances "only in so far as they constitute vital forces of development or of limitation." His endeavour is "to hold the reins of the material at disposal firmly in hand, and to keep an eye always upon the history as a whole."

In comparison, accordingly, with other similar works of equal dimensions, Professor Müller's Church History takes up much less space with details of persecutions, missions, controversies, usages, institutions, &c., and much more with a review of the origin, growth, and issue of leading religious movements, including their connection with contemporary secular history. Thus, authentic and notable martyrdoms in the early Church are passed by with little or no notice; while the successive phases of the imperial attitude towards the new faith are succinctly traced, and the political, as distinct from the religious, motives of persecution are emphasised (pp. 54, 60, 98, &c.). We look in vain for detailed accounts of leading Gnostic systems, and of the less notable there is no mention. On the other hand, the historical genesis of Gnosticism, as a manifestation on Christian ground of the syncretic tendency of the age, is amply set forth; its essential dogmatic basis is clearly expounded; the nature of its service to the Church is explained; and its influence on Alexandrian theology, as well as on the ecclesiastical development of canonicity and catholicity, is lucidly traced (pp. 68-88). The account given of individual Apologists (p. 62) is little more than a catalogue, without either biographical incidents or literary abstracts; neither the recent discovery of Aristides' Apology nor the intrinsic interest of Justin's history tempts the author into details.<sup>1</sup> But the occasion of apologetical activity under the Antonines, as well as the general scope of apologetical literature, receives full attention; and in an interesting section on the Christian philosophy of the Apologists (p. 88) the author shows how, "notwithstanding their antagonism to Greek philosophy, (inward) continuity is to be discerned behind (outward) rupture." The external history

<sup>1</sup> The author assumes that his book will be supplemented by oral lectures.

of Arianism receives what many will consider meagre treatment; the Nicene Council is dismissed in a short paragraph; most of the synods during the thirty-five succeeding years are not even noted; and little is recorded regarding the personal history of the champions. But the development of the Arian, Semi-Arian, Athanasian, and Imperialist positions is succinctly described, and the causes of the early reaction against the Nicene creed and of the later counter-reaction in its favour are duly signalised (§ 55, § 59).

In Mediæval History (which the volume before us brings down to 1270), the actual conflict between Hildebrand and the Emperor Henry IV. is condensed into a few brief sentences (p. 439); while the memorable scenes at Canossa and Salerno, which Sir James Stephen has painted in vivid colours, and over the former of which even Kurtz becomes graphic, are never mentioned. On the other hand, with a fulness not found even in larger histories (§ 129, § 130), the development of Hildebrandism is traced; the various aims of the great Pope are set forth in mutual relation; justice is done to the combination in him of the enthusiasm of a reformer assailing ecclesiastical abuse with the calculation of a statesman utilising the political as well as religious forces within his reach for the attainment of papal supremacy; and the issues, direct and indirect, of his policy are clearly and definitely detailed. The Crusades, again, are described with the utmost brevity, few particulars being given beyond statistics of places captured or lost; Peter the Hermit, the significance of whose crusading activity has been greatly exaggerated, is ignored; Godfrey, with higher claim to notice, all but shares the same fate; the chief expedition of St Louis receives only a single line. But there is a careful analysis of the various motives — religious, ecclesiastical, political, commercial — which led to crusading enterprise (p. 462); and the author reviews the effect of the movement upon European culture (p. 463), as well as its triple influence in augmenting the wealth, aggravating the abuses, and eventually undermining the authority of the Church (pp. 513, 563, 573).

As an example of effective and graphic treatment may be noted the two sections, § 52 and § 61, regarding the "Position of the Church," "Popular Religiousness," and "Paganism in the Church," after her triumph in the fourth century. In these sections the writer endeavours to show, on the one hand, how the power of the Post-Nicene Church to attract pagans did not depend entirely on its recognition as the Church of the empire, but had been gradually developed, in the latter portion of the preceding period, through self-adaptation to external environment; on the other hand, how this paganising process was stimulated in and after Constantine's time; how "heathenism, when it found no longer a place in the



Empire, took refuge in the Church"; how the polytheistic crave was met by Mariolatry, Angelolatry, and Saint-worship; how the frequent dedication of pagan temples and property to Christian use facilitated the transference of Christian associations to objects of heathen veneration; how pictures and statues of gods and demigods passed over to the new guardians of the Christianised sanctuaries; how the disuse of pagan mysteries was compensated for by the fuller development of the *Disciplina Arcani*, and the discontinuance of heathen festivals by the substitution, "often on the same day," of Christian celebrations; how the ceremonial ablutions, use of incense, lighting of candles, and votive offerings characteristic of heathen worship, all re-appeared with fresh significance in Christian temples; how sometimes Pagan "amulets and magic apparatus were simply furnished with Christian names," relics of divinities or heroes replaced by those of Christ or saints, and "oracular responses, formerly sought through 'thumbing' from the works of Virgil and others, similarly obtained from Holy Writ." Worthy of notice, also, is the author's habit of grouping various developments, contemporary or successive, as parts of one general movement; as when he recounts the different yet mutually related manifestations of the same "*Bewegung*" in the age of St Bernard (scholasticism and mysticism, monastic and ecclesiastical reform, lay activity and anti-ecclesiastical revolt, pp. 463-493); and when he traces the inner connection of three successive movements in the direction of evangelical poverty combined with home-mission activity, under Norbert of Xanthen, Waldo of Lyons, and Francis of Assisi (p. 565).

The Organisation of the Early Church is treated by our author mainly on the lines of Dr Hatch's well-known work.

The least satisfactory section of the volume before us is that on the "*Beginnings of Christendom*." Any historian who prefers not to deal with the supernatural facts which, according to the earliest historical records, constitute the basis of Christianity, is at liberty to commence his narration at a later stage; but if one elects, as our author does, to "begin at the beginning," it is hardly fair, without qualification or discussion, to represent as historical fact, that "after the Crucifixion the disciples, who had believed victory at hand, at once scattered, and returned in complete despair to Galilee. Here, however, they became assured that their Lord had not remained dead, but would return ere long for the establishment of His Kingdom. So they go back to Jerusalem, and, by means of secret announcement of their faith, obtain associates, and therewith fresh reporters, so that ere long, in Jerusalem, in other towns of Judea, and beyond Jewry, hidden and quiescent communities of believers are gathered together" (p. 23). Similarly unsatisfactory is Professor Müller's quiet ignoring of the "*Birthday of the*

Christian Church,"—the first Christian Pentecost. The testimony of the *Acts of the Apostles* to the fact of a special dispensation of the Spirit to the infant Church, whatever may have been its precise outward tokens, is confirmed (so far) by Scriptures of acknowledged authenticity (Rom. v. 5, Gal. iv. 6, 1 Cor. ii. 4, xii. 7-11). We must also dissent from the author's association of a substantially (p. 124) Ebionitish Christology with the representation of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels. And the argument (p. 84) that the class of New Testament writings designated collectively as the *Apostolos* (including Acts and Epistles) "betrays novelty of origin," because these writings are sometimes, in the latter part of the second century, "not yet reckoned as on an equality" with the Gospels, is by no means conclusive. This delay of equal recognition arose not from the later origin of the writings (otherwise Romans, Galatians, 1st and 2nd Corinthians would have been the earliest to be recognised as "Scripture"), but from the nature of their contents, as not containing, like the Gospels, an account of the words and works of "the Lord."

Among minor defects (according to our judgment), we note the following:—1. Justice is scarcely done to the motive of moral reform which underlay the persecuting policy of the narrow-minded but patriotic and earnest Decius. 2. Mahometanism is regarded as little more than "the last notable link in the chain of syncretic religious developments" (p. 323), no account being taken of its (so far) Protestant elements, as a reaction against the idolatry, sacerdotalism, theological logomachy, and missionary apathy of Eastern Christendom. The author ignores the influence of Mahometanism on the Iconoclastic controversy, finding the motive for the Isaurian policy in the eighth century solely in the imperial jealousy of monastic power, and in the "conviction that the prevalent religious sentiment which was expressed in image-worship was morally enervating, and a hindrance to military efficiency" (p. 336). 3. The missionary labours of Anskar, the "Apostle of Scandinavia," are disappointingly referred to only in a parenthetical clause (p. 361); and the result of his missionary career is unduly minimised when it is described as "extremely small."

Professor Müller is a very careful writer, but here and there a trifling inadvertence occurs. The statement (p. 55) that, according to Hadrian's rescript, charges against Christians were to be received "only on account of non-religious offences," and that Hadrian "made the profession of Christianity as such actually free" goes beyond the record, although it is not unlikely, as Professor Ramsay suggests ("Church in Roman Empire," p. 323), that there is in the rescript "a studied vagueness in regard to the crimes of which proof is required." The Alogi are represented (p. 84) as ascribing

the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse to Cerdon, instead of to Cerinthus. Origen is quoted (p. 101) as stating the number of Christians in the empire to have been (in his own day) "very small." In the treatise against Celsus (iii. 10), Origen writes that "Christians *at first* were few in number in comparison with the multitudes who afterwards became Christian." In the account of the persecution under Diocletian (p. 163), it is said that after the edict of amnesty to all imprisoned clergy who sacrificed, "the prisons speedily became empty." This is rather strong a statement in view of that of Eusebius (viii. 3), that at this crisis "most of the bishops" remained faithful. The remark (p. 303) that after the Council of Whitby in 664, "the few Scots, who did not submit to the bishops of Romish ecclesiastical descent, left the country," conveys a wrong impression; for Bede (iv. 4) states that Bishop Colman, when he departed, "took along with him all the Scots whom he had assembled in Lindisfarne island, and also about thirty Englishmen."

Not the least useful feature of this Church History is the ample repertory of authorities and of literature prefixed to each section. The literature is chiefly German; but French works frequently, and English occasionally, are included. In the list of books referring to our Celtic Church, it is to be regretted that the invaluable "Celtic Scotland" is omitted, while a place is given to Bellesheim's History, which, as regards this subject, largely repeats in abbreviated form the results of Skene's original researches.

We shall welcome the publication of the second volume of Professor Müller's work. Even when one disagrees with the author, his interpretation of history is at once instructive and suggestive.

HENRY COWAN.

### **The Epistle to the Philippians.**

*By Robert Rainy, D.D., Principal of New College, Edinburgh.*  
*London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1893. 8vo, pp. xxiii. 556.*  
*Price 7s. 6d.*

THIS volume of the *Expositors' Bible* will be read with much interest, both for its own sake and because of the light it casts upon the inner thoughts of the distinguished author. As a volume in the Expositor series, it is not perhaps quite in its right place. The design of the series, as we understand it, is to afford to ministers and others a succinct account of the general character of Biblical books, and such interpretations of the text, especially of the more difficult portions, as shall render them independent of elaborate commentaries to which they may not have ready access. Dr Rainy has not done much of the work of the compiler. The

introduction is slight, some subjects being altogether omitted on which information and even discussion might have been reasonably expected. The Epistle is assigned to the latter part of Paul's Roman captivity, to which we believe it rightly belongs, but a fuller account of the circumstances amid which it was written would have been welcome. More might have been said, we think, of Rome, of the Roman Church, and of the Roman life by which Paul was surrounded when waiting the result of his appeal. Dr Rainy has not concerned himself very seriously with exact explanation of the Apostle's language, which is the strong point with most modern expositors, who elucidate every sentence and phrase, especially in their relation to the earliest readers. This pioneer work has been admirably performed by some commentators, whose attitude is that of detachment, or even of dissent, from the Apostle's faith. Dr Rainy makes no profession of being an impartial outsider, nor does he always separate interpretation from comment. Often, in the course of exposition, his own thoughts blend themselves insensibly with those of the Apostle; sometimes we have to pause and ask ourselves whether we are reading the sentiments of Paul or of his sympathetic commentator. Few readers will regret that the author has taken his own course, and, following the traditions of earlier commentators, has treated the Epistle as a book of Christian instruction and devotion for all time. What he has omitted to do, others have done, and their works are very accessible. By following his own bent, he has produced a useful and an eminently characteristic work—full of grave good sense, of devoutness, and of large-minded charity. The Principal's charity, however, is not the gush of inexperienced sentiment, which views everything in a rosy light, but the charity which has come through the fire of disillusion and disappointment. It has survived the experiences of a Church leader who has had to make acquaintance with the seamy side of Christian life. But, unlike Gregory of Nazianzos, he has never been tempted to salute Church Assemblies from afar, and it is interesting to find him expressing an opinion that it is the want of the "sun-light eye" that hinders many from perceiving the luminous side of the Churches of Christ. On this subject he writes as follows—

"In nothing is the Apostle more enviable than in this victoriousness of faith over the earthly shows of things, and over the unlikelihoods which, in this refractory world, always mar and misrepresent the good work. We, for our part, find our faith continually abashed by those same unlikelihoods. We recognise the course of this world, which speaks for itself, but we are uncertain and discouraged as to what the Saviour is doing. The mere commonplaceness of Christians, and of visible Christianity, and of ourselves, is allowed to baffle us. Nothing in the life of the Church, we are ready to say, is very interesting, very vivid, very

hopeful. The great fire burning in the world ever since Pentecost is for us scarcely recognisable. We even take credit for being so hard to please. But if the quick faith and love of Paul the prisoner were ours, we should be sensitive to echoes and pulsations and movements everywhere,—we should be aware that the voice and the power of Christ are everywhere stirring in His Churches.”

The same wise charity is apparent in the remarks regarding Paul’s habit of accepting, without caution or question, the profession of Christianity. A Church might contain unworthy members, but it was not the Apostle’s part, writing to the Church, to allow that possibility to confuse or lower the style of his address to Christ’s Church. “If any have entered Christ’s Church who are content to continue in worldliness and sin, that is solely their own personal sin. But not for that will the Apostle come down to speak to Christ’s Church, as if it should be thought of as a company to which holy and unholy may equally well belong.”

The chapter, “Our City and the Coming King,” contains some sagacious thoughts on Christian citizenship, and some very characteristic counsels addressed to those who demand a complete and perfectly harmonised Christian life in this imperfect world. “The dream of those who would achieve a perfect harmony in the present state, and under present conditions, is vain. A perfect Christian harmony of life cannot be restored in the body of our humiliation. The nobler part is to own this, and to confess that, amid many undeserved good gifts, yet in relation to the great hope set before us, we groan, waiting for the redemption.”

There is not much theological writing in the volume. On the speculative side of the subject of Kenosis—regarding which all wise men are agnostics—he preserves prudent silence, and on the much-contested expression, ii. 6, he has less to say than might have been expected. There is, however, a gently-worded protest against a view of Christ’s person which is rapidly gaining ground among young thinkers—of which this much may be said with confidence, that it is far more revolutionary than its light-hearted advocates permit themselves to think. Dr Rainy writes of it—

“In the hands of divines the humanity of Christ has sometimes seemed to become shadowy and unreal, through the stress laid upon His proper Godhead; and now men have become anxious to possess their souls with the human side of things, even, perhaps, at the cost of leaving the Divine side untouched. The recoil has carried men quite naturally into a kind of humanitarianism, sometimes deliberate, sometimes unconscious. Christ is thought of as the ideal Man, who, just because he is the ideal Man, is morally indistinguishable from God, and is in the closest fellowship with God. Yet He grows on the soil of human nature; He is fundamentally

and only human. And this, it is implied, is enough ; it covers all we want. But we see this was not Paul's way of thinking. The real humanity was necessary for him, because he desiderated a real incarnation. But the true original Divine nature was also necessary. For so he discerned the love, the grace, and the gift by grace ; so he felt that the Eternal God had bowed down to bless him in and by His Son. It makes a great difference to religion when men are persuaded to forego this faith."

Principal Rainy's volume can be confidently recommended to those who are wearied of smart and rhetorical writing on religious subjects, who do not crave for novel views or pungent sensations. They will find in it the good sense of a good man, and a genuine Christian fervour pervades it ; all the more impressive that it is restrained, and expressed in quiet unambitious language.

JOHN GIBB.

### **Das Weltproblem und seine Lösung in der Christlichen Weltanschauung.**

47

*Von Dr Heinrich Kratz. Zweite Ausgabe. Gütersloh: E. Bertelsmann. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. vi. 331, 8vo. Price, M. 3.*

THAT this book has in the course of half-a-dozen years got into a second edition shows that Dr Kratz has had something to say which the public has judged to be relevant and helpful. A second edition of such a book means something. For the book is by no means easy reading. And Dr Kratz has not made a naturally difficult subject any easier to read by clearness of diction or grace of style. The appearance of the page is forbidding. We have dashes innumerable. There are curved brackets and square brackets, sometimes brackets within brackets, until the reader gets impatient, and asks why can't Dr Kratz write like other people ? It must therefore be the goodness of the material which has carried the book into a second edition.

Dr Kratz deals with the problem and its solution in the Christian theory of the world. He remarks at the outset that the problem of the universe is ever new, and continually presents itself as a problem to be solved by man. What is this problem ? and how is it presented to man at the present day ? In answer, Dr Kratz describes the genesis of the problem. He traces the course of the spiritual development of an educated man from his earliest childhood up to the stage of the highest culture. A child is a living being, with sense, memory, and reflection early at work ; who speedily has the use of language and the power of asking questions, and comes,

sooner or later, to a clear consciousness of himself and of the world. He attains also to some culture. This culture is the product of many factors, which need not be enumerated here. Dr Kratz follows the growing boy through his school days, through his course of higher education, as the higher education is constituted in Prussia, until at length we have before us a thoroughly cultured Prussian gentleman. It is an interesting description, into the particulars of which we have no space to enter. Suffice it to say that he is learned in all the sciences. He is learned in physics, chemistry, physiology. He knows languages theoretically and practically. He knows psychology, logic, ethics, theory of knowledge, and knows religion as it has been historically manifested in all religions, and is acquainted with all its particular problems. But the particular problems dealt with by the special sciences only form elements of the one problem set to man by the world as a whole; and with this problem an educated man has to deal.

Having shown how the mind of the educated man opens to the knowledge that there is a problem, Dr Kratz next presents us with what he calls the statistics of the problem of the world. It is pointed out that a solution of the world problem must be thorough, must explain everything, and place everything in its proper place and relation to the one system. If anything is left unexplained, so far the *Weltanschauung* is a failure. What are the things which on the material side are to be explained? These are the statistics of the world problem, and Dr Kratz sets them forth in the second part of his book. We may give one statement of the various things which are to be explained. There are the following grades of existence:—

I. Matter. II. Crystals = matter + individuation, *i.e.*, disposition of parts to a relatively independent whole. III. Plants = individualised matter + life = disposition of parts to an independent living whole. IV. Animal organism + psychical being (*seelisch*). V. Man = psychical organism + consciousness, or spirit = soul + consciousness, Person = being with self-consciousness.

These, according to Dr Kratz, are the successive grades of being. But when we reach spirit or person, we are embarked on a new sea, and are in presence of a new set of phenomena. These are: Memory, reflection, speech, morality, religion, and there are also parts of the objective world, which a true theory of the world must explain. There are also phenomena, not merely of the individual human life, but also of the organic social life of man, which must be taken into account—the family, relations of families, labour and capital, politics, international life. In fact, Dr Kratz enumerates and describes all the activities and relations of humanity to man, to the world, and to God, and then sets them down as elements of

the problem which is to be solved. So much for the statement of the problem on its subjective and its objective side.

The solution of the problem as a whole is found in the Christian theory of the universe. By this Dr Kratz does not mean the Christian theory as it has been set forth by Christian theologians, nor by the writers of the Old Testament scriptures, nor even by the writers of the New Testament. The Christian theory is the theory of the world as it existed in the mind of Jesus Christ, and as it is embodied in His life and words. Mainly from the Gospels are we to construct the Christian theory of the world. So Dr Kratz sets it forth partly in the words of Christ and partly in the necessary presuppositions of His words. We have space for the propositions, but not for his elucidations of them. 1. The world is. 2. God is over the world. 3. God is spirit. 4. God is good. 5. God has created the world. 6. God maintains in being and rules over the world which He has made. 7. God has made man in His own image. 8. Man has become sinful. 9. God has appointed Jesus Christ to remove the estrangement of man from God, and Jesus Christ, through His word, through His work, and through His passion, reconciled man with God. 10. For He has taught men "the truth." 11. He has realised goodness. 12. The passion of Jesus Christ atoning has power. 13. Jesus Christ exists still as a living personality, and, with absolute power, continues the work of the religious and moral recovery of man begun during His earthly life. Other propositions refer to the life of faith and its consequences, to the effects of unbelief, to the development of the kingdom of God, and the realisation of the Divine plan by means of it. These are familiar propositions, and the elucidation of them by Dr Kratz is clear and satisfactory. But how do they stand in relation to the solution of the world problem? How do they enable us to conceive the universe as a whole, and to see each part of the universe in relation to each other and to the whole? The answer to this question is contained in the fourth chapter. "The worth of the Christian theory of the world as knowledge of the world." This chapter takes the form partly of criticism of opposing theories, and partly of developing his own conception of the Christian theory of the world. He begins by setting forth the right relation and respective spheres of knowledge and faith. Then he dwells on the fact that the Christian theory presupposes the world as real and objective as opposed to all idealistic and subjective theories. Next he deals with all materialistic theories, and criticises the mechanical theory of the world, and shows that there are three great laws at work in the world. "Causality, purposiveness (*Zweckverhalten*), freedom, united, form the key that opens for us the wonders of the real world." Causality and freedom are in the service of



purpose, and through these three laws we attain to real knowledge ; detailed knowledge and knowledge of the whole. Then follows a comparison of the theory of evolution with the Christian theory. Dr Kratz affirms that only on one point is Darwinism in emphatic contradiction with the Christian theory. That point is the origin of man. Here he has Russel Wallace on his side. In other respects evolution is consistent with Christianity. Finally, he deals with Pessimism. Dr Kratz has striven to show that no theory except the Christian has any light to cast on the great problems of the origin of the world, its meaning, and its destiny ; on the origin and purpose of man ; on these laws that have worth for the life of nature and of man ; on the present state and future destiny of man and of the world ; on the origin, nature, and worth of the religious and moral conceptions which exist and are at work in the world. If, then, the Christian theory is consistent with all real knowledge and with all true science, if it affords light and guidance when all other theories fail, if it explains what would otherwise be inexplicable, then the Christian theory clearly holds the field. This is the claim which Dr Kratz has made for Christianity, and he has vindicated it with great learning, with subtle and earnest reasoning, and with a deep knowledge of science, philosophy, and religion. These are points open to criticism, but the argument as a whole is valid, and is certainly admirably set forth.

JAMES IVERACH.

### **Geschichte und Offenbarung im Alten Testament.**

*Von Wilhelm Lotz, Doctor der Theol. und der Phil., ordentlichem Prof. an der k.k. evangelisch-theologischen Facultät zu Wien. Zweite durch ein Register vermehrte Ausgabe. Leipzig : J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. Edinburgh and London : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 358. Price, M. 7.*

ONE of the most pressing problems that confront the Christian teacher in the present day is the question how to adjust the preaching of the Gospel in a right relation to the results of Old Testament criticism. These results have heightened our appreciation of the earlier revelation, so that the easy Marcionite tendency to neglect the Old Testament, and confine attention to the New in popular religious work, which was distinctly observable a generation ago, has been checked and reversed. It is now seen more clearly than ever that the living presentation of the Hebrew faith, which has emerged from a scientific and sympathetic study of its history and development, claims a prominent place in the exposition of that larger and richer teaching which afterwards sprang up on the soil of Judaism.

But the traditional adjustment does not seem to suit the later conclusions. How, then, can the relation between the two covenants be viewed to-day? Professor Lotz's treatise is an attempt to answer this question. Its religious earnestness, its eloquent style, and the striking thoughts which here and there flash out of its pages stamp it with a certain value in spite of the disappointment one is compelled to feel with the *a priori* method, the bold assumptions, and the vague generalities in which the author indulges too freely.

Professor Lotz justly observes that, if all we have to say in reply to the changes effected by criticism is that one point after another, formerly thought to be essential, is really of no importance, the total result must be a sense of shrinkage and impoverishment. He aims at showing that there is another side of the process which indicates gain and enrichment. There are two characteristics of our age, he reminds us, in its treatment of such subjects as this—viz., a perception of the reign of law, and the growth of the historical spirit. The two indeed are closely connected, so that they react on one another. They cannot be discarded; nay, they must be welcomed with gratitude in the study of the Old Testament, for they greatly help it. The main thesis which runs through the book is an elaborate exposition of the idea that the Old Testament history and revelation constitute a necessary preparation for Christianity. The history of Israel differs from other history in what happens; but not in the general method of its course and progress. God's work in restoring the living union with Himself, which had been broken by sin, is supernatural, and therefore it cannot be traced back to any cause in the chain of normal human events. Nevertheless the resultant development—based as it is on a divine interference in the first instance—is normal, and according to the laws of human nature and history. It is the same with the individual. The natural man cannot perceive the Spirit of God; when any one perceives the Spirit it is through a supernatural influence; still what happens in him afterwards is a thoroughly natural process of growth.

Dealing in the first chapter with the aim of the Old Testament history, Professor Lotz maintains that it would have been impossible for Christ's redemptive work to have accomplished its end apart from this historical preparation, seeing that it was not a mechanical process from above breaking forcibly into the human world, but a spiritual influence bearing upon the minds and wills of men, who therefore needed to be brought up to the receptive level. Professor Lotz meets the objection, that, although a similar preparation had not been carried through in heathendom, the Gospel was preached there with fruitful effects, by pointing out that in all such cases in the past, as it is in the present with modern missions,

the Gospel went hand-in-hand with the whole range of life and thought, the human preparatory setting, that was established in the Christian centre from which it spread. The Old Testament revelation, and the Jewish history in which it was embodied, could never have produced Christianity. This was an entirely new thing, supernaturally brought about by the act of God, in sending His Son to save the world. But the preparatory work had to be done first. If Christ had not come to a prepared people, it would have been necessary for Him to teach. But teaching is not the calling of a Saviour (?). Moreover, the previous Jewish history and revelation were necessary for the human development of Jesus on earth—a striking thought which would repay careful expansion.

The second chapter treats of the existence and nature of the salvation-history of the Old Testament in general. God revealed Himself to Israel in an especial personal way. This revelation took two forms. The first was in a purposeful shaping of the destiny of the nation, the second was in the immediate communication of Divine truth in prophecy. If God had not sent Moses, the earlier revelation to the patriarchs would have been lost. Each stage was necessary to preserve previous acquisitions and to add to them. Still, all along, God speaks without disturbing the course of the history; nor is individuality of thought excluded.

The third chapter takes up the method of direct revelation. This is always made to an individual—a prophet. Its genuineness is proved to us by the fact that it leads up to Christ, and also historically, by its opposition to current notions—the true prophets of God contradicting the false prophets, who speak smooth things, welcome to their audience, with reliance on the saving goodness of God towards Israel, but in neglect of the moral conditions of that salvation. As stern monitors of conscience, indicating those great moral conditions which are essential to the enjoyment of the Divine deliverance, the inspired prophets stand out boldly against the current of their age, and thus show how they draw their ideas and their strength from supernatural sources.

Professor Lotz next proceeds to discuss the nature of miracle and prophecy. Miracle cannot be a breach of a law of Nature. The very idea of such a thing comes from our confusing two entirely different meanings of the word "law." To men, morally and politically, "law" means a rule *outside* them which they are called upon to obey; but a law of nature is nothing but a generalisation of the way in which things happen, and it is inherent in the things to which it applies. The breach of such a law would really be the destruction of the thing in which the law adhered as a property,—it would be the removal of one of its essential attributes, without which it would cease to be itself—would become something else. The

miracle cannot even be a setting aside of any part of God's plan of creation. It must have been foreseen, and it must have taken its place in the aim of that plan. It is to be regarded as the spiritual world influencing the physical. Similarly the gift of prophecy does not disturb the natural processes of the thinking mind of the prophet ; yet it introduces new influences to bear upon the prophet.

The next chapter discusses the influence of the Spirit of God generally upon men under the Old Testament religion, and along general lines.

Now it must be confessed that all this is only *too* general. We expect more exact handling of concrete facts. We are left too much in the region of abstractions, which is also often the region of assumptions. Is it so clear that a Divine interference at certain points in national history, and again at certain points in individual lives, does not set aside the process of natural development ? We may say, perhaps, that this is like the work of an engineer who deflects the course of a river which, however, still flows on in obedience to the law of its nature to be always seeking the lowest level. But then another difficulty emerges. Are the intervals of normal development deserted by God ? Does He only appear at the crises ? Or should we not think of Him as immanent in the whole course of development ? But if so, why make the harsh distinction between the moment of revelation and the general movement of the history ? Why so sharply divide the supernatural from the natural ? The Old Testament did not know this distinction.

At the very end of his book Professor Lotz comes down to the ground of tangible historical facts, and delights us with a really brilliant review of the course of Hebrew history and development. But he should have given more space to this, and less to the difficult abstractions which occupy the bulk of his volume. Even here he devotes a whole chapter to a discussion of the narrative of the Fall in Genesis. He holds that the external details of the story cannot be historical—the serpent speaking, etc. Yet he adheres to the Lutheran idea of a very lofty nature in Adam before the Fall. Indeed he says we cannot even imagine Adam's first estate, because we have not the means of conceiving of the nature of a being so much exalted above ourselves. After this it is rather surprising to find Professor Lotz accepting the critical views which throw doubt on the patriarchal narratives. The ten commandments and the foundation of the "Torah" are ascribed to Moses ; Deuteronomy was the first great law-book, and it was put together by priests in the time of the kings ; the final editing of the Pentateuch came later, but how much of this was novel Professor Lotz does not attempt to say. Surely the place of the law in relation to the

development of the religion of Israel was far more important than, say, the question whether God spoke audibly to the outward ear of prophets, or by means of inner voices, to which the author devotes so much more attention. Here is the weakness of the book. It is not sufficiently historical. While claiming the historical method as one of the good fruits of the age, Professor Lotz is still too much in the toils of the old dogmatic method. The result is some difficulty in perceiving the force of an argument three parts of which are carried on in the lofty region of *a priori* reasoning, while the remainder is too meagerly set forth to cover the ground of the history. Nevertheless, with all its drawbacks, the book succeeds in impressing upon us the fact that the Gospel came into a condition of divine preparedness which was not essentially contrary to the normal development of history. WALTER F. ADENEY.

### **The Old Testament and the New Criticism.**

*By Alfred Blomfield, D.D., Bishop Suffragan of Colchester. London: Elliot Stock, 1893. Pp. 182. 8vo. Price 5s.*

THE Bishop Suffragan of Colchester has evidently no consideration for his reviewers. There is no table of contents, no index, no preface, no explanatory headings to the pages, nothing, in short, beyond the title to indicate the scope and contents of the book. In these circumstances I must ask leave to transcribe *verbatim* the opening paragraph. "A considerable portion of the following pages has already appeared in a serial publication in the form of criticisms on the work of Professor Driver, the 'Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament.' The present writer has there, in the plainest terms, disclaimed the possession of Hebrew scholarship. Those persons, therefore, who consider that that want disqualifies him who confesses it from pronouncing any opinion, or forming any judgment, on the criticism of the Old Testament, will naturally not trouble themselves to read this little book." The bishop deserves all credit for his frank confession. The want of Hebrew scholarship does not disqualify him or anyone else for pronouncing an opinion or forming a judgment on the criticism of the Old Testament, but it does disqualify him, in my opinion, for intervening as an *authority* in such matters as are here discussed, and for using his official position in the Church of England to create a prejudice against the scientific study of the Old Testament. Let us have the fullest and freest discussion of these topics. We cannot have too much discussion. But it seems to me to be a *sine quâ non*

that it be conducted on either side by men who have mastered at least the rudiments of the subject. What right, we may fairly ask, has even a bishop to inveigh against the critical analysis of the Old Testament books, as is here done *passim*, when he is confessedly unable to distinguish the style, say, of the priestly from that of the prophetic narrator in the book of Genesis? Still more inexcusable does the bishop's position seem to be when he indulges in personal attacks on the two dignitaries of his Church who are regarded as the two most prominent representatives of the higher, or, as our author prefers to say, of rationalistic criticism in England, impugning their honesty and challenging their right to retain "their preferment and place in a Church whose very existence is bound up with all that they doubt or deny" (pp. 126, ff.).

Canon Driver has no right to object to honest criticism, however adverse, but he may justly take exception to such a glaring misrepresentation of his general attitude as that at the top of page 89: "In every case where no indications of the date of a work are unmistakably given, Dr Driver apparently feels it his duty to assign to every book as late a date as possible." Every unbiassed student of the "Introduction" must have seen that precisely the reverse of this is nearer the truth. How crude, again, is the statement a few pages later (p. 95) "that the assignment of Isaiah xl.-xli. (*sic*) to a pseudo-Isaiah" is due to a "bias which has influenced the rationalistic critics," namely, "the determination that Isaiah *must not be allowed to have predicted anything which happened long after his own time*" (the italics are the author's)!

Lest it should be supposed that the present reviewer is unduly influenced by a "bias," I hasten to add that there are in Dr Blomfield's book one or two things which merit a word of praise. Thus there is no doubt that in his fourth and last chapter he has laid his finger on not a few of the "subjective partialities and prejudices" of Wellhausen, but I am not aware that many of our British scholars are prepared to follow him in these. The bishop's severest critic must also admit that there is a deal of good sense in his remarks on the dangerous character of the *argumentum e silentio* (pp. 170, ff.). Taken as a whole, however, the book is not one that is likely to prove a strong bulwark of the traditional views.

ARCHD. R. S. KENNEDY.

**Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments in Verbindung mit Professor Baethgen in Greifswald Professor Guthe in Leipzig, Professor Kamphausen in Bonn, Professor Kittel in Breslau, Lic. Marti in Basel, Professor Rothstein in Halle, Professor Rüetschi in Bern, Professor Ryssel in Zürich, Professor Siegfried in Jena, Professor Socin in Leipzig, übersetzt und herausgegeben von E. Kautzsch, Professor der Theologie in Halle.**

*Sechste Lieferung* [pp. 465-576 ; 33-48]; *Siebente Lieferung* [pp. 577-688 ; 49-64]. *Freiburg i. B.* [London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. Subscription-price, M. 9.]

THE new translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, which has been undertaken by a notable group of German scholars, under the general editorship of Professor Kautzsch of Halle, has now reached the end of the second division of the Jewish Canon. The two parts under review comprise the whole of the *Prophetae posteriores*, except the first half of the book of Isaiah. Professed Old Testament students are presumably already familiar with the general aim and plan of the work, but there must be many outside the small group of specialists for whom a word of introduction to so praiseworthy and onerous an undertaking may not be out of place.

The intention of editor and publisher—as the public were informed when first invited to subscribe—is that this translation shall take the place which that of De Wette so worthily filled for a less critical generation of German students of Holy Scripture. It aims, therefore, in the first place, at conveying to its readers “the contents of the Old Testament in clear, present-day German.” As a subsidiary, but scarcely less welcome aim, may be noted the endeavour to convey to the non-specialist some idea of the results of modern criticism respecting the mode and date of composition of the various books. In the case of the historical books this is done by setting in the margin the conventional symbols for the original “sources” (for the Pentateuch *e.g.* P, J, E, etc.), while the various sections of the prophetic books are provided with dates giving, approximately, the time at which the discourse in question was delivered. The translators, of course, work from the Massoretic text, admitting only such corrections as have the support of parallel passages, or of the versions, or have otherwise the highest degree of probability. One other feature of the translation deserves mention, for it is the feature in regard to which the work of Professor Kautzsch and his coadjutors contrasts most sharply with that of our own revisers.

The latter have followed their predecessors in translating every passage from Genesis to Malachi *somehow*, the German scholars have admitted, by the not unfrequent occurrence of gaps in their translation, that certain words and passages are untranslatable.

The contributors to the two parts before us are: for Deutero-Isaiah, Professor Ryssel (Zurich); for Jeremiah, Professor Rothstein (Halle); for Ezekiel, Professor Siegfried (Jena); and finally for the minor prophets the editor himself, Professor Guthe of Leipzig, and others. The names just given are sufficient guarantee that the translation here offered to the German-speaking and German-reading public of Europe and America is the work of men who are in the front rank of European scholarship, and who, as theological teachers, are in full sympathy with the sacred authors whose words they seek to interpret to us. The translation, as a whole, is more modern in vocabulary and style than our revised version; yet, while accuracy has been their chiefest aim, they have striven to reproduce in some measure the rhythmic flow of the original. Professor Ryssel seems to me to have been particularly successful in this respect in several passages of his fine rendering of the second Isaiah. His critical standpoint is a moderately conservative one. Yet even for him these chapters are not a unity. Chapters lxiii.-lxvi. are a series of appendices to, and of somewhat later date than, the main body of the prophecy, but the question is left open as to whether they are by the author of the rest of the book, or by some of his disciples, writing in Jerusalem after the return. There is no hesitation, however, in regard to the section, ch. lvi. 9-lvii. 13, which is "clearly of pre-exilic date." Many will be pleased to note that the great section of the "Servant" (lii. 15-liii.) is retained for the "great Unnamed." In matters of textual criticism, Professor Ryssel has availed himself largely of the recent publication by Professor Oort in the *Theol. Tijdschrift* (1891) of a conspectus of the emendations adopted by a number of Dutch scholars for their new translation of the Old Testament. In lii. 15, however, he retains without comment the received reading (וְיִרְאֶה) in the sense "he will make to start up (in astonishment and reverence);" in the difficult verse 9 of the following chapter, Böttcher's conjecture עָשִׂי רָע (for עֲשִׂי רָע) is accepted, by which means the parallelism is preserved, while בָּמְתִי, underlying the LXX. rendering, is preferred to the Massorettes' בָּמְתִי. The verse then reads: "And they assigned him his grave with the wicked, and with the evil doers when he died." This, at least, gives an intelligible meaning to the verse, and is obtained with the minimum of textual change.

With regard to Ezekiel, the editor is to be congratulated on securing as translator so ripe a Hebraist as Professor Siegfried of Jena, best known to students by his valuable summaries of Old Testament



literature in the *Theolog. Jahresbericht*. The notes on the emendations of the text—given as usual at the end of the part, though paged separately—are more detailed than in some of the other books, and show a due appreciation of the labours of Smend and Cornill in the elucidation of this difficult book.

When we pass to the work of the editor and his colleagues on the minor prophets, the frequent gaps show the difficulties of translation which abound in this part of the canon. The critical notes, which on this account should have been frequent and full, are here disappointingly meagre, the note on the well-known *cruz interpretum*, Amos v. 26, occupying not quite three lines. A comparison of the translation of the minor prophets here given with that of Wellhausen, recently published (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Heft 5), shows that—as was right in a work destined less for specialists than for the educated Bible-reader—the former is much the more conservative in its attitude to the Massoretic text. Indeed, in several cases a somewhat bolder treatment would have been amply justified, as in Micah i. 10 (Wellhausen here rejects the usual emendation “in Accho” in favour of “in Bekaim”).

Enough has been said to show that we have here an excellent illustration of what can be done for the popularising of the results of Old Testament research. When completed, the work will occupy a unique place as a monument of German scholarship and of successful collaboration for the highest of ends—the more faithful interpretation of God’s message to His chosen people.

ARCH. R. S. KENNEDY.

### **Wyclif Literature: Communication on the History and the Work of the Wyclif Society.**

*By Dr Rudolf Buddensieg, of Dresden.—From 1882 to 1888.*

THE Wyclif Society being now of ten years’ standing, the time is ripe for a review and estimate of the joint work of the Executive Committee and the staff of editors. I therefore avail myself of the opportunity offered by the editor to give a statement on the Society, its progress, and the services it has rendered to theological and historical research.

Until within the last fifteen years the opinion prevailed among Protestant scholars in England, as well as on the Continent, that John Wyclif’s country had been singularly neglectful of the memory of one of its greatest men. England seemed to have forgotten that not only is Wyclif the father of her prose, but also the first to do battle in the cause of Biblical faith and English freedom with a foreign power that openly denied both. Every Englishman knew that

Wyclif was one of the nation's great men ; at the same time many were conscious that he was not known as he should have been. Nobody denied that his influence upon his time and his people was deep ; *how far* it extended nobody could well say. On many, perhaps on most, Englishmen, as the late W. W. Shirley remarked, his dim image looked down like the portrait of the first of a long line of kings, without personality or expression.

The only way to understand and to value the great men of the past is to read them, not to read about them. Wyclif, therefore, who stood on the boundary line between two orders of thought, and in whose noble personality the great movements which stirred the English people at the close of the Middle Ages were united, ought to be read in his own works. Until within the last few years, however, the Reformer, as regards his most important utterances, had remained unknown. First hand knowledge was wanted.

In these circumstances, and to meet this want, the Wyclif Society was founded in March 1882. From its very beginning its object was to relieve Wyclif's fatherland of the shame of having left the greatest and most important writings of the Reformer buried in manuscript. This neglect had then extended over nearly five hundred years, and only small efforts had been made, mainly by German scholars, to repair it. Since the Reformer passed away in 1384, 466 years had elapsed before his English Bible was printed ; 485 years after his death his "Select English Works" were published ; and in 1881 the rest of his English writings appeared, under the editorship of F. D. Matthew.

These works showed Wyclif in his purely English aspect as the "Father of English Prose." As compared with his Latin writings, they were not of much value for the study of his theological, political, and social views ; neither did they enable the scholar to follow the growth and development of his mind, or to understand his vast influence upon the evangelical movements on the Continent which arose before Luther's Reformation.

Of his great Latin works, which are to be taken as the storehouses of his ideas of reform, only the *Triologus* had been several times printed ; and Dr Lechler of Leipzig, in his great biography of Wyclif, had published in Germany a few short pieces and some extracts. From 1873 on to 1880, with the view of filling up this unworthy gap, I had myself copied and collated a number of Wyclif tracts, and had offered them in 1881 to the Delegates of the Oxford University Press. The offer was made in the belief that this University, which emphatically claims Wyclif for her own son, would take the lead in presenting his works to the public, and that the Board would be ready to offer its help in reviving the memory of one of the greatest doctors of their ancient seat of learning.

But in this expectation I was mistaken. For reasons which I do not know the Delegates declined the offer.

I then endeavoured, by private letters to English friends, to draw the attention of scholars to the importance of the work which I had in view. At last a letter, which I sent to the editor of the *Academy* on 17th September 1881, proved successful. It led to some correspondence with English scholars, among whom were Professor Montagu Burrows of Oxford, and F. D. Matthew of London, and a short time afterwards, through the exertions of these gentlemen and the kind and powerful support of Dr F. J. Furnivall, the Wyclif Society was called into existence, and I was asked by the Executive Committee to print the *Polemical Tracts*, which I had prepared, as the Society's first two volumes.

After the initial difficulties were surmounted in securing a sufficient number of members and a working basis of subscriptions, the Society slowly made its way, notwithstanding the heavy outlays which had to be incurred at the outset in the copying and collating of texts. But in 1884 the Quincentenary of Wyclif's death gave the Society, which at first numbered about 150 members, with a yearly subscription of one guinea each, a new impulse; and although the public response to the appeal of the Quincentenary Committee proved less encouraging than had been anticipated, and although the celebration did not reach the intensity of feeling called forth in Germany by the Luther Jubilee in the previous year, the Executive Committee of the Society felt that a new interest in the life and work of Wyclif had been aroused, and rejoiced that this interest had brought important accessions to the ranks of the Society. His Grace the Archbishop of York and more than fifty new members gave in their names, so that the list rose to 330. A few years afterwards His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury took the place of patron; Dr Thomson, of York, accepted the post of president; men of the highest rank became vice-presidents; and at the head of the roll of members stood the names of Her Majesty Queen Victoria and Her Serene Highness the Grand Duchess of Saxe-Weimar.

Dr Furnivall, who, with unabated energy and enthusiasm, continues still at the head of the Society, first took in hand, with a staff of competent English, German, and Austrian scholars, that great collection of Wyclif treatises which is known as the Reformer's *Summa Theologiae*. It is preserved in manuscript in the splendid series of codices which are in the possession of the Imperial Palace Library of Vienna.

In 1883 the first two volumes, making 940 pages, were given to the members. They contained the *Polemical Works* of the Reformer, and were prepared for publication by the present writer.

In the general introduction to these two volumes I have given a detailed discussion of Wyclif's "Latin Works and their bearing on his Schemes of Reform," as also of his "Polemical Works and their general import." Then follows a description of the Vienna, Prague, Olmütz, and Ashburnham Manuscripts. The introduction winds up with a lengthened statement on the guiding principles followed in my editorial work. Then comes the text of the Polemical Tracts against the Sects, of which these deserve especial mention :—*De fundacione Sectarum, De nova prevaricancia mandatorum, De triplici vinculo amoris, De septem donis Spiritus sancti, De quattuor sectis novellis, De dyabolo et membris suis, De solucione sathane, De perfeccione statuum, De religione privata.* This is followed by the text of the Polemical Tracts against the Pope—*De citacionibus frivolis, De Cristo et adversario suo anticristo, Cruciata.* Three indices are provided in an appendix.

All these works show Wyclif in the heat of his struggle against the usurpations of the Pope and the four Mendicant Orders. They make it clear to all who think it worth while to overcome the difficulties of the Wyclifian idiom, that never before in the Middle Ages had so mighty a voice been lifted up against the powerful priest at Rome. Neither the energy nor the many-sidedness of the attack made by this keen-eyed and determined Englishman was seen in the case of the Cathari or the Waldenses, in that of Bernard of Clairvaux, or Arnold of Brescia, in that of William Occam or Grosseteste, in that of Richard Armagh or Bradwardine. It was in the sturdy Yorkshireman that the dominant spirit of the Middle Ages found its ablest, sharpest, and most characteristic opponent. There was almost unanimous consent of opinion among the reviewers of these two volumes, that even the fifteenth century had no man to place on a par with Wyclif in this respect, and that only the mighty voice of Luther's burning indignation and evangelical scorn against the "abomination in the sanctuary," as uttered in the great writings of his "Sturm-und-Drangjahr," surpass in force of expression, intensity of feeling, and depth of thought these deliverances of Wyclif. His charges against the supreme head of the Papal Church speak what was quite novel and unheard of to his contemporaries. In vain do we seek in the Latin works, which were printed before 1882, for so systematic an attack upon the Papacy as is presented in these first publications of the Society. The "*Cruciata*" and the "*De Cristo et adversario suo anticristo*" bring us to the climax of this attack. Both give us in broad outlines the whole-hearted, deliberate opposition of the greatest Reformer before Luther, and enable the scholar to form a conception of Wyclif's struggle against the Pope which differs in many ways from that formerly entertained.

The publication of these volumes proved also in another direction of special interest for those engaged in Wyclif studies. Close upon their appearance there was published in Prague, by Dr. J. Loserth, Professor of History at the University of Czernowitz, an Essay on the relation of Hus to Wyclif (*Hus und Wiclif. Zur Genesis der husitischen Lehre. Prag, Tempsky 1887, 317 pages*), in which the learned author, by a comparison of the newly-published Wyclif texts with the writings of Hus, showed that the whole Husite movement was merely a Bohemian Wyclifism, that Wyclif was the original thinker to whom Hus owes "nearly the whole of his theology as set forth in his Latin Tracts," and that "it was in upholding Wyclif's teaching that Hus lost his life by the stake at Constance."

It may be said, therefore, that in a theological and historical point of view, the Society started its work under happy auspices. The more was it to be regretted that in the following year (1884), the year of the Quincentenary, the Society was not in a position to send out a new volume to the increasing number of members. It was not until the autumn of 1885 that this was done. The new issue was the first volume of the *De Civili Dominio*, edited by Dr Reginald Lane Poole of Oxford. The text of this book, based on the only existing manuscript, Cod. Palat. Vindob. 1341, contains Wyclif's view of property, his theory of government, and his view of the right of civil rulers over the property of the Church.

Wyclif maintains there that, as dominion implies a true use of the thing possessed, it is incompatible with mortal sin; that, on the contrary, every one in a state of grace has a real lordship over the whole universe; and that it follows that, if an ideally perfect community could be established on earth, all goods would be held in common.

He contends in the second place that the law of the Gospel is of itself sufficient for all purposes of human life and government.

His third argument is that, although monarchy has, in its present condition, many advantages, the best form of government is aristocracy, of which the rule of the Hebrew judges is to be considered the typical example.

He holds lastly that the Church, that is, the whole Christian commonwealth of England, may righteously deprive a sinful clergy of their worldly endowments.

This volume, edited with the utmost care by a competent scholar, must be regarded as one of the most valuable additions to our knowledge of Wyclif's social ideas, shedding as it does in many directions quite a stream of new light on the Reformer's so-called communistic theories.

The second volume, sent out to the members in 1884, is Wyclif's

*De Compositione Hominis*, edited, with facsimile of the manuscript, by Dr Rudolf Beer of Vienna, a small volume of 144 pages. This is one of Wyclif's early works, probably written by him when he read his scholastic lectures at Oxford. It ranks as the first purely philosophical writing in a Wyclifian sense. Based on five codices, three of them belonging to the Imperial Palace Library of Vienna (7307, 7507, and DCCCII.), and the others to the Prague University Library (P. VIII. F.I., and VIII. 9, 6), its text gives us a pretty clear insight into the philosophy which lies at the root of the Reformer's literary activity and his intellectual influence in general. The fulness and clearness with which this philosophical basis is exhibited is quite extraordinary in a work of so small a compass. In a certain sense, however, this early treatise, which shows Wyclif still in the bonds of the scholastic learning, excites a feeling of disappointment. It is well known that Wyclif's ideas of the grandeur and sublimity of Holy Scripture were of the most pronounced order. It has been shown by scholars like Dr Lechler and Dr Vaughan, that in his early days the future Doctor Evangelicus protested against the one-sided prominence accorded to the scholastic system; and it adds not a little to the interest of Dr Beer's volume that we find in it distinct traces of this antagonism. The effort, however, which is made in this work to harmonise the Aristotelian psychology with Christian dogma has the stamp of the impracticable, and such an undertaking is doomed to failure from the outset. Wyclif himself becomes, as Dr Beer observes, conscious of this, and from this consciousness many a doubt results to which he gives expression. This conflict appears in the short pamphlet just as it does in the great phases of the Reformer's later life, and for this reason this small contribution to the Wyclif literature is not without value as a characteristic exponent of the mental altitude of his earlier years.

In the year 1885 Dr Johann Loserth, Professor of History at the University of Czernowitz, and A. W. Pollard, M.A., of Oxford, made important contributions to the cause. The former gave to the world Wyclif's famous book, *On the Church*, the latter his *Dialogue*. On the theological and historical importance of *De Ecclesia* I need not expatiate; neither need I dwell on the skill and inexhaustible energy which Dr Loserth has exhibited from the year 1885 on to this moment in his numerous Wyclif publications. The Society is to be congratulated on having secured the assistance of a scholar who is in every respect equal to the exigencies of a critical task of great difficulty.

The text of the *De Ecclesia* is edited with critical and historical notes, and is based on three manuscripts (Codd. Palat. Vindob., Nos. 1297, 3929, and Cod. Univ. Prag. X. D. 11). The notes in English are due to F. D. Matthew, Esq. The translation of the

detailed Introduction, in which Dr Loserth deals with the most important questions bearing on Wyclif's theory of the Church and on criticism, is from the experienced hand of Miss Alice Shirley.

Wyclif's great work, *On the Church*, is divided into twenty-three chapters, in which he states at length his doctrine of the Church, both as to idea and as to realisation. The Church "is the entire body of the predestinate, past, present, and future, whose head and eternal ruler is Christ. It is divided into three parts, viz., the *Triumphant* (the blessed in heaven), the *Sleeping* (the souls in purgatory), and the *Militant* (Christians living in the world and fighting with it).

No mere man, Wyclif maintains, can be head of the Church. No Pope, therefore, should affirm that he is the head of it; for he does not even know whether he is predestinate, or whether, on this account, he is a member of the Church at all. It is no article of faith that one must obey the Pope in order to be saved; for there were holy men in days before the Romish Papacy was known. In the days of the Apostles and Martyrs, and even at the present time, there have been, and are individuals, as well as whole nations, who never heard of the existence of a Pope. He is, therefore, not the head of the Church universal, but only of a particular church; and even this title may be conceded to him only so far as he lives in accordance with the laws of Jesus Christ. In that case we owe him obedience, but so far only as he enforces the commands of Christ the Lord. Further than this nothing can tend to the spiritual good of a Christian individual or community but a sound faith.

Now, if a Pope gives his rules, bulls, and decrees to the Church, the Christian is entitled to enquire whether those orders emanating from "the high authority of a Pope" are in harmony with the Word of God. And this is one reason why every Christian ought to be acquainted with the Holy Scriptures. Further, as it is impossible for us to know who is a true member of the Church of Christ, the canonisation of Saints is against His will, a falsehood and mischievous practice, contrary to the Bible. Wyclif then gives his view of the relations which should exist between Church and State. He maintains that no abbey, church, monastery, or chapel lies outside the king's jurisdiction. He energetically upholds the civil authority of the king over the clergy, at the same time affirming the duty of the laity to deprive the clergy of their temporalities if they misuse them. The work then concludes with an argument and a strong protest against the abuse of Indulgences,—which (in the main) were afterwards both adopted by Hus.

From this short abstract we get a glimpse of the significance which Wyclif's ideas of the Church had for the development

of the theology of the time, for the progress of Church history, for Hus and his successors. In his introduction, Dr Loserth shows at some length how a special kind of literature groups itself round this great work, including not only the writings of Hus, but many other literary productions of the Bohemians of the fifteenth century. For Wyclif found, as Loserth shows, a whole number of imitators in Bohemia, and thus his idea of the Church came to be of profound importance for subsequent times. His opinion ruled theological thought for nearly two centuries—on to the time when Luther arose. After the disputation of Leipzig in 1519, Luther in fact was presented, by a deputation of the Moravian Brethren in Prague, with a copy of Wyclif's work.

At any rate, it has become more and more clear that the master-mind of Wyclif was only insufficiently understood by his own contemporaries and even his next followers; that his original thoughts contained the most fruitful germs for the historical progress of the human mind; and that a larger use should be made of this profound thinker in the theological and philosophical discussions of the present day.

Mr A. W. Pollard has edited Wyclif's *Speculum militantis ecclesie vel Dialogus* from the Ashburnham MS. XXVII. c., and has collated its readings with those of the Vienna codices, Nos. 1387, 3930, and 4505. Notes are given at some length, while the critical apparatus is limited to an indication of the leading varieties of reading given under the text.

The *Dialogus* has for its subject mainly the endowment of the Church. It teaches that all property held by the clergy in direct ownership should be abolished, while tithes are not condemned, if used properly. The Pope, it seems, *non est Christi vicarius, sed vicarius Antichristi*, and his temporal possessions make him "an obstinate heretic." "His name is unknown to the Holy Scriptures," and "it might be good for the Church to be without a Pope."

Mr Pollard points out that the question of date with regard to the *Dialogue* is of peculiar interest. By dating it at the year 1379, although he does not look upon this year as finally settled—the editor is enabled to fix an earlier date than was hitherto known (the year 1379) for Wyclif's final opinion on Transubstantiation. That opinion was to the effect that "Consecration is not material, but spiritual," and that "the Host, although at every point in it verily and indeed Christ's Body, remains bread as to its substance as well as in its accidents."

In the year 1886 the Society sent out to its members two works of Wyclif, hitherto unknown, *De Benedicta Incarnatione*, edited by the Rev. E. Harris, and the *First Part* of that splendid series of *Sermones*, the editing of which has been entrusted



to the untiring hands of Professor Loserth. The treatise published by Harris (first printed from the Vienna Cod. Palat. Vindob., Nos. 1387, 4307, 4504; and Oriel MSS., Cod. Oriel, Oxford XV. and Cod. Brit. Mus., Bibl. Reg. 7, B. III.; and edited, with notes and indices, by E. Harris, M.A.), makes a volume of about 300 pages. It has a preface of about thirty pages, and gives the text of the tract, pp. 1-232, to which are added Wyclif's "References to Holy Scripture," "To other Authors," an "Index of Rarer Latin and Greek Words," and a "General Index." Mr Harris has based his text in the main on the Oriel codex, which he considers relatively the best, but has also made constant use of the corrections of the Vienna Manuscript, procured for him by Mr F. D. Matthew and Dr Beer.

*De Benedicta Incarnatione* is an early production of the Reformer, belonging, as Mr Harris states, to the year 1363. It is the work of "the Oxford realist theologian, whose mind is already awakening to great difficulties underlying current conceptions, but is not yet pressed by certain conviction or by circumstances putting him in immediate opposition to the old forms of ecclesiastical thought." This is in itself an important point for Wyclif scholars, as the present tract is an example of the Reformer's earlier ways of thinking, and gives an insight into the development of his ideas which none of his former works furnish. We find Wyclif unable up to this time to divest himself of the scholastic habit of mind; but, on the other hand, it will not escape the attentive reader that new thoughts announce themselves, more especially in his deeper conception of the essence and value of belief. We feel, as we read, that the trite and obsolete forms of the scholastic theology, with its peculiar definitions and distinctions, no longer hold the mind of Wyclif, the *preacher* and the *writer*. This is the case particularly with regard to his ideas of the Lord's Supper, which, in spite of his zeal for the ecclesiastical *formulae* of the day, already bespeak the future heretic. "In much of this treatise there is crudity and confusion; but there is also the germ of the revolt from mediæval Rome, and the prophecy of the English Bible," remarks the editor. In this respect a special interest, of course, is to be attached to Wyclif's Eucharistic views. Some indication of the attitude which he afterwards took up towards these questions may be gathered from his line of argument. The mystery is to him *miraculosa transsubstanciatio*; he is not unaware of, or unwilling to quote, the opinions of certain saints (*quotlibet dicta sanctorum*), which seem to mean (*sonant*) that even after consecration bread and wine remain what they were before. He then endeavours to explain their words away in what seems to him the orthodox sense, but gives up the attempt to define the mysterious change.

On the other hand, the treatise, as a theological discussion on the Incarnation, will leave the reader unsatisfied. The impression prevails throughout that the difficulties of the problem are too serious for the young professor's capacity; the argumentation brings home to the reader the inevitable conclusion that human thought and language are, after all, unequal to the task of dealing with this mysterious problem, "where conception absolutely fails, where language moves without ideas, where all is lost in one vast and vague emotion of awe."

The *Sermones*, the editing of which has been undertaken by Dr Johann Loserth, belong to the latest period of Wyclif's life. For a few of them Loserth, it is true, claims an earlier date, ascribing them to the time *dum stetit in scholis*. But he shows convincingly that the final revision of these parts also falls within the years 1381-82, and that the sermons were handed over by Wyclif for use by his Simple Priests, whom he sent out through the country.

In these sermons the preacher's attacks upon the Mendicant Friars, the lordly prelates, the Pope, and the Romish abuses are full of individuality and interest, whilst positive statements are not wanting as to what the true priest, the true bishop, and a true Christian Church ought to be. The new thought, springing from the Gospel as its source, is here unreservedly expressed, that the first and chief work of a priest is the proclamation of evangelical truth.<sup>1</sup> The preaching of the Word of God, he says, is the first duty of the pastor, and is in itself much more important than the administration of the sacraments, for Christ Himself speaks through the preacher, and provides by him spiritual children for the kingdom of God and for the heirship of heaven.

In an interesting Introduction, the tasteful translation of which is due to Mr Matthew, these new ideas on the pastor's duties are followed up by Loserth, who discusses at some length the question of the necessity, purport, and form of evangelical preaching. In a subsequent chapter he also shows conclusively how far, even in this homiletical province, Hus, the Bohemian, was dependent on the Englishman. Two well known sermons of Hus, *De pace* and *De fide sue elucidacione*, are almost literally and in their whole compass borrowed from Wyclif's.

<sup>1</sup> "Primum atque precipuum opus pastoris est veritatis fidei evangelizacio." "Evangelizacio talis verbi est preciosior quam ministracio alicuius ecclesiastici sacramenti curati." "Similiter ex effectu evidet: Evangelizacio est opus precipuum curatoris (*of the curate*), nam plus profecit Cristus in suis apostolis evangelizando gentibus quam faciendo quecunque miracula, que in persona propria fecerat in Judea? Fuit maius miraculum Cristi predicacio tanto mundo gentilium et convertendo ad fidem Cristi in tempore tam modico tantum populum personarum tam simplicium quam alia miracula que Cristus post incarnationem fecerat."

Loserth has based the text of his first volume of the *Sermons*, the special title of which is, *Super Evangelia dominicalia*, on Cod. Cambr., Trinit. Coll. B. 16, 2, and has compared its readings with those of Codd. Vindob. Palat. 3934, 4529, 3928, and 3921. In fixing the text, the English MS., which is the oldest and most trustworthy, has mainly been used.

The second part of the *Sermons*, a volume of upwards of 500 pages, with extensive indices, formed the first publication of the Society for the year 1887. This part contains the most interesting and important of Wyclif's Latin discourses, while the other parts consist almost entirely of expositions of the sacred text and philosophical disquisitions; and while his antagonism to the life and doctrine of the hierarchy shows itself only occasionally there, in this second part his political, as well as his ecclesiastical and doctrinal convictions, which were the ruling ideas of the four last years of the Reformer's life, are given with great force of expression. Almost every sermon contains something bearing on his fierce conflict with the Friars. Of this we also hear from his contemporaries, who described the ferment produced by him amongst the English clergy, and, to some extent, amongst the nation at large.

The very first sermon indicates the character of the whole collection, and shows, at its very outset, in a telling manner, the force of Wyclif's thought and language. "To-day all states may rejoice," the preacher exclaims, "rejoice and be ashamed withal. The princes may rejoice, for under the government of one of the greatest princes whom the world has ever seen, the Saviour is born, and He has commanded men to give the worldly power its due. He Himself paid for Himself and His followers the tribute due to the Emperor. The poor may rejoice, for never did anyone accept poverty out of purer motive and greater love than Christ. Lastly, all those may rejoice who, in respect of worldly goods, are placed between these two states, because Christ, living in the state most worthy of honour, scorned to beg, and molested neither rich nor poor. But the rich may be ashamed, who protect antichrist and endow him with earthly wealth. The hypocrites may be ashamed, who blasphemously declare that Christ was a beggar. And finally, all those may be ashamed who consent to the treacherous robberies of antichrist." This antichrist, in Wyclif's opinion, is no other than the Pope, and the preacher does not refrain from calling him so, not conditionally, as in numerous other works, but absolutely.

As in this first sermon, so in all that follow, fierce attacks are made upon the Papacy with its retinue of false, worldly priests, and upon the begging friars in particular. The preacher here addresses the learned world in Latin, with all the candour and

directness which are so conspicuous in the discourses by which he and his Simple Priests sought to reach the mind of the people. War is declared against Pope, prelate, monk, and mendicant; "*Papa est Antichristus*"; his power of loosing and binding is a corrupt power; it has been made subservient to the one base object of extorting money from the faithful; its real purpose, to open the gates of heaven to believers, is no longer regarded. The Church is stained and ruined by lies and error; her priests have become worldlings who have fallen into unbelief, and can no longer be borne by the community. Monachism is ruined; its reform is a pressing need; the Church's bitterest enemies are these monks with their scandalous doings. Full of greed and wickedness, they have given themselves up to pride and lewdness; they are bent on nothing but worldly gain; they lie, and serve the father of lies, trampling God's commandments under foot. Their order should, therefore, be abolished, for they are useless to the community, enemies to the realm. Their one thought is to make their art of begging as productive as possible, for "only those priests are chosen who skilfully preach the money of the rich and the poor out of their pockets." And as they find a sure refuge and effective protection in the bosom of the Church, they calumniate and malign as heretics all those who strive to remove their abuses. Therefore the temporal power must come forward and strike at the root of the evil. The benefices ought to be taken from the hands of the clergy, who must content themselves with food and clothing. The Church property belongs to the poor of the country. Big churches and cathedrals are not suited to lead the hearts of men to God; they spoil them of their piety; nevertheless the friars make the utmost exertion to build for their order as many and as splendid houses as possible, and churches mounting to heaven like the tower of Babel; the Regulars construct cloisters like castles and fortresses, but do not concern themselves about the Word of God. God despises such buildings; the Apostle did not permit magnificent castles and monuments, not sanctioned by Holy Scripture, to be erected. These grand palaces and houses of the Mendicant Friars (*Caynitica Castella*, as he calls them), are to be compared to dens of robbers. As of old Cain built the first town, not for the protection of the inhabitants of the country, but to conceal his spoil, so do these friars now. They build houses and churches in order to deceive the people who bring them alms, and to conceal their spoil. It must, therefore, be questioned whether these buildings held by monks and friars are of any use at all to the Church. Christ Himself condemned such sumptuous houses both by word and by deed. "*Christus reprobatur ipsas tam opere quam sermone. Cum enim sunt non per se virtuosae, quia existencia extra animam, videtur, quod non sapiunt*

virtutem nisi de quanto facilitant ad virtutem ; si autem ad illam facilitant, hoc est propter honestatem loci, in quo incolentes orare devocius delectantur. Sed que ratio ad illud, cum locus carceris a Christi martyribus fuit oracionibus devocioribus decoratus ? Baptista fuit in heremo ad maiorem contemplandi celsitudinem elevatus, ymmo Christus et patres tam nove quam veteris legis sub divo effuderunt devocius preces suas. Quando enim Christus pernottavit in oracione, non fuit inclusus in templo, nec patriarche orantes devocius constituerunt sibi basilicas, sed scientes Deum ubique esse sibi aptarunt loca in quibus mens eorum plus mundialibus sit distracta. Basilicarum autem constructio inducit oppositum, consumit bona ecclesie et inducit errores multiplices. Certum est, *quod non ista signa, que querit generacio adultera, sed mens mundata a crimine, persona exercitata pro Christo in meritoria passione, et spiritus elevatus ad Deum in humili devocione denominat locum sanctum.*"—*Sermo XLV.*, p. 328-329. Therefore, he goes on to say, *what is required by these monks and friars is sharp oversight, poverty, a simple life—in short, reformation.*

In this discussion on the removal of abuses among the monks and friars, Wyclif goes so far as to declare, *that the Church would not perish, even if the sacraments and sacramental usages were taken away.* For the Christian needs only to believe in God and Christ, and to observe His laws. To him Christ the Saviour is Pope, bishop, and priest, and He has the power to bestow the grace of salvation without these symbols.

It may be easily seen, from these violent attacks upon the monks and the hierarchy, how unpopular Wyclif would become with these classes, the more so as his followers carried these doctrines to great lengths, and preached them in pulpit, street, and field. The movement, we now all know, spread more and more deeply and rapidly, extending all over England where Wyclif's disciples promulgated these doctrines. The result is described with pungent force by the pen of a contemporaneous writer: Hoc anno fratrum elemosine subtrahuntur, mendicantes laborare iubentur, prædicare non sinuntur, denariorum prædicatores et domorum penetratores vocantur (*Eccl. Hist. Contin.*, p. 355, ad annum 1382). The impression produced by these sermons, as is shown by various English witnesses, was quite extraordinary. Nevertheless, strong as it was at the time, it was counteracted in England by the all powerful hierarchy. But Loserth has elsewhere shown that on the Continent, in Bohemia, a different fortune attended these sermons. There they were passed from hand to hand by the learned ; they were used in the pulpit ; and, though coming from a foreigner and an Englishman, they powerfully excited the public mind, for many decades inflaming the people with hatred and wrath against the prelates and

monks. In many cases they were taken as a work of Hus, an error which even augmented their power. How they acted upon the public mind in Bohemia appears from the outrageous and bloody attack upon the monks, and the destruction of the most renowned churches and monasteries, which took place in Bohemia in August 1419, and entirely altered the religious and ecclesiastical state of the country. These events made their influence felt for generations. Their result was seen in the following century in the blood spilt and the destruction wrought in a large part of Germany.

The text of this second volume of *Sermons* is based on Codd., Cambr. Trinity Coll., B. 16, 2; Vindob. Palat. 3928 and 3921; the *Sermons* belong to the same period of Wyclif's life as those of the first volume.

As the second publication for 1887 the members of the Society received the tract, *De Officio Regis*, forming the eighth book of Wyclif's great work, called *Summa Theologiae*. This volume is edited conjointly by Messrs A. W. Pollard, M.A., and C. Sayle, B.A., both of Oxford. For their text they have made use of Codd. Vindob. Palat. 4514 and 3933 and of Cod., Prag. Univ. X. D. 11. This volume forms a strange contrast to the "plain outspokenness" which characterises the denunciations and exposures of the Mendicants in the second part of Wyclif's *Sermons*.

It is a very intricate and difficult discussion, arguing in a scholastic way the social-political problem of the royal prerogative in its mediæval form. The difficulty of the editors was increased by the inferiority of the manuscripts first made use of. It is only by the collation of the Vienna MS. that a decent text has been reached.

In the opening chapter Wyclif declares that he is to treat of the Military Order as in his *De Ecclesia* he has treated of the Clerical, and in especial to declare *what is the office of the king, and what are the relations between the royal power and the clerical*. I cannot undertake to give in detail Wyclif's ideas on his subject, the rights and duties of an English king. He is very often diverted from his theme by scholastic dissertations on subjects only loosely connected with his main topic, by invectives against Papal abuses, by attacks on the civil and canon law, etc. But as far as we follow his argumentation, we have ample reason to admire his leading ideas, at least on their political side. Despite their mediæval clothing, we find in Wyclif's arguments the principles by which Englishmen have been guided in the greatest crises of their political history. An English king, Wyclif maintains, must be supreme in his own land against both Pope and emperor. The English common law is as good as, and even better than the Roman. Foreigners who enjoy the royal protection are expected to be loyally obedient to the king's authority. From his own subjects he expects obedience—absolute obedience.

Wyclif, it is true, seems in this respect to argue on lines little in accordance with the course of English history ; but obedience, as he takes it, has many sides. It does not permit its object to do wrong, and may lawfully take the form of resistance to tyranny, even to the point of putting the tyrant of the land to death. Again, the king is supreme over all human law ; and yet, by virtue of a law of still higher, because divine, authority, he is bound to rule his subjects in accordance with this law, and is not allowed to use his dispensing power but for the weightiest reasons.

Once more, when he treats of the king's relations to the Church, the tendency of his doctrine, though not given literally, is in the direction of his supreme headship. Whatever is important or useful for the welfare of the country comes within the jurisdiction of the king. This is, the editors say, the keynote of Wyclif's doctrine, and Henry VIII. himself could have asked no more. It is the king's privilege and duty to see that the bishops do their work. He also must see that every parish has a true theologian as its priest ; and true theology is not the teaching of the Pope or the Decretals, but a theology based on the Word of God. He does not in plain words say that the king must be the ultimate judge of what is scriptural theology and what is not ; but on the other hand he supplies a foundation on which subsequent reformers could fairly claim that their own theories were to be based. In this connection a suggestion may also be mentioned, that Parliament and a Synod of the clergy sitting together should form a court in which ecclesiastical complaints should be heard, and whose sanction should be an indispensable preliminary to excommunication. There is on Wyclif's side no shadow of doubt, that with the king rests the absolute right to withdraw all clerical endowments, on the ground of the wellbeing of the Church, as well as the right to use, if the case should happen, the property of the Church for national purposes—such as defence.

It is, I suppose, quite superfluous to add that, from a historical and ecclesiastical point of view, these are ideas of momentous importance, and deepest interest, even to the Englishman of the present day.

As to the date of this work of the far-seeing controversialist, everything points to the time closely following the *De Ecclesia*, which was written, as Loserth has shown, in the winter of 1378.

RUDOLF BUDDENSIEG.

**The Documents of the Hexateuch, translated and arranged in chronological order, with Introduction and Notes, by W. E. Addis, M.A., of Balliol College, Oxford. Part I.—The Oldest Book of Hebrew History.**

*London: David Nutt. 8vo, pp. 324. Price 10s. 6d.*

IN this volume Mr Addis has done the larger part of a much-needed work, and has done it admirably. It would be difficult to praise too highly his mastery of his subject, or the lucidity with which he sets it forth. For a technical work, the style is as unusual as it is refreshing.

Mr Addis' object is to separate from each other the documents of which, it is now generally agreed, the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua are composed. He begins with the oldest of them—the oldest book of Hebrew history, as he somewhat ambiguously calls it—the combined narrative of the Jahvist and Elohist; and what this volume contains is a translation of that document, with notes, and preceded by an introduction. The introduction is a history of the criticism of the Pentateuch, with an exposition of what Mr Addis believes to be its approximately final results in the views of Graf and Wellhausen. The history of the criticism is adequate, and will stand for many a day as the best short account on the subject. The complicated development of opinion during this century is prudently treated by disentangling its two main lines, the argument as to their being separate documents, and the argument as to their dates. In the second, or expository, part of the introduction Mr Addis works within limits,—that is to say, his long and thorough study, both of recent criticism and the originals, has so convinced him of the correctness of Wellhausen's views, that what he gives us is an exposition and occasional defence of these, rather than a full discussion of the whole question, or an original contribution to its solution. Readers, therefore, need expect nothing new. What they will get is the best statement in English of the Graf-Wellhausen theory, as well as an additional support to it from a strong and independent scholar. Mr Addis says: "I have not concealed my agreement with the school of Graf and his eminent disciples, on the whole." Indeed, he fails to follow Wellhausen almost nowhere, and nowhere attempts to take a step in advance of him. Except on the authorship of the Book of the Covenant and the Decalogue, and the disentanglement of a few other confessedly composite passages, Mr Addis' adherence to the German critic is exact. There is the same arbitrary treatment of historical evidence on the other side. The appearance of ancient forms and phrases is still treated as proof



of an antiquarian taste. A late date for the Decalogue is assigned on the strength of one or two points, without any consideration whatever of the large elements in tradition, or of the established facts of history that are on the other side. It is still assumed that the Israelites under Moses were a purely nomadic tribe, without any experience of settled life behind them, without any prospect of settlement in front of them, and that consequently their possibilities must be estimated solely by those of Bedouin life to-day. Thus the Fourth Commandment is summarily dismissed from so early a connection with Israel by the remark that the "Sabbath implies the settled life of agriculture;" we are not reminded of the ancient origin of the Babylonian Sabbath, of the connection at that time between Babylonia and Egypt, or the possibility of the truth of the tradition that Israel was no desert tribe, but a migrating people, with both the memories and the hopes of a settled life. That is but one instance of a neglect too common with the scholars, to whom Mr Addis adheres. Nor is there any attempt to estimate the significance of the moral elements of the "Oldest Book of Hebrew History" for the reconstruction of Hebrew history. Mr Addis is swift to point out the elements that indicate a low and coarse stage of morality and religion. But he does not draw attention to the ethical delicacy and insight and expertness in tracing the development of individual character, which distinguish the book. And yet it is this which, by placing the book separately before us, he has enabled us to feel. That a work containing the account of the Fall, the story of Cain and Abel, the story of Jacob and Joseph, could be written in Israel at least before 750, is, in the history of Israel's religion, of a significance great enough to be estimated more carefully than it has been by historical criticism.

Mr Addis' translation is founded on a careful and scholarly revision of the text. He tells us he first made his own translation, and afterwards adapted it as closely as he could to the Revised English version. The result is very satisfactory, as elegant and dignified as our Revised version, and much more correct.

Every one who reads this work of Mr Addis must cordially thank him for it, and repeat the wish of the preface, that the opportunity may be afforded to Mr Addis to complete the documents of the Hexateuch in another volume.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

**"The Christian View of God and the World as centering in the Incarnation." Being the Kerr Lectures for 1890-91.**

*By James Orr, D.D., Professor of Church History in the United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1893. Text, pp. 412; Notes, pp. 116. Price 12s.*

ONE regrets that the title of this book could not have run, "The Christian *Weltanschauung* as centering, &c," for this German word is really the only single term which expresses the idea. The expansion of it into "View of God and the World" is apt to put the reader of English only off the rails, for it suggests the restricted topic of what is technically called, in a theological system, its Cosmology, or its doctrine of the relation of God to the Cosmos, whereas a very much larger idea is intended. What is expressed by *Weltanschauung* or *Weltansicht*,—"a darling word of our time,"—but an idea common to all times and schools, and indispensable to them all is the total reality which any philosophy or religion represents to its upholders. To state the Christian *Weltanschauung* is to answer the question, What is the upshot of our Christian belief as a whole? What *Universum*, consisting of God, man, the world, and of all their issues, does it present?

The aim of the work, then, is at once systematic and apologetic. Systematic, because it gives a view of Christianity in its entirety as centered in the fact of the Incarnation; and apologetic, because it compares at every successive point this whole with the corresponding view of things implied in all other systems of thought which in any way profess to rival or supplant the Christian. In this latter aspect it might be roughly titled, "The Christian system of truth defensively stated," and from this point of view alone it is invaluable to the busy theological student. Any such who want to know what the modern attacks on any leading item of the Christian faith really amount to, and how they may be best met, can be safely referred to Dr Orr's treatise for as wise, well-informed, and concise an answer as can be found anywhere in theological literature. But to state the aim of the whole work thus would be to do it less than justice. Its combination of systematic and apologetic, if not exactly original, is so managed as to be thoroughly fresh. We have no book which takes exactly this line. It does not pursue the usual course of apologetic, into detailed defence of the Christian system of doctrine. It states the entire Christian reality as grouped round the Person of Christ, as embraced by the Christian heart and lived upon in true Christian lives. Then it asks, How does any other construction of God and His universe show beside

this? What has any other way of putting things to offer as an addition or as a substitute? Thus its treatment of other modes of thought and belief is not wholly negative. The valuable line is taken, at various points, of indicating what the growing lights of philosophy and science have accomplished in the way of confirming certain Christian positions. Further, in a similar line, it is shown that Christianity has no quarrel with the valid and truthful elements in certain systems which range themselves as opponents; or rather, that in Christianity, as nowhere else, the severed portions of truth found in all other systems are organically united. This not unusual line of remark is summed up in a practical inference, not so commonly kept in view—indeed, the opposite to that drawn by some Christian apologists—viz., “that it is the unwise way possible of dealing with Christianity, to pare it down, or seek to sublimate it away as if it had no positive content of its own; or by lavish compromise and concession to part with that which belongs to its essence. It is not in a blunted and toned down Christianity, but in the exhibition of the Christian view in the greatest fulness and completeness possible, that the ultimate synthesis of the conflicting elements in the clash of system around us is to be found.”

The quality which will most fascinate theological readers of the book is the mastery with which the author commands the literature of the whole theological field, as well as of adjacent regions in philosophy and science. The sceptical and rationalistic positions of our day are treated with thorough insight; and a large place is given to the examination of the latest form of Christian reconstruction in the writings of Ritschl and his more prominent followers, *e.g.*, Herrmann and Kaftan. No such definite estimate of this school has appeared in English theological literature as that which may be gathered from Dr Orr's pages. It confirms what some have for a good while back surmised as to the issue of the movement, viz., that it will part into two distinct waves of thought, one gradually retiring to sink in the barren shore of Socinianism, the other returning with some fresh gains into the ocean of œcumenical Christian belief.

One of the most valuable literary features is the deft and concise way in which detailed theological questions in debate are stated and disposed of, *e.g.*, the Biblical view of man's psychical constitution, its doctrine of the Divine Image, the natural arguments for immortality, the failure of evolutionism to account for man as he is, and many others which might be named. No doubt the patient inquirer into these questions will often desiderate a fuller treatment than the plan of the book could allow room for, but the various *précis* to be found at the appropriate place in its

general survey are excellent finger-posts to the way in which each topic is approached by the modern mind ; while its citation of the relevant literature is ample and thoroughly up to date. The central theme of the Incarnation is, of course, treated most fully, viewed in every considerable aspect and connected with the main lines of Christian doctrine which are determined by it. That, simultaneously with that of Dr Fairbairn, another large treatment of theology with the same emphasis on the Person of Christ should appear among us is a tribute to the Christocentric character of our best recent thinking. This central assertion of the Christian view is compactly treated in Lecture VI. It has been led up to by lectures on each of the main Christian pre-suppositions ; its Theistic postulate ; its view of Nature and Man ; its view of Sin and Disorder in the world. Then it is followed by Lecture VII., on the Light which Incarnation throws on the Concept of God ; Lecture VIII., on its relation to Redemption from Sin ; and Lecture IX., on its relation to Human Destiny or Eschatology in general. If there is any sign that the scheme is rather large for even one considerable volume, it is that the last topic is somewhat less adequately treated than the others.

It is matter for gratification when a teacher of Christian theology in our time has the courage to set at nought some of the age's prejudices. Not only is there not the slightest approach in all these pages to a sneer at "system" in the teaching of Christianity ; there is something far better—namely, a powerful demonstration, by example, of the solidarity of the Christian faith. This is exactly what those divines who allow themselves cheap sarcasms at the systematic form of Christian doctrine seem to overlook. A Christian teacher may for himself be so penetrated by the Christian view, so secured in it by grace and time, that for him the connected form has comparatively less importance. But he is not to forget how the prevailing craze in disparagement of that connected presentation acts on those who are in the immaturer stages of religious life. How fatally such may mistake, when they suppose themselves possessed of a real Christianity, while rejecting portions of it which experience has proved to be essential ! To hold a partial Christianity in this sense is to possess nothing of it really. The life's blood of the whole body of Christian truth has escaped at the wounds made by such arbitrary rejection.

The publisher is to be congratulated on the workmanlike form in which this handsome volume is presented to the reading public.

JOHN LAIDLAW.

**Nature, The Supernatural and the Religion of Israel.***By Josiah Gilbert. London: Hodder & Stoughton.**8vo, pp. xii. 438. Price 9s.*

THE main purpose of this volume appears to be to cut the ground from under the feet of Old Testament Criticism by an *a priori* demonstration of the reasonableness of the supernatural. The writer was of opinion that the strength of criticism lies in the antipathy to the supernatural which is characteristic of our age, and the consequent desire to explain away or minimise the miraculous element in the Bible history. Three-fourths of the book is occupied with a summary of the Scripture narrative, in which Mr Gilbert tries to show that if the principle of the supernatural is frankly accepted and emphasised, the story conveys an impression of historic reality which the higher criticism misses, because it "naturally does not concern itself with large and comprehensive considerations," and "makes no account of that moral congruity which is the surest guide through historical problems." This remarkable verdict on the work of the higher criticism seems to suggest that the author had too slight an acquaintance with the subject to perceive how subordinate a place the question of miracle really holds in the critical argument. The most interesting thing in the book, however, is its endeavour to treat the question of the supernatural from the artistic point of view. It claims to be "the only attempt that has been made to correlate, from the artist's standpoint, the phenomena of nature, the significance of human life, and the supernatural." Nature is regarded as a "spectacle," and human life as a "drama," and the educating influence of both spectacle and drama tends to emphasise the worth of human personality in such a way as to suggest the existence of a higher sphere, in which personality can realise all its capacities. Now if Mr Gilbert had been content to develop this thought; if he had argued that human personality can only be realised in fellowship with the living God who reveals Himself through a series of supernatural acts in history, he would have set the significance of miracles in a truer light than he has succeeded in doing. We do seem to get glimpses of that idea now and then, but it is lost sight of in the working out of the argument. The continuity of the three spheres of Nature, Human Life, and the Supernatural is proved by the recurrence in each of a set of miscellaneous "thoughts," of which the following are selected as examples:—Contrast, Infinity and Limitation, Permanence and Change, Power and Weakness, Action and Repose, Beauty and Ugliness, Joy and Sadness, Life and Death, Good and Evil. Apart from the fact that the analogies are often artificial and arbitrary, it is difficult to

see what all this has to do with personality. The spiritual life of man does not consist in the abundance of such good things as these. It does consist in the knowledge of the true God; and it is just the thought of God that seems to me to be here thrust into the background by the obtrusive presence of a hollow form with empty hands, called the Supernatural. It would leave a false impression of the book to close this notice without saying that, while it just misses being a valuable contribution to apologetics, it contains much that is original and suggestive in detail. It is impossible to read it without entertaining a profound admiration for the character of the deceased author, whose piety, culture, and love of truth are manifest on every page, and whose charity appears in the unfailing courtesy of his references to those whose teaching he felt called upon to oppose.

JOHN SKINNER.

### Texte und Untersuchungen, Band ix. Heft 1.

*Die edessenische Chronik, mit dem syrischen Text und einer Übersetzung herausgegeben von Ludwig Hallier. Pp. vi. 170.*

*Die Apologie des Aristides aus dem syrischen übersetzt von Dr Richard Raabe. Leipzig: Hinrichs. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. iv., 97. 8vo. Price, M. 8.50.*

IN the first volume of this Review some account was given of the recently recovered Apology of Aristides. We have now to notice the latest study upon the Apology. In it Dr Raabe, a Syriac scholar, presents us with a careful German rendering, accompanied with critical notes. But the special features of the edition are: (1) The contributions towards the comparative criticism of the text; and (2) the annotations upon the contents, especially the mythological references in which the work abounds. No doubt students of Greek mythology in particular will here find much to interest them. What more concerns the Church historian is the collection of parallels between the ideas of Aristides and those of writers of his own age or tendency, among whom the "Melito" and "Ambrose" of Cureton's *Spicilegium Syriacum* come in for mention.

As regards the restoration of the original text, Raabe has made very clear the corruption at the end of ch. xiii., where both our authorities stumble, being ignorant, as it seems, of the "physical" type of allegory, which would be a commonplace to an Athenian philosopher of the second century (*cf. Hatch, Hibbert Lectures, p. 59, ff.*) It is probable that the corruption is of long standing. But it was at least worthy of our editor's notice that one of the best MSS. used by Armitage Robinson omits the line containing *φυσικαὶ*

(εἰ μὴ . . . θεοὶ εἰσιν), and so yields perfect sense: though this omission may be due to homœoteleuton.

The general question as to the relative originality of our Greek and Syriac recensions is intimately connected with another prime problem of the Apology, viz., the classification adopted as basis of the comparison and contrast between Christianity and other religions. And here Raabe's choice of the Greek threefold division into worshippers of false gods, Jews, Christians, in preference to the Syriac fourfold cross-division into Barbarians and Greeks, Jews and Christians, seems well grounded. For not only does the former agree best with the trichotomy of mankind found in the closely related *Preaching of Peter*; but it also fits the morphology of the Apology as a whole, whereas the Syriac brings in its reference to the Egyptians very awkwardly. These latter, indeed, appear to be the key of the situation. Starting from them, one might go a step beyond Raabe, and suggest that the order, Chaldeans, Greek, Egyptians—the heads under which heathen worshippers are made to fall—is an unnatural one; and that for Chaldeans, Aristides wrote Barbarians. This is exactly the subdivision implied in ch. xii. of the Syriac, even in its present form, and indeed throughout, with the single exception of the summary statement at the end of ch. ii.—a very slight change. It would suit Hellenic usage also: for while Celsus evidently distinguishes the Egyptians from Barbarians, he regards them also as specially ridiculous on account of the animal symbols which they worship (Origen, *c. Cels.*, vi. 80). Hence Aristides, too, might well regard them as peculiarly fitted to form the climax in his catalogue of the follies even of "the wise." If the motive of the change be sought, it lies obviously in the point of view of the Oriental King addressed by the Greek romancer. For to him "Barbarians" would have no sense, unless an insulting one; while the Chaldeans might be regarded as, to his mind, a familiar type of the class of beliefs described. If this view be accepted, we have a fresh criterion as between the Greek and Syriac forms of ch. xiii. Here the Greek text lumps together Egyptian, Chaldeans, and Greeks in a summary criticism; whereas the Syriac, remarking that the Egyptians surpass all in their errors, goes on to express surprise that the Greeks, too, spite of their superior culture, have gone so far astray, and that, too, under the patronage of their "poets and philosophers." It is then noteworthy that towards the end of the chapter (wherein it agrees in substance with the Syriac), the Greek sums up with: "How is it that the wise and learned among the Greeks have not understood that, while they make laws, they (*i.e.*, their mythologies) are condemned by their own laws." Surely this means that the original here appears uneffaced, while in what immediately precedes, Chaldeans and Egyptians are slipped

in where the mention of "their poets" in particular suggests that the Greeks alone are in question.<sup>1</sup>

Another point of considerable interest is the attitude of each recension to the Jews. Here the prime contrast lies in the fact that while the Syriac (ch. ii.) twice refers to Christ's birth of Hebrew stock—the term Jews being reserved for less honourable connections, including, "He was pierced by the Jews"—our Greek text has "begotten of a holy virgin" where the former has "of a Hebrew virgin." This, together with the more elaborate description of the act of Incarnation in the Greek, suggests that the Syriac preserves the earlier tone when the "Hebrew" roots of Christianity were not forgotten, and when, spite of the crime of the Crucifixion, the continuity between the more beneficent aspects of Jewish ethics and those of the Christians were as yet frankly recognised. This agrees substantially with Justin's attitude: while the general estimate in the Greek text is at least latently hostile throughout.

Examples like these show how now the one recension, now the other, has the better claim to pass as original, and that, in fact, we must learn and allow for the *motif* at the back of either edition. The limited scope of Raabe's discussions does not allow him to help us here very much. But his brief note on the practical aim of the Syriac version is interesting. In this he traces both the signs of continued polemic against heathenism in the sixth century, and an implicit rebuke to its enfeebled and nominal Christianity by means of the fair vision of primitive piety which is here set before the eyes of the age. If this be so, we may find it all the harder to determine whether certain of its traits are really touches added to the original. There is one aid, however, to the discovery of alterations made by the Greek romancer, which should be used by future editors. This is the study of the theological vocabulary as it appears in the rest of his work. A sample may be given. On a single page (Boissonade, p. 163) occur the following parallels to suspect phrases from the Christological passage (ch. xv.) in our Aristides: *συνεργία τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν, ἁγίας παρθένου, ἀσπόρως . . . ἀφθόρως γεννηθείς.*

On the whole Raabe is inclined to see at the basis of the Syriac—with possible exceptions, like the expanded form of ch. i., in which the Armenian largely coincides—substantially the same text as that before the Greek romancer. Yet, as in so many Syriac versions, the translator has felt free to paraphrase, explain, and even expand his original; so that to the latter process, for instance, some of the additional traits of Christian piety may be due. Further, he even seems to have transposed paragraphs, such as those in ch. ii., dealing

<sup>1</sup> Cf. The trilemma as to the "histories" of the gods which concludes the chapter.



with the "genealogy" of Jews and Christians. These results agree in the main with those of Harnack, who, however, supposes that the archetype of the Syriac and Armenian recensions had been somewhat adjusted to suit Greek susceptibilities; while, on the other hand, the friendlier tone towards the Jews in the Syriac best represents the original.

In counting up our gains from the Apology, this latter feature must not be overlooked. It gives us insight into its author's religious philosophy, and so into that of his circle, which in this respect, as in its natural theology, would seem to have had Hellenistic affinities. Philo's influence on Christian philosophic thought was probably even at this period considerable. There is certainly no little continuity between Hellenistic piety and the Apologist's ideals of the Sovereign God, the holy walk, the future kingdom—all indeed assured, as never before, by the Son of God who has appeared in human flesh. And as a rule the *Epistle to Diognetus* furnishes our most instructive parallels, or contrasts, as the case may be.

The "Edessene Chronicle," or, as its title actually runs, "Narratives of Events in outline," comes down to us in a very ancient Vatican MS., first edited by Assemani in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*; and consists of some hundred and six entries, mostly very brief. In the present edition the text has been carefully revised by Professor Guidi, and is furnished not only with a German version and commentary, but also with very thorough prolegomena, setting the document in the light of kindred historical materials, in most cases Syrian like itself. Hallier remarks that since the question of the legendary correspondence between King Abgar and Jesus Christ has been thrashed out, as by Gutschmid in particular, Edessa now interests us mainly through this Chronicle, and the list of its kings given in the Chronicle of Dionysius of Tellmahrê, the Monophysite Patriarch of 818-845 A.D. More than half of its contents relate to the affairs of Edessa, and deal with the period from the accession of its first prince (c. 132 B.C.) to the year 540 A.D. (= 851 by Seleucid reckoning). The entries, however, are very sparse till we reach A.D. 202. Its chief topics are the Edessene bishops, saints, church buildings and such like, inundations, &c.

Four problems are discussed in the eighty-three pages of prolegomena. (1.) The relative dependence upon our Chronicle of the *Chronicle* by the Dionysius already named, and the *Chronicon ecclesiasticum* by Gregory Bar Hebræus (d. 1286 A.D.); and of these three upon that of Joshua Stylites (c. 507 A.D.). (2.) The exact sources of the Edessene Chronicle. (3.) Its date. (4.) The doctrinal position of its author. As to the first of these, Hallier finds (p. 37) that Dionysius used our Chronicle for the Edessene bishops up to the Nestorian Ibas; that Bar Habræus

derived his statements from it, through the Chronicle of Michael Syrus (c. 1196 A.D.), who seems to have had access to the original; that the element akin to Joshua Stylites in both our Chronicle and Dionysius, seems to go back to an epitome, rather than to the original work. In ascertaining the sources of our Chronicle two main criteria are employed, namely, the distinct systems of chronology and the separate episcopal lists found embedded in its present form. As a result, the stages of growth are set forth as follows:—The backbone of the whole consists of an episcopal list derived from the Church archives, and extending from Koinos (c. 313 A.D.) to the death of Rabbulas (435 A.D.). Besides dates of accession and death, it confined itself to mere references to any building that a bishop may have set on foot. This list was continued by a later hand, writing during the episcopate of Addai (533-43), and drawing also from the same source. Finally, a third hand enriched the whole by the addition of some matter relating to the episcopate of Ibas, at the same time perhaps making other minute changes; and then adopted it as the basis of his Chronicle formed by the addition of matter derived from some three Antiochene sources, as well as from certain Greek Church histories, &c. Thus the chronicler is identical with the final redactor of the episcopal list. The whole argument is worked out with admirable patience and learning; and the same is true of the next point, the time of composition. Former investigators, such as the late Dr W. Wright in the *Encyclop. Brit.*, had assigned it to about 540 A.D., the date indicated by its latest entry. But Hallier's thorough analysis of the sources incorporated by the compiler renders a new discussion necessary. Accordingly, he first fixes the lower limit at 610 A.D., the date when the Persians captured Edessa; and then the superior limit at 570 A.D., on the ground that its distinction between the "old" church in Edessa and the "new," built by Amazonius, bishop about the time of the fifth oecumenical council (553), is unknown, even to a Syrian like John of Ephesus, writing about 569 A.D. Further, the title "Chrysostom," applied to John of Constantinople without any explanation, cannot be paralleled before the very end of the sixth century. On the ground, then, of its occurrence in our Chronicle, the editor is disposed to bring down the latter well to the end of that century, a date which finds support in the peculiar doctrinal attitude of the chronicler. He seems, that is, to be an upholder of the theology of Chalcedon, yet with distinct Nestorian leanings, especially in favour of the persons of the great Antiochenes, Theodore, Theodoret, and Ibas, in contrast to the Monophysite prelates, who, since the death of Nonnus (471), seem to have been in power in Edessa as throughout the East as a whole. Already Assemani had noted that he breaks off

just "*ubi Pastores Jacobitæ Ecclesiam illam invadere cœperunt.*" Following up this hint, Hallier points to his summary remark that "the monk Eutyches denied the Incarnation" (No. liii.), as also to his anti-Augustinian view of sin (No. lv.), upon which Nestorians were most emphatic. But how, he asks, could such a man refer as sympathetically as he does to the Emperor Justinian? By way of answer he proceeds to trace the prevalence of Monophysite sentiment in the Edessene bishops after Nonnus, in spite of no little imperial persecution; and shows that under Justinian, on the other hand, Nestorian sympathies revived for a time at least, for instance in Addai, although he fell in 543 under the Monophysite influence of the Empress Theodora. But of this not a word in our Chronicle, nor of the disloyalty of Amazonius, his successor, to the three great Antiochenes at the Council of 553. His main interest, then, being his anti-Monophysitism, it is intelligible how he can view Justinian mainly in the light of his earlier anti-Origenistic demonstration, as well as of his consistent advocacy of Chalcedon, apart from the censure of the Antiochene theologians into which he allowed himself to be betrayed. Thus considered, according to his general spirit rather than the tendency of a single act, Justinian might well appear a welcome contrast to his predecessor, Anastasius, and his thoroughgoing undermining of Chalcedon. So our chronicler, for the sake of "the good cause," then and still threatened by Monophysitism, puts up with the wrong done to men whom he reveres, and finds it in his heart to be grateful to the great emperor, whose ecclesiastical policy was, moreover, free from the violence of an Anastasius.

In complicated questions such as these, it is hardly given to an author to fully establish his positions throughout. But Hallier deserves to succeed, and his discussions certainly cast light upon the theological relations of the fifth and sixth centuries, even though the theology of the period be marked by pathological rather than normal development. Incidentally, too, he adds definiteness to our views of Edessene Christianity, which, with much probability, he carries back well into the second century on the basis of Eusebius (H. E. V. 23, 4); though his assumption that the same writer's reference to the "archives" or "public records" of Edessa concerns the *Church* archives, seems more than doubtful (*ib.* i. 13). Still, as he is able to give us the names of Palut, Abselâma, and Barsamya, as belonging to predecessors of Koinos, the bishop who built the church at Edessa when once the edict of toleration allowed (c. 313), there is no reason to doubt that the Church archives went back to about the same date. The ecclesiastical historian ought cordially to recognise the value of the notes and illustrations which our editor's diligence has added to the statements of the

Chronicle itself; while, after all, we are constantly learning the indirect value of chronological data, which time and again serve to settle some point of far greater moment than those with which they were originally associated.

VERNON BARTLET.

### **Some Australian Sermons.**

*By John W. Owen, B.A. (Oxon.). London: Elliott Stock.*

*Pp. 217.*

ONE cannot but admire the frank and independent character of these thirty-nine Australian Sermons. The author appears to belong to the Church of England, but he is no stickler for ecclesiastical shibboleths. He recognises that in the "one flock" of Christ there may be many folds, and he scouts the idea of unchurching all who are outside the Greek, the Roman, and the Anglican folds. "A visible church on earth reduced to one dead level of uniformity" is to him a "dreamy superstructure." The author is careful to base his sermons on a painstaking and independent exegesis; but I cannot say the result is always satisfactory. *E.g.*, the words rendered "I am meek and lowly in heart" should, according to him, be rendered, "I am meek and easily accessible to heart . . . easily accessible to our hearts—to our feelings and intelligence"! But Mr Owen does not rate his own work high. "I only know I have studied and earnestly pondered over the words and tried to catch their sense, until I have seemed to see their meaning more clearly and, as in duty bound, I offer the result of my work to your attention. It can do you no harm: it may—even if it only serve to expose my errors—do you good." These sermons might well have been more luminous, but they could hardly have been more earnestly practical. And it would have been a gain to any reader to have them printed more distinctly and on less crowded pages.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

### **Man's Great Charter.**

*An Exposition of the First Chapter of Genesis. By Frederick Ernest Coggin, M.A., late Exhibitioner of St John's College, Cambridge. London: James Nisbet & Co. Pp. 210. Price 3s. 6d.*

MR COGGIN'S attempt to read the opening chapter of the Bible in the light of the conclusions of modern science is exceedingly ingenious but not convincing. He calls in aid from a wide range of

scientific reading. He applies himself with unwearied industry to the study of the Hebrew text. He searches far and near for parallels and analogies in Scripture usage. He protests loudly against the indolent practice of allowing words to obscure things, and often reminds us that even at the best words are poor exponents of thought. And certainly, if Mr Coggin's contentions are valid, it would be difficult to conceive poorer exponents than some of the words with which he deals. The marvel is that with such exponents he has been able to find the thought. "Day is not a time-word, but stands for that state or those laws of existence by means of which anything is what it is." "Each of the six days is a distinct portion of the work, each is an effulgence of the whole light of creation, each is the cause, basis and medium, the formative and energising *idea* of a whole department of this world." Does this apply to the seventh day? Admittedly not. Or to the day of v. 16? The "waters" of v. 2 are to be taken as "the formless mass of undifferentiated world-making material"; but in v. 9 "words begin to assume their common specific significance." From "the heaven and the earth" denoting in v. 1 "the whole material constituents of the universe," we pass to "heaven" as the firmament in v. 8, "the medium of all the benefits dispensed by the sun, moon, and stars." Even the interesting attempt to find in the use of אֶרֶץ a recognition of the great stages in the evolution of the earth and its occupants animate and inanimate, treats the gulf which separates the inorganic from the organic as of comparatively slight importance. *Non tali auxilio* is the "devotional" use of Genesis likely to be helped. Ingenuity is not conducive to devotion. The task of reconciling Genesis and science may be deferred until science has reached more definite results.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

### A Cyclopædic Dictionary of the Mang'anga Language Spoken in British Central Africa.

*By the Rev. David Clement Scott, B.D., F.R.S.G.S., Church of  
Scotland, Blantyre. Edinburgh, 1892.*

THIS is a Dictionary, and very much more. Its 737 double-columned pages are rich in philological and ethnological interest. The student of folk-lore especially will find in it a feast of fat things. An intelligent study of its contents will do more than many a popular book of travel to set before us the panorama of African daily life, and at least as much as any Foreign Mission Report to awaken and stimulate enthusiasm in the spread of Christian civilisation.

An introductory treatise of twenty-four pages supplies a guide to the use of the volume. It includes a grammar, which is new and of great interest, both in its general character and in its analogies. It provides, also, a tabular scheme of the language "from which," the author claims, "it may be learnt." In the dictionary proper each important word discussed is accompanied by sentences intended to show its application and various shades of meaning, and is followed by notes in small type which give, mostly at first-hand, an account of native custom, industry, relationship, belief, superstition, amusement, song, or proverb, as the case may be. Thus, for instance, a complete statement of the conception of Deity will be found under the native name, MULUNGU, the name itself being learned by reference to an English index at the end of the book. There are cross references besides to a host of other words of cognate meaning and derivation.

We understand that the preparation of this Dictionary has been accomplished at the cost of eight years' continuous and self-sacrificing labour. That will be readily understood by anybody who takes the volume into his hands. But Mr Scott has the reward of knowing that his labour has not only added a valuable contribution to the general stock of knowledge, but has immensely simplified the task of translating the Scriptures into the large group of Bantu dialects of which the Mang'anga is the foremost representative. His Dictionary is a monument of scholarship, insight, and Christian zeal.

GEORGE MACKENZIE.

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### **Analecta Lutherana et Melanthoniana.**

*Tischreden Luther's und Aussprüche Melanths, hauptsächlich nach Aufzeichnungen des Johannes Mathesius. Aus der Nürnberger Handschrift des Germanischen Museums mit Benutzung von Dr Joh. Karl Seidemann's Vorarbeiten herausgegeben und erläutert von Georg Loesche, Doktor der Theologie und Philosophie, K. K. o. ö. Professor der Kirchengeschichte in Wien. Gotha: F. A. Perthes. 8vo, pp. 440.*

(Luther's Table-Talk and Sayings of Melancthon, as noted by Joh. Mathesius, from a MS. in the Germanic Museum, Nürnberg, with the help of Dr J. K. Seidemann's preparatory investigations, published and elucidated by Georg Loesche, Doctor and Professor of Theology in Vienna.)

It is somewhat remarkable that up to the present date no one—not even among German scholars—has yet succeeded in producing a critically satisfactory text of Luther's Colloquies. The task,  
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however, is not an easy one; for the MSS. vary so greatly, that, as Dr Loesche says, the problem to be solved surpasses that of the synoptic gospels in perplexity. Indeed, it can scarcely be said to have been properly grappled till some twenty years ago, when Dr Joh. Karl Seidemmann issued the true, though modern, parole, "Back to the Sources." He died, however, long ere the wearisome task was completed.

Dr Loesche has worthily entered into his labours, and that under the following circumstances. In the course of investigations, undertaken in the interest of a life of Mathesius, a convert and contemporary of Luther, and eminent in his day, both as an educationist, a preacher, a hymn-writer, and as a biographer of the great Reformer, Dr Loesche found it necessary to examine a MS. preserved in the Germanic Museum at Nürnberg, with the title, "*Excerpta haec omnia in Mensa ex ore D. Ma: Lutherj, Anno Domini 1540,*" and containing 529 sayings of Luther's, besides 137 of Melanchthon. Though not in the handwriting of Mathesius, and comprising sayings extending over the years 1531 to 1545, many of which, therefore, could not have been spoken in his hearing, Dr Loesche has made it, to say the least, exceedingly probable that the collection is to be traced back to him. In his own "*Historien von Luther's Anfang, Lehre, Leben, standhaftem Bekenntniss seines Glaubens und Sterbens,*" published at Nürnberg in 1570 (republished in 1806), he gives the following graphic account of his life "alongside of the princes of God's people and Church." "By the intervention of Dr Justus Jonas and Magister Georg Rörers, God sent me to Dr Luther's table, for which I shall thank Him and those who aided me all the days of my life. What I there heard and saw I have carefully noted. I have added besides sayings that were written down by other boarders." After mentioning their names, and adding appropriate remarks, he goes on to say, "Although our Doctor frequently came to table burdened with grave and profound questions, and sometimes kept his old monastic silence during the whole meal, at other times he was so lively that we styled his words *condimenta mensae*, and enjoyed them more than the finest spices and dishes. When he wanted any of us to speak, he would ask, 'What news is there?' Usually the question, when first put, was left unanswered. Then he asked again, 'Now, you prelates, what is there new in the country?' Whereupon the elder of the company began to speak. (Mathesius was in his thirty-sixth year.) Dr Wolf Severus, for example, who sat at the head of the table, if there was no stranger present, being a travelled courtier, set the ball a rolling. As soon as the conversation was well under way—and it was carried on with due gravity and respect—others joined in, and, last of all, the Doctor himself spoke. Frequently we laid before him Biblical

problems, which he succinctly solved. It was quite to his mind, too, when we raised objections, which he skilfully refuted. Men of position in the University, and from other places also, often joined us; and then good stories were told, and points debated."

The time, patience, and labour spent by Dr Loesche on his edition must have been enormous. One can scarcely help answering the question he himself raises, whether the play is worth the candle? in the negative. It can scarcely be doubted, however, that the result, though, as experts have already pointed out, not without its defects, is a more satisfactory, complete, and convenient edition of Luther's "Table-Talk" than has hitherto appeared. After all, too, a work of this kind is of some importance, in view of the utterly discreditable tactics to which Roman Catholic writers are now resorting with regard to the words and character of Luther.

In the elaborate introduction the editor gives an account of the labours of Seidemann, whose MSS. were entrusted to him by the commission engaged on a new edition of Luther's entire works; then of the origin, condition, and value of the Nürnberg MS.; further, of the principles followed in the preparation of his edition, &c.; and adds finally a list of the parallel texts. Unusually ample indexes of the headings of Luther's and Melancthon's sayings; of the persons and places mentioned; of the subjects, in alphabetical order; and of the Biblical passages touched, close the work. The edition includes 189 hitherto unprinted fragments of Luther's "Table-Talk," besides 137 of Melancthon's sayings.

As Dr Loesche remarks, seeing that both Luther and Melancthon were in the habit of speaking in brass (*messingisch*), that is, mixing up Latin and German, both at home and in their lectures, no text that is exclusively Latin or German, still less a translation, can convey a true impression of the conversations whose fragments have been recorded. Following Seidemann's example, therefore, he has printed the original text as he found it, with only such verbal and other corrections and annotations as were indispensable. The latter, however, embody an enormous amount of laborious investigation.

A fair idea of this linguistic amalgam may be got from the following specimens. The first is interesting, also, as a bit of autobiography: "*Diversissima ingenia habent Philippus et Lutherus quae tamen summa concordia maxima effecerunt. Respondet D.: In actis Apostolorum habetis nostram picturam. Jacobus denotat Philippum qui libenter sua modestia volebat legem retinere; Petrus me, qui perrumpebat: 'Quid oneratis?' Ita Ph. in charitate, ego in fide procedo. Ph. lest (lässt) siech (sich) fressen, ich fres alles undt schon niemandts. Et ita Deus diversis operatur. Ph. nimis est modestus, cujus modestia papistae tantum inflammantur: qui vult ex charitate omnibus servire. Kemen mir die papisten also, ich*"



wollt sie wol stauchen." Concerning his opponent Eck, he said once, "Die haben mich gelert gemacht. Ich kans umb den Eck nit verdienen, was er mich gelert hatt; und der Pabst kan in nicht genug straffenn; den er hat das schieff verfuret. Si ego essem papa, donarem Eccium pileo cardinaliceo et ipsum statim comburerem."

Some of Melanchthon's sayings, here communicated, tend to confirm the tradition that his wife was rather difficult to get on with. "Mulier est ecclesia. Muliebre genus est πολυπραγματικὸν genus; der ein Weib nimpt, der nimpt ein ganntze Nachbarschaft. Nam etiam placidae mulieres tamen habent aliquas, eine (or einer) der sie klagt. Maledicunt in familiis, servis, ancillis. Igitur dictum est, tempestas in aedibus mulier" (Menander, from whom this saying is quoted, adds *κακή*, which Melanchthon significantly omits); "ist also, undt wir werdens alle yunen. So ist ecclesia; sagts ihren Nachbarn, gaudet, cum videt homines converti; est sollicita, praedicat et vocat multos ad poenitentiam."

The human side of the two great Reformers is abundantly, sometimes very curiously, not to say puzzlingly, revealed in their table-talk.

To all concerned, Dr Loesche's edition may be strongly recommended, both for its general get-up, and for its thoroughly scholarly character. In this latter respect it deserves to be taken as a pattern by editors generally.

D. W. SIMON.

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### Albrecht Ritschls Leben.

*Dargestellt von Otto Ritschl. Erster Band. 1822-64. Freiburg, i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. vii. 456. Price, M. 10. Bound, M. 12.*

THERE can be no doubt that all students of contemporary theology will heartily welcome this volume, the first instalment of a biography of Ritschl. The author, himself a professor of theology, has conceived in a clear and masterly fashion what the aim of his work ought to be. And so, while giving a very elaborate survey of his father's life as a whole, within the period embraced in this volume, he makes all the details contribute towards a vivid and impressive picture of the theological and religious development of one who, by means of his strong personality, his freedom of judgment, and his intense concentration on his chosen study, originated a new movement in the theology of Germany, which is constantly making way through the attractiveness of its chief positions and the enthusiasm and earnestness of its leading exponents. Throughout the book Professor Ritschl displays the impartiality of the trained student of history. He is in thorough sympathy with his father's point of

view, but never treats his readers to that wearisome and unmeaning adulation which mars so many biographies. The style is admirable, often possessing real literary power, always graphic, terse, and concentrated. The one fault, perhaps, is that too much has been included. Ritschl was an indefatigable correspondent. Numerous letters have been preserved. It could not fail to be difficult to make a suitable selection, for in every letter there is some point of interest. But a considerable number of those which appear might have been omitted without weakening our general impression of the man.

The son of Bishop Carl Ritschl, General-Superintendent of Pomerania, Albrecht Ritschl was born in 1822. On leaving the Gymnasium at Stettin as its most distinguished pupil, he seems to have had no hesitation in choosing theology as his line of study. "I was impelled," he says (p. 18), "to the study of theology by a speculative bias, a wish to comprehend the highest."

The fame of Nitzsch was the main reason which led him, in 1839, to enter the University of Bonn. This theologian, belonging, as he did, to the school which made it their aim to mediate between the Christian faith and the scientific culture of their day, exercised, for a time, a powerful influence on Ritschl's earnest, unprejudiced, and yet thoroughly critical mind. Frequent discussions, however, with student friends at Bonn, and especially with some ardent disciples of Hengstenberg, set his mind in a ferment. He felt that the extreme orthodoxy of the latter was really the strict logical consequence of his own position; and yet he could not follow Hengstenberg. He now became eager to reach some clearness and stability, both in his religious convictions and theological speculations, and the hope of this induced him to leave Bonn for Halle, where the names of Tholuck, Julius Müller, and Erdmann were a powerful attraction. At Halle his strong philosophical interest was thoroughly roused by Erdmann. Soon he was won over to Hegelianism, although, apparently from the first, he did not completely adopt its standpoint. It became rather the form of his thinking than the essence. For all along, he adhered resolutely to the "ethical kernel" of his own view of the universe.

For a time he was on intimate terms both with Tholuck and Müller. Gradually he grew dissatisfied with their teaching, and the intimacy cooled. His estimate of Tholuck is worth quoting: "Tholuck is scientifically incommensurable. . . . The one fixed thing in him is his subjectivity, which, in many respects, is worthy of love and esteem, but which in science is only arbitrary and eclectic, and has no fixed point of unity, even in its negative position, towards the other scientific movements of the present" (p. 52).

At this stage in his course, Baur's "*Lehre von der Versöhnung*"

made an epoch in his theological convictions. While thoroughly satisfying his Hegelian standpoint, it gave him, he says, his first clear conception of history, and also taught him the meaning of "Dogmengeschichte," afterwards to be his favourite study. But towards the end of his student life at Halle he is still striving after a rounded-off theory of the world.

In view of his subsequent virtual identification of the conception of God's righteousness in both Old Testament and New Testament with that of his grace, which forms so important a part of his system, it is interesting to find Ritschl, in some sermons belonging to this early time, emphasising the idea that not the righteousness but the kindness of God distributes His gifts, and that so we are to discern in all the ordinances of life the guidance of the divine love.

After taking his doctor's degree, he left Halle for Heidelberg. But his thoughts turned towards Tübingen, where he hoped, through intercourse with Baur, to whose work he owed so much, to have his theological interest still further quickened, and to obtain guidance for the direction of his speculations. Baur and his colleagues received him courteously, but he never reached a close intimacy with them. Want of space compels us to hurry over many important matters, including the publication of his first work, "*Das Evangelium Marcions und das kanonische Evangelium des Lucas*," in which he attempts to derive "Luke" from Marcion's "Gospel," to the beginning of his academic career as privat-docent at Bonn in 1846. A careful study of the New Testament in preparation for his lectures, led him in his first teaching semester to distrust the Tübingen theology.

Always independent, the germs of his own theological system have now begun to take shape in his mind. In the first sermon which he preached at Bonn, he insists that all goodness and love in the world lead back to the *Person of Christ* as their foundation, who is the Son and image of the Father, and whose deepest essence is intelligible not to the understanding, but only to that love which springs from Himself.

His reputation was greatly increased by the appearance in 1849 of his "*Entstehung der alt-katholischen Kirche*." While still depending on Baur for his method of stating the problem, his growing opposition to the Tübingen school is seen in his leading idea that the origin of Catholicism is to be traced back, neither to a Jewish-Christian basis (with Schweigler), nor to the balanced force of Pauline and Jewish-Christian influences (as later with Baur), but merely to a Pauline foundation.

He had already begun to lecture on "Dogmengeschichte," and yet, in spite of his careful work, he had few students. After being

appointed "Professor Extraordinarius" in 1852, he gave himself heart and soul to the study of dogmatic theology. As he found himself unable to follow any former theologian in this department, he was compelled to work on new lines. As the result of his ever-growing inner reaction against the Hegelian view of the universe, he was led to make his dogmatic system revolve round the historically-given revelation of Christianity. "To conceive the Person of Christ," he says, "to ground its aspect in the necessary concepts of God, the world, man, is the chief theological problem of the Church of our time. . . . The theological starting-point for understanding the Person of the Redeemer is the historical aspect of Christ, who perfectly represents the fundamental religious relation between God and man" (p. 237). Here there is put into our hands the key to the Ritschlian position, especially as that position is worked out by its leading exponents at the present time. Thus Herrmann distinctly asserts that theology should have for its subject-matter "the meaning and the eternal claims of a historical Power." In a review which appeared in 1855, Ritschl showed himself an out-and-out opponent of the Tübingen school. This occasioned the final breach of his intimacy with Baur. As a natural consequence, Ritschl was able to say of the new edition of the "Entstehung" (1857): "It is *toto caelo* separated from the first edition."

At this time he began a special course of study on the doctrine of Justification and the Atonement with the view of writing upon it, devoting minute attention, in the first place, to Osiander's doctrine (pp. 313-342). In 1859 came his marriage and appointment as "ordinary" professor.

Still pursuing unremittingly his investigation of the doctrines named above, he states, in an article published in 1860, the conclusion he has reached after an examination of the scholastic and Protestant teaching on these doctrines. This is, that, seeing the unbiblical notions of the satisfaction and merit of Christ are theologically insufficient, there is need of a new, biblically-regulated construction of the doctrine of the Work of Christ, whose indispensable prelude must be a criticism of those notions, and in which the main point will be to set forth the perfect obedience of Christ under the standpoint of the moral obligation of His calling. In the midst of these elaborate preparations for a scientific reconstruction of the Atonement-doctrines he was called to the University of Göttingen to succeed Dorner, who had gone to Berlin. The present volume concludes with his removal to his new sphere of work in the year 1864.

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

### On the Fourfold Root of the Principle of Sufficient Reason, and On the Will in Nature.

*Two Essays by Arthur Schopenhauer. Translated by Mme. Karl Hillebrand. Pp. xxviii. 380. Selected Essays of Arthur Schopenhauer, with a Biographical Introduction and Sketch of his Philosophy. By Ernest Belfort Bax. Pp. liii. 359. London: Bell & Sons. Price 5s. each.*

THE *first* of these volumes contains Schopenhauer's earliest publication, written in his twenty-sixth year, for his doctor's examination; —a dissertation which, as he says himself, "became the substructure for the whole of my system;" and another essay, consisting of "corroborations of the author's philosophy received from the empirical sciences." The *second* volume consists of selections from a work in two volumes, entitled "*Parerga und Paralipomena*," supposed to be fitted to "meet the taste alike of him that is specially interested in philosophy and of the 'general reader';" with an introductory account of Schopenhauer's life and philosophy. Among the subjects are, Sketch of a History of the Doctrine of the Ideal and Real; Fragments of the History of Philosophy; Some Words on Pantheism; Immortality; Suicide; Metaphysics of the Beautiful and on Aesthetics: Women.

Mr Bax's sketch gives as good an idea of the man and his system as could well be compressed into the space allotted to it. No effort is made to white-wash the philosopher, because of his philosophical and literary merits. This is satisfactory, for, as a man, Schopenhauer was egotistical, vain, cross-grained. A characteristic anecdote, not recorded by Mr Bax, tells how one day he informed his fellow-diners at the hotel which he frequented, with great glee, that his poodle having misbehaved, he had scoldingly addressed it *Du Mensch* (You Human!), and that the dog had slunk away quite ashamed; but that when one of the company replied, "Then, I suppose, Herr Doctor, when we wish to please you, we must address you, *Du Hund* (You Hound!)," the Herr Doctor was greatly enraged. Mr Bax, however, should not have confounded *Privat-docent* with *Professor extraordinarius* (p. xviii.); nor have allowed "*Litterateur-Zeitung*" to pass for "*Litteratur-Zeitung*." Any one desirous of enriching his vocabulary with opprobrious epithets for philosophers by profession and women, may be referred to these two volumes.

The most important of the essays is that on "The Fourfold Root," etc. Adequately to estimate it, one needs to go back to Kant, whose discussion of the categories was the author's point of departure. But the following brief account may convey an idea of its scope. By the principle of sufficient reason is meant, of course,

that "nothing is without a reason for its being." Two distinct applications of this principle Schopenhauer found already recognised, namely, to *judgments*, which, in order to being true, must have a reason; and to *changes* in material objects, which must have a cause. But, besides these, there are also mathematical applications, as, for example, when it is asked, "Why are three sides of this triangle equal?" and the answer is given, "Because the three angles are equal;" or in the "law of motivation," namely, the law that motives cause actions. He accordingly distinguishes a fourfold necessity, in conformity with the four forms of the principle of sufficient reason, namely, Logical, Physical, Mathematical, and Moral necessity. To the establishment of the distinction between these four forms and of the fact that there are only four, the treatise in question is devoted. For a young beginner of twenty-six, a remarkable enough production,—full, however, of disagreeable touches characteristic of the man.

The rest of the contents may be regarded as introductions and additions to, or modifications of, various parts of his great work, "The World as Will and Representation" (or, as Mr Bax translates, Presentment), the practical outcome of which is that the "final solution of the problem of life is to be found not in æsthetics, nor in ethics, but in asceticism; and that self-starvation, the abstention from all action on one's own behalf tending to preserve life, is the highest expression of ascetic morality." What name does an Epicurean preaching a doctrine like this deserve?—Charlatan; and his so-called philosophy is *charlatanerie*.

Mr Bax's critical remarks on Schopenhauer's System would have had more force, had he taken his stand on Christianity with its well-grounded assurance that,

"All is right that seems most wrong  
If it be God's good will."

So far as I can judge, without having the German for comparison, the translations seem well done; and those who are interested in philosophy, whether they read German or not, will be grateful to the publishers for these additions to their valuable "libraries."

D. W. SIMON.

## Notices.

CANON CHEYNE'S *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*<sup>1</sup> is a remarkably interesting book, so pleasantly written that it reads like a

<sup>1</sup> *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, Biographical, Descriptive, and Critical Studies. By T. K. Cheyne, D.D. London: Methuen & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 372. Price 7s. 6d.

tale, and withal full of instructive matter. It is a defence of the literary criticism of the Old Testament in the form of a history of the critical movement, and the history is biographical. Beginning with some reference to the influence of the English Deists, and with some account of the three English scholars, Warburton, Lowth, and Geddes, Professor Cheyne takes up Eichhorn, whom he regards as in the most proper sense the founder of modern Old Testament criticism, and gives a series of portraits of the great scholars from the end of the eighteenth century on to the present day. These sketches are, for the most part, done with great skill; some of them eminently so. They are accompanied by critical estimates of the men and their works. This gives a double interest to the book. Professor Cheyne's estimates are characteristically his own. They may not obtain universal assent in every case; but it is always worth while to get them, and one cannot read them without profit. The last three chapters are given to the scholars of our own time, Canon Driver being dealt with at greatest length. These chapters will attract special attention. They omit no one who has any claim to consideration, and they are not lacking in generous and sympathetic regard for men of very different types. The simple statement of facts which the book gives, and its attractive pictures of the men, should do much to dispel inveterate prejudice and disarm unworthy fears with respect to criticism and the critics.

Something of the same ground is traversed by Dr Briggs in his volume on the *Hexateuch*,<sup>1</sup> and it is instructive to compare the American and the Oxford estimates of the great critics. Dr Briggs, however, includes more than Professor Cheyne, and begins farther back. He first defines the problem with which the higher criticism of the Mosaic books is concerned, and gives a summary of the testimony of Scripture itself, both Old Testament and New, to the issues involved in that problem. He next states the *Traditional Theories*,—the Rabbinical ideas, the views of the Fathers, and the position of the Reformers. Having done this, he proceeds to sketch the *Rise of Criticism*, and the progress of the critical movement on to the present day. In this he takes us back to Carlstadt, Masius, Hobbes, Pyrerius, Spinoza, Richard Simon, Witsius, Vitranga, and others, who, in one way or another, did pioneer work. He then goes on to examine more particularly the critical theories which have had their day—the Documentary Hypothesis, the Fragmentary, the Supplementary, the Development, as well as the more recent discussions connected with the names of Robertson

<sup>1</sup> The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch. By Charles Augustus Briggs, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 259. Price 6s. 6d.

Smith, Dillmann, Baudissin, Delitzsch, Cornill, Driver. The closing chapter contains a careful summary of the entire argument. The conclusions as put by Dr Briggs are these—that we have a fourfold narrative of the origin of the old covenant religion; that the Pentateuch gives us not a single Mosaic code, but several codes of Mosaic legislation; that the Mosaic legislation was delivered through Moses, and then “unfolded in historical usage and interpretation in a series of codifications by inspired prophets and priests . . . in several stages of advancement in the historical life and experience of Israel from the conquest to the exile”; that “Law and Prophecy are not two distinct and separate modes of revelation, but the same”; and that there is in the Law, as in the Gospel, “a divine transforming power, which shaped the history of Israel, as the Gospel has shaped the history of the Church in successive stages of appropriation.” The criticism of the more important theories, and the analysis of the literature, cover the essential points, and are always definite and distinct. As against Wellhausen and his school, Dr Briggs defends the historicity of the laws and narratives which are contained in the Hexateuch.

There is some vigorous writing in the *Hulsean Lectures for 1892-93*,<sup>1</sup> with occasional eccentricities of style. There is also much with which one can cordially sympathise in Mr Heard's laudation of the Alexandrian theology, and in the claim which he again puts in for attention to the Eastern system of religious thought. But the edge is taken from his defence of the Greek theology by his extreme depreciation of the Latin or African theology. Nor is it only a question of preference as between a highly speculative and a stringently legal or forensic construction of the Christian verities. With Mr Heard it amounts to an incapacity not only to do justice to men of the rank of Augustine and Tertullian, but to understand Paul. The Divine Sovereignty and related doctrines, as they have been found in Paul's Epistles by the greatest thinkers and the men of profoundest religious experience all along the ages, are neither according to Mr Heard's idea nor are really taught by Paul, as he thinks. In this Mr Heard has against him not only the great Latin divines, and many more, but the ablest and most impartial exegetes. But while the argument is greatly overdriven, the book is of value, not only for its more than sympathetic representation of Origen and other prominent theologians of the Greek school, but for what it has to say on the subject of dogma generally, and on the respective merits and defects of the two chief types of early dogmatic Christianity.

<sup>1</sup> *Alexandrian and Carthaginian Theology Contrasted*. By Rev. J. B. Heard, A.M. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 362. Price 6s.



Archdeacon Farrar's unwearied pen contributes the volume on *First Kings* in the *Expositor's Bible*<sup>1</sup> series. The book opens with a spirited defence of the rights and utilities of the higher criticism. Chapters follow which deal with introductory questions concerning the composition of the narratives, the historian, and the action of God in history. These contain much that is to the purpose, and that is expressed with the writer's usual force. The exposition proper falls into three convenient sections, *David and Solomon*, *The Divided Kingdom*, *Ahab and Elijah*. The book abounds in vivid, descriptive passages, among which may be specially noticed those on *David's Death-bed*, *Elijah on Mount Carmel*, and *Naboth's Vineyard*. A brief note is added on the chronology of the book. The opening chapters give a very fair and readable account of the materials used in compiling the book, the criteria of difference in the sources, the state of the text, the object and method of the compiler or epitomiser, and the problems he had in view in constructing his narrative.

The volume on *Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther*,<sup>2</sup> in the same series, comes from the hand of Professor W. F. Adeney, of New College, London. Though it does not aim at Archdeacon Farrar's rush and eloquence, its style is clear and forcible. We feel that there is competent knowledge behind all that is said. It is a careful and informing study of the books and of the period. With respect to the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, Professor Adeney begins by calling attention to the fact that the main history recorded in them is "fixed securely above the reach of adverse criticism," and that some guarantee for its authenticity may be found in what he calls the "curiously inartistic process adopted by the writer." He agrees with many more in concluding that the compiler of our Ezra-Nehemiah was in all probability the compiler of Chronicles; and deals very carefully with the question of the period to which the moulding of the Law into its present shape is to be referred. The importance of these times, as times of national revival and religious construction, and the curious interest of the events belonging to what he terms the "watershed of Hebrew history," are made to grow on the reader as the exposition proceeds. The objections raised against the book of Esther are fairly considered, and so far answered, although the general conclusion is not in favour of putting it on an equality with the "more choice utterances of the Old Testament literature."

Oxford and Cambridge send each a book of *Aids to the Study of Holy Scripture*. These volumes have been long looked for. They have the common object of placing the best results of recent scholar-

<sup>1</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 503. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 404. Price 7s. 6d.

ship and discovery at the disposal of the English reader, and they both enlist some of our foremost authorities in the preparation of the material which they furnish ; otherwise, they differ greatly. The Oxford volume<sup>1</sup> is conservative on all questions of criticism. The least satisfactory portion of it is its account of the Old Testament books, which keeps in the main by the traditional view, and is halting and indeterminate even when it deals with books like Ecclesiastes. Its distinctive feature is its numerous admirably drawn and most informing facsimiles, in the selection and preparation of which Dr E. Maunde Thompson, Dr A. S. Murray, and Dr E. A. Wallis Budge of the British Museum have given invaluable help. It has the advantage also of excellent type, and some very scholarly papers. The sections on the *Precious Stones* of the Bible, its *Botany*, its *Music and Musical Instruments*, its *Obsolete and Ambiguous Words*, its *Antiquities and Customs*, have passed under the hand of men like Mr Fletcher and Mr Carruthers of the British Museum, Dr Skeat and Dr Budge, and will be found of great use. The Cambridge volume<sup>2</sup> is liberal on questions of criticism, and aims at setting fully and impartially before its readers the conclusions of specialists in these matters. It brings the account of the literary history of the Bible books up to date, engaging for this purpose the services of scholars like the Bishop of Worcester, Professors Lumby, Ryle, and A. B. Davidson. It offers also papers of great worth on the *Sacred Books of Præ-Christian Religions*, the *Nations Surrounding Israel*, the *History of the Apostolic Age*, the *Jewish People*, the *Roman Empire*, and the *Greek World in the Apostolic Age*, the *Arts, Calendar, Coinage, &c.*, by Bishop Westcott, Professors Robertson Smith, Armitage Robinson, Gwatkin, and Mr Bevan, not to mention others. An edition with a larger type is much to be desired. The minuteness of the print, clear though it is, is a drawback to a book in which the matter is of the first quality.

Dr Alexander Whyte's *Bunyan Characters*<sup>3</sup> is, we trust, only the first of a series of volumes on this subject and kindred subjects. It would be difficult to point to any one among us so peculiarly qualified by sympathy, enthusiasm, experience, and lifelong study, to expound John Bunyan. Starting from Butler's idea of character and the moral life, Dr Whyte takes us into the heart of the glorious dreamer's world, with its wonderful procession of Evangelists and

<sup>1</sup> Helps to the Study of the Bible. Oxford : printed at the University Press. London : Henry Frowde. 8vo, pp. xl. 636. Price 4s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> The Cambridge Companion to the Bible. Cambridge : at the University Press. London : C. J. Clay & Sons. 8vo, pp. xii. 412. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> Bunyan Characters. Lectures delivered in St George's Free Church, Edinburgh. By Alexander Whyte, D.D. Edinburgh : Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. 8vo, pp. 281. Price 2s. 6d.

Interpreters, Obstinates and Pliables, Goodwills, Formalists, Mistrusts, and Talkatives. All is given in terse, pointed discourse, with many a choice phrase, and with what is better far—an insight into human nature and divine grace which yields words that go home to conscience.

One of the most remarkable publications of the quarter is Mr Howie's book on *The Churches and the Churchless*.<sup>1</sup> It is less a book for review than for prolonged study and frequent reference. Its elaborate tables, thirty-nine in number, with their vast columns of figures, are the witnesses to an astonishing industry. They give statements of the population of Scotland at different periods, the number of congregations and members belonging to the Scottish Churches, the rate of increase or decrease per thousand between 1879 and 1891, the average incomes of the clergy and contributions of the people, the average number of rooms per hundred houses in towns, and many things else which tell their own story to the initiated. The utmost pains are taken to reach a correct idea of the number of persons connected with the different Churches, and the number that must be written down as outside all the Churches. With this view four distinct estimates are made, and the resistless logic of figures makes it plain enough that principles of reckoning which have been in favour are delusive. The *Introductory Statement*, in which the object, plan, and main results of the inquiry are explained, is of great interest. Mr Howie has laid all the Churches, and men of all creeds, who desire the moral and religious well-being of Scotland, under heavy obligation by this book. Whatever criticism it may, on searching examination, be found open to, it demands the attention of the Scottish people, and lays bare a condition of things which cannot be disregarded.

Dr Hatch's famous Hibbert Lectures appear in a German translation, with some additional matter by Professor Harnack.<sup>2</sup> The first part of a new critical edition of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament<sup>3</sup> comes to hand. The object of the work is to exhibit the reconstructed text on the basis of which the new translation projected by Professor Paul Haupt, of the John Hopkins University, is to be carried out. This part embraces the Book of Job, and is done by Professor Siegfried. It is beautifully printed. What the

<sup>1</sup> *The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland. Facts and Figures.* By Rev. Robert Howie, M.A. Glasgow: David Bryce & Son. Royal 4to, pp. 121. Price 7s. 6d. net.

<sup>2</sup> *Griechenthum und Christenthum, &c.* Von Edwin Hatch, Dr. theol. Deutsch von Erwin Preuschen. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xvii. 274. Price, M. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *The Book of Job. Critical edition of the Hebrew Text, with Notes*, by C. Siegfried, Professor in the University of Jena. English Translation of the Notes by R. E. Brünnow. Leipzig: Hinrichs. London: D. Nutt. Pp. 50.

value of a new critical text may prove to be which is the work not of a company, but of a single scholar, it is premature to say. The John Hopkins University also makes a useful contribution to the literature of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, and to our knowledge of Caedmon's Genesis in the *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, edited, with Notes and Glossary, by James W. Bright, Ph.D.<sup>1</sup> The text of the sections from the Gospels is based on the MS. 140 belonging to the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The *Harrowing of Hell*, from the Anglo-Saxon version of the Gospel of Nicodemus, follows mainly the text of the Cambridge University Library MS. Mr W. H. Carnegie's *Through Conversion to Creed*<sup>2</sup> is an attempt to explain the origin and development of religious faith in the soul, and to show that there is nothing in them which reason cannot accept. The book has to some extent the interest of a personal narrative or an analysis of personal experience.

New editions appear of Mr Scott's *Foregleams of Christianity*, a thoughtful book, written very much in the spirit of Maurice's well-known Lectures, full of information, and with many just and suggestive observations on the relations of the old religions to Christianity<sup>3</sup>; Professor A. B. Bruce's *Apologetics*, a volume widely welcomed as both a weighty and a seasonable contribution to its subject<sup>4</sup>; Dr Archibald Henderson's *Palestine*, one of the best, completest, and most reliable handbooks, brought thoroughly up to date<sup>5</sup>; and Holtzmann's Commentary on the Johannine books,<sup>6</sup> the merits of which, in an exegetical point of view, are beyond dispute, however questionable some of its critical conclusions may be. The attention paid to the considerable literature which has appeared in the brief period between the two editions adds to the usefulness of a book which forms one of the best sections of a most scholarly series. The fourth edition of Dillmann's *Hiob*<sup>7</sup> in Hirzel's

<sup>1</sup> London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 385. Price 6s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 129. Price 3s.

<sup>3</sup> The *Foregleams of Christianity*. An Essay on the Religious History of Antiquity. By Charles Newton Scott. London: Smith, Elder & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 223. Price 6s.

<sup>4</sup> *Apologetics*; or, Christianity Defensively Stated. Second Edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. xvi. 522. Price 10s. 6d.

<sup>5</sup> *Palestine: its Historical Geography*, with Topographical Index and Maps. Second Edition, Revised. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 226. Price 2s. 6d.

<sup>6</sup> *Hand-Commentar zum Neuen-Testament*. Bearbeitet von Professor D. H. J. Holtzmann, &c. Viertes Band. Evangelium, Briefe und Offenbarung des Johannes, bearbeitet von H. J. Holtzmann. Zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London & Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 363. Price, M. 6.50.

<sup>7</sup> Leipzig: Hirzel. 8vo, pp. xl. 361. Price, M. 6.

series has been followed by the sixth edition of the *Genesis*.<sup>1</sup> It is superfluous to speak of the value of Dillmann's work, and this is one of the best examples at once of the exact exegesis in which he is confessedly so great a master, and of the literary criticism in which he is cautious beyond the usual German measure. The book is indispensable to the student. The re-issue of Meyer's Commentary also proceeds apace. The sections embracing the Gospels of Mark, Luke,<sup>2</sup> and John<sup>3</sup> appear in their eighth edition. The revision is carried through on the principles already applied to Matthew's Gospel. Luke's Gospel is entrusted to the son, while Mark and John are done by Professor Weiss himself. Great attention is given to matters of textual criticism, and in this respect the revision is a decided improvement on the original work. Meyer's exegesis is not seldom traversed—by no means to the best effect in all cases. Everything, however, is done which scholarship and industry can do to put the commentary abreast of the most recent inquiries and to increase its usefulness generally.

We have a new issue, corrected and enlarged, of Hirsche's edition of the *De Imitatione*, an exact and admirably printed reproduction of the original text, with arguments to the several books and chapters, a collection of parallel passages, and a facsimile of the autograph—altogether a most careful and excellent edition<sup>4</sup>; and the fifth part of the Freiburg series of select writings belonging to the sources of Church History and the History of Dogmas, under the general editorship of Professor D. G. Krüger. The clear type, the handy form, and the low price of these volumes make them most suitable for the theological student. The *Apologies* of Justin Martyr, Tertullian's *De pœnitentia*, *De pudicitia*, and *De praescriptione haereticorum*, and Augustin's *De catechizandis rudibus* have already appeared. We now have Clemens Alexandrinus'

<sup>1</sup> Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament. Elfte Lieferung, Die Genesis, von Dr August Dillmann. Leipzig: Hirzel. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xxii. 479. Price, M. 7.50.

<sup>2</sup> Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament begründet von Heinr. Aug. Wilh. Meyer. Erste Abtheilung, Zweite Hälfte. Die Evangelien des Markus und Lukas. Achte Auflage neu bearbeitet von Dr Bernhard Weiss und Lic. Johannes Weiss. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. iv. 654. Price, M. 8.

<sup>3</sup> The same. Zweite Abtheilung. Das Johannes-Evangelium. Achte Auflage, neu bearbeitet von D. Bernhard Weiss. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo. pp. 635. Price, M. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Thomae Kempensis De Imitatione Christi, Libri Quatuor. Textum ex autographo Thomae nunc primum accuratissime reddidit, etc. Carolus Hirsche. Editio altera, etc. Berolini: Habel. Pp. xlvii. 376.

*Quis dives salvetur?*<sup>1</sup> The eleventh volume of the *Theologischer Jahresbericht*<sup>2</sup> is received, giving an exhaustive account of the theological literature for 1891—an invaluable book of reference; also Gasquet's treatise on the *Book of Common Prayer*,<sup>3</sup> one of the most important contributions made to the history of the book, investigating anew the whole question of its origin, and giving much valuable and curious information on the Church Services at the death of Henry VIII., Cranmer's Projected Breviary, the Communion Book, the new Liturgy, the Lectionaries and Calendars.

Professor George Adam Smith's Inaugural Address, published under the title of *The Preaching of the Old Testament to the Age*,<sup>4</sup> is an opportune statement, given in the writer's attractive style, of the reasons which have made the Hebrew Scriptures so largely the "text for Christian preaching upon public life," and an argument on behalf of their special adaptation to the preacher's use in the conditions of the present day. Professor Doumergue, of Montauban, gives us a small, but admirably written treatise on the subject of authority, dealing in an able and lucid way with current discussions on that question.<sup>5</sup> Nothing from the hand of E. Nestle can fail to be of interest to the scholar, and under the title, *De Sancta Cruce*,<sup>6</sup> he has made a curious contribution to the legendary history of the Cross. On the basis of a London MS., dated 1196, and a translation by Dudley Loftus from "An Antient Aramaean Biologist," as the title runs, which appeared in Dublin in 1686, and was lost to view for nearly two centuries, we get a Syrian story of a double discovery of Christ's Cross, one said to have been made in the time of Peter and John by a spouse of the Emperor Claudius, bearing the name of Ptrynqi or Patronica, and another, otherwise known, by Helena the mother of Constantine. The Syriac text and the translation are given, and the whole is illustrated by a series of important notes.

Principal Drummond, of Manchester New College, contributes to the series of Biblical Manuals, edited by Mr Estlin Carpenter, a

<sup>1</sup> Herausgegeben von K. Köster. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xi. 63. Price, M. 1.40.

<sup>2</sup> *Theologischer Jahresbericht* . . . herausgegeben von R. A. Lipsius. Braunschweig: Schwetschke und Sohn. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Large 8vo, pp. x. 658. Price 12s.

<sup>3</sup> Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer, etc. By Francis Aidan Gasquet and Edmund Bishop. London: Hodges. Demy 8vo, pp. 466. Price 12s.

<sup>4</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 60. Price 1s.

<sup>5</sup> *L'Autorité en Matière de Foi et la Nouvelle École*. Par E. Doumergue, &c. Lausanne: Payot. 16mo, pp. 240.

<sup>6</sup> *De Sancta Cruce*. Ein Beitrag zur Christlichen Legendengeschichte. Von Eberhard Nestle. Berlin: Reuther. 8vo, pp. viii. 128. Price, M. 4.

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small Commentary on the *Epistle of St Paul to the Galatians*,<sup>1</sup> which follows the views usually taken of the Galatian people and their territory. The explanations and illustrations are clear, brief, and always to the point. To the *Manuals of Early Christian History*,<sup>2</sup> also edited by Mr Estlin Carpenter, Mr W. E. Addis contributes the volume on *Christianity and the Roman Empire*, a readable and instructive book. The *Roman Empire* and the *Christian Mission* are first sketched generally. Then follow chapters on the *Legal Position of Christianity*, the *Learned Defence of Christianity*, the *Changed Aspects of Christianity*, the *Attempt to make Christianity an Intellectual System*, the *Rise of the Catholic Church*, and the *Impending Triumph of the Mixed System*. Mr Addis knows the importance of these questions, he knows the historical spirit, and writes both with adequate knowledge and with remarkable impartiality.

Dr Hugh Macmillan's *The Mystery of Grace, and other Sermons*,<sup>3</sup> will be welcomed by all who know the charm of his pen and his gift of illustrating spiritual truth by natural analogies. The volume contains some of the most striking and characteristic discourses that he has yet published, and he has published not a few. Those bearing the titles, *On the Wings of the Morning*, *The Land of Far Distances*, *The Cherubims of the Vail*, and those on *Deborah* and *Pilate's Wife*, are of particular value. The volume by the Rev. Morris Joseph, *The Ideal in Judaism, and other Sermons*,<sup>4</sup> is of a kind that seldom comes under our notice. Its special interest lies in the attempt to establish Judaism on the ground of reason, and to vindicate it as the simplest and most glorious of all the old creeds, and, among the new creeds, the one with the most fruitful inspiration. But on other subjects, *Pessimism*, *Arts and Morals*, and the like, it has also some weighty words. Mr Troup publishes a number of addresses for the help of young persons on the occasion of their first admission to the Lord's Table.<sup>5</sup> The form of the book is most tasteful. Its contents include such subjects as *habits, keeping the soul, holiness, growth*, &c. On these Mr Troup writes earnestly, attractively, and in a way entirely appropriate to the object in view. Mr Arthur Willink's *The World of the Unseen*,<sup>6</sup> which attempts to explain the relation of higher space to things eternal, ventures into a region into which it is impossible for anyone known to us to follow him.

<sup>1</sup> London: The Sunday School Association. Pp. 200. Price 1s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> London: B. C. Hare. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 221. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 329. Price 6s.

<sup>4</sup> London: David Nutt. Small 8vo, pp. 207. Price 5s.

<sup>5</sup> Words to Young Christians. Addresses to Young Communicants. By George Elmslie Troup, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Small 8vo, pp. 250. Price 4s. 6d.

<sup>6</sup> London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 184. Price 6s.

But among recent collections of pulpit discourses, the volume of *Cathedral and University Sermons*,<sup>1</sup> by the late Dean Church, stands out conspicuous and in some respects unapproachable. It contains some of the best efforts of the lamented author, as regards both style and thought. Among others, it is enough to name those on *The Seriousness of Life*, *Human Judgment and Divine*, *The Certainty of Judgment*, and *Human Life in the Light of Immortality*.

The two books which deserve to rank as the most considerable contributions made to theological literature within the last few months are Professor Ramsay's *The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170*,<sup>2</sup> and Principal Fairbairn's *Christ in Modern Theology*.<sup>3</sup> They are both books of original power, and contain many things which require some serious study before an opinion worth having can be given upon them. They demand more extended and careful review than the limits of space at present allow. We can only indicate at present their general importance, and reserve for next number an examination of them more befitting their merits.

Dr Peter Bayne's *The Free Church of Scotland, her Origin, Founders, and Testimony*,<sup>4</sup> is the best of all the books which have been called forth by the Jubilee of the Free Church. It is written in full sympathy with the men whose characters and careers it sketches, and with the principles for which they contended and suffered, but at the same time in a broad and catholic spirit, with a just regard for eminent men who took a different course. It is altogether reliable in its statement of facts, while it has all the charm of the author's gift of style. In its descriptions of memorable scenes like those of Marnoch, and its unravelling of the legal and ecclesiastical issues, it has no rival. Neither have we anywhere else such a series of vivid, truthful, appreciative pictures of the leaders in the movement—Chalmers, Welsh, Candlish, Cunningham, Begg, Guthrie, Hugh Miller, Murray Dunlop, and many more. But the book has a greater merit still. "In Scotland," says Dr Bayne, "from the days of Knox, a Church, republican in form, combining Congregational completeness and parochial autonomy with synodical order, in which all members, lay and clerical, are spiritually equal, and the clergy are but the ministering servants of the flock, has been the object of trust and affection." This is the hinge of the whole history, and Dr Bayne unfolds, with conspicuous force and clearness, what was involved in this Scottish idea of the Church—an idea so radically different from the English notion. The

<sup>1</sup> London : Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 317. Price 6s.

<sup>2</sup> London : Hodder & Stoughton. Pp. xv. 494. Price 12s.

<sup>3</sup> London : Hodder & Stoughton. Pp. xxiii. 556. Price 12s.

<sup>4</sup> Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. xiv. 246. Price 6s.



movement which ended in the formation of the Free Church is, therefore, interpreted by him as the last passage in the long struggle of the Scottish people to keep their freedom in matters of faith and worship, and to have a Church true to the idea of a spiritual institution, serving the State, but not subject to it in things spiritual. Mrs Oliphant's *Thomas Chalmers, Preacher, Philosopher, and Statesman*,<sup>1</sup> comes opportunely in connection with the same occasion. It is a sympathetic, careful, and appreciative study of one of the greatest of the Scotchmen of our century, not wholly correct in some of its statements on incidental matters, but altogether just and worthy in its broad presentation of the man, his genius, his personality, his great capacity in many different lines, and his service to Scotland. Mrs Oliphant has given her heart to her subject, and her book will be enjoyed by all of every shade of opinion who can recognise and honour greatness.

Dr Momerie's *The Religion of the Future*<sup>2</sup> is a smart, not to say wild, assault on the Churches and the clergy of the day. No doubt there is enough to correct in both, but it is a libel on the English character to say, as Dr Momerie allows himself to say, that "take up almost any volume of sermons you please, and you will find it full of what looks like studied ambiguity." This is only a specimen of what we get in the book. The author begins by remarking that it is "easier to call a man names than to examine his arguments." In this volume, however, he is himself largely occupied with the boy's pastime of calling names. The best thing, perhaps, that he says is when he remarks on Hartmann's pessimistic religion of the future, and the satisfaction it is to offer to the believer, that it is "like a grim joke. Satisfaction! When the only achievement of the unconscious is to have produced the worst of all possible worlds!"

Professor Wendt, of Heidelberg, publishes a short and instructive tractate on *Die Norm des echten Christenthums*,<sup>3</sup> which should be read in connection with his well-known *Lehre Jesu*. His object is to prove that, as a necessary consequence of Christ's relation to the Christian religion, Christ's own teaching is the one standard by which to determine the real contents of the Christian religion; and that the exclusively normative value thus assigned to Christ's teaching is inconsistent neither with the principle of the Reformers as regards Scripture, nor with the specific worth of Scripture as compared with all other kinds of Christian literature. The book is well written, and carefully argued at most points, though not at all.

<sup>1</sup> London: Methuen & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 255. Price 5s.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 141. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> Leipzig: Grunow. 8vo, pp. 51. Price, Pf. 50.

**Record of Select Literature.**

**I.—OLD TESTAMENT.**

- ✓ SMEND, R. Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. xix. 550. M. 12.
- NIKEL, J. Der Monotheismus Israels in der vorexilischen Zeit. Ein Beitrag zur alttestamentl. Religionsgeschichte. (Progr.). Paderborn: Schöningh. 8vo, pp. 61. M. 1.
- FILLION, L. C. Les Psaumes, commentés d'après la Vulgate et l'hébreu. Tours: impr. Mame. 8vo, pp. 664. Fr. 2.50.
- KLOSTERMANN, A. Der Pentateuch. Beiträge zu seinem Verständniss u. seiner Entstehungsgeschichte. Leipz.: Deichert Nachf. 8vo, pp. vii. 447. M. 8.
- FREUND, W., u. MARX' Präparationen zum Alten Testament: 7 Abth.: Präparation zu Jeremia. Zum Gebrauch f. die Schule u. den Privatunterricht. 1 Hft. cap. 1-19. Leipz.: Violet. 12mo, pp. 80. M. 0.75.
- RUPPRECHT, E. Die Anschauung der kritischen Schule Wellhausens vom Pentateuch. Ihr Wert u. der Weg zur Selbstbehauptg. der Kirche ihr gegenüber, Ein wissenschaftlich begründetes Glaubenszeugniss an die Gegenwart, insonderheit unsere junge Theolog. Generation. Leipz.: Deichert Nachf. 8vo, pp. 77. M. 1. 20.
- HACKMANN, H. Die Zukunfterwartung d. Jesaia, untersucht v. H. H. Gött.: Vandenhoeck u. R. 8vo, pp. iv. 174. M. 4.40.
- WELLHAUSEN, J. Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten. 5 Hft. Die Kleinen Propheten übers. Mit Noten. 2 Aufl. Berlin: G. Reimer. 8vo, pp. 214. M. 7.
- KELLNER, J. B. Der hl. Ambrosius, Bischof v. Mailand, als Erklärer d. Alten Testaments. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der bibl. Exegese. Gekrönte Preisschrift. Regensb.: Verlagsanstalt. 8vo, pp. viii. 186. M. 2.
- REICH, H. L. Zur Genesis d. Talmud. Der Talmud u. die Römer. Cultur-historische Skizze. 2 Aufl. Wien: Braumüller. 8vo, pp. viii. 136. M. 4.
- MITCHELL, H. G. Amos: An Essay in Exegesis. Boston: W. G. Bartlett & Co. 12mo, pp. 209. \$1.25.
- HIRSCH, H. S. Der Pentateuch. Uebers. u. erläutert. 1 Thl.: Die Genesis (Hebräisch u. Deutsch.). Frankf. a. M.: Kauffmann. 8vo, pp. 563. M. 2.50.
- Mémoires publiées par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire, sous la Direction de M. U. Bouriant. T. ix. Fasc. 3. Reproduction en Héliogravure du Manuscrit d'Enoch et des Ecrits attribués à Saint Pierre, avec Introduction de M. A. Lods. Paris: E. Leroux. Pp. viii. 217-335; pl. i.-xxxiv. Fr. 40.

- HOLST, J. E. v. Der Prophet Elias. Ein alttestamentl. Geschichts u. Charakterbild. Riga: Hoerschelmann. 12mo, pp. xiii. 202. M. 2.20.
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## Ward, Newman, and Calvin.

*William George Ward and the Catholic Revival. By Wilfrid Ward. London: Macmillan & Co., 1893. Pp. xiii. 468. 8vo. Price 14s.*

WILLIAM GEORGE WARD and John Henry Newman were the best-known names among those resolute and high-principled Tractarians who, finding that the Church of England would not adapt itself to their model, submitted to the Church of Rome. Ward, who, in the vehemency of his recoil from Protestantism, outstripped Newman himself, and was, perhaps, the most thorough-going Papist among modern Englishmen, has just been recalled to the memory of a hurrying and forgetful age by the conspicuously truthful volume, partly biographical, partly controversial, published by his son, Mr Wilfrid Ward. It furnishes not a little matter for an object-lesson on the signs of the time.

W. G. Ward was from childhood of a peculiar disposition,—an original, surprising, contradictory, but far from unpleasant creature from the first. He “could not remember any time of his life when he had not a sincere wish to please God.” At the same time, he had that keen delight in amusement which was a characteristic also of Cowper. But Cowper did not, like Ward, display from boyhood throughout life an insatiable relish for the opera and the theatre. Educated at Winchester and Oxford, he gave proof of parts, but not of sound and all-round ability. He got a good hold of Latin, he excelled in mathematics, he was passionately fond of disputation, and loved paradox, a combination of qualities sure to make him a burning and shining light among the young men of the Oxford Union. In respect of history, his mind was a total blank; he had no feeling for poetry; and his ignorance of common things was phenomenal. He did not know the most ordinary trees from each other, and once, on partaking of some soles, remarked, “These are very nice, where do they grow?” He was, however, in the depths of his nature, a humourist, and at all periods of his life enjoyed a joke against himself so intensely that one might almost believe of him what is said of the negro who went into fits of laughter at the joke of being flogged by mistake. There was plainly a spice of whimsicality, a slight trace even of affectation, in his composition. So far as consciousness went, he was sturdily truthful,—grotesquely so, his friend Tennyson said,—and habitually gave such unflattering accounts of him-



self as conveyed an erroneous impression. He thus enormously increased the charges on an insurance of his life, and once horrified his spiritual adviser by confessing almost murderous feelings of satisfaction in connection with the expected demise of one from whom he expected to inherit a property. "Good heavens!" cried the priest at last, "you would not do anything to *hasten* his death, would you?" At this, Ward broke into a laugh, and the dialogue came to an end.

His kindred were decidedly Protestant. A characteristic of the family was stiff individualism, prickly wilfulness, without rancour. They differed from each other, and agreed not to speak, but, if they accidentally met, did not scowl upon each other, and might even shake hands and engage in cordial talk, but did not on that account resume family intercourse. When Ward first appeared as a stripling of eighteen at Oxford, he was under Evangelical influences, and took rank with the Tories. But the ardently religious Liberalism of Arnold attracted him, and he was passing through this phasis when the star of Newman was in its rise. At first he assumed an attitude of antagonism to the Anglo-Catholic movement, "looking on it as holding up superstitions and myths for admiration rather than that high ethical ideal which it is the highest office of religion to encourage and enforce." When a friend urged him to hear Newman preach, he replied, "Why should I go and hear such myths?"

The change, as might have been expected, was sudden and complete. He was persuaded to hear Newman preach, and great was the spell of Newman's preaching. He became personally acquainted with Newman, and there was thus brought to bear upon him that strange fascination, irresistibly potent for some minds, which was partly imaginative and poetical, partly rhetorical, but assuredly *not* logical. The Oxford tradition avers that Newman effected a breach in the wall of Ward's Protestantism "almost by a single remark—namely, that it would have been impossible, if the Primitive Church had been Protestant in our modern sense, that the Church of the third and fourth centuries should have been what it was,—that the growth of Catholicism could not have been from a Protestant root." There is a momentary plausibility about this. It is adapted to mystify a mind disputatious rather than logical, and had perhaps a special power upon Ward from his total ignorance of history. But so simple an observation as Mr R. H. Hutton's, "that the unspiritual, no less than the spiritual, elements of the Early Church—the tendencies rebuked by our Lord, not less than the tendencies fostered by Him—were among the seeds out of which the historical Church grew," conclusively disposes of it. And if we begin by defining our terms and ascertaining the *status quæ-*

tionis, and lay it down that the Protestantism we own and profess is just the rejection of any principles introduced into the Church, whether in the first or the third or the sixteenth or the nineteenth century, which are in conflict with the mind and will of Christ, then the sheer irrelevancy, the puerile speciosity and *ad captandum* plausibility, of the Newmanian argument become apparent. Persons of confused minds—and there are many of them to be met with in the Protestant Churches—think of Protestantism as a system of dogma. But it would be false to its name, as a protest against every blemish, or excrescence, or defect, in the expression of Christian truth, if it accepted any one scheme of dogma as infallible and unimprovable. The Protestant Church means the vitally Progressive Church, progressing more and more and more until faith and knowledge “like the twin tidal wave inarm the world.”

Ward not only heard Newman preach and listened to his conversation, but read the *Remains* of Hurrell Froude. Hurrell Froude was, like his more distinguished brother, a man of genius—this, at least, may be inferred from his great influence on Newman; but all that the present writer knows of him is gathered from general reading in the literature of the Oxford movement, and the impression thence derived is that he was more *soaked* in Romish habits and devotions than any other of the Tractarians. Ward's Protestantism now fell from him like water from a duck's back. He became Newman's boldest adherent. He signalled himself by defending his chief in the crucial instance of Tract 90. It is only on the ground that both Newman and Ward were at this time comparatively unversed in controversial theology, that their personal honesty in maintaining that the Thirty-Nine Articles admit of a Romish sense can be credited. Ward's total ignorance of history rendered a good deal possible on his part, but it is difficult to trace his rugged truthfulness in the proposition that Roman Catholics can conscientiously subscribe the Thirty-Nine Articles. If such truthfulness is “grotesque,” it is so only as a grotesque jest. Newman, however, has explained that Tract 90 was on his part a kind of practical inquiry whether downright Romanism could be read into the Articles, and he adds that, when the answer proved to be in the negative, he decided to quit the Anglican Establishment. Ward also has a right to the benefit derivable from this avowal. He too, finding that the Bishops were not prepared to dance to his piping, came to the resolution of bidding adieu to the Anglican Establishment. While still within the Anglican pale, he published a volume on the *Ideal of a Christian Church* (which drew commendations from Sir William Hamilton), and married a wife, by which act he shut himself out from the

Romish priesthood, which it would otherwise have been the supreme felicity of his life to enter.

Looking with patient and sympathetic consideration into the reasons that weighed with Ward, Newman, and their followers in entering the Church of Rome, we find them to consist mainly in what they believed to be the satisfaction thus obtained of spiritual wants, legitimate to them as Christian men, and which could not be satisfied outside the Papacy. The Church of Rome had "preserved," said Ward, "the reality of Church authority." He discerned no reality of authority in Protestantism, Established or Nonconformist. "True guidance in return to loving obedience is," he declared, "the prime need of man," and gladly paying the price he accepted the guidance of the infallible Roman Church. Thus, to begin with, the intellectual doubts, the haunting scepticisms and difficulties, of speculative religion were once for all surmounted. Placed on the impregnable rock of infallibility, he deemed himself out of reach of all the artillery of unbelief. On any other showing, certitude was unattainable. "A full intellectual examination of pros and cons in numerous and complicated theological arguments was a matter for which human intelligence was far too imperfect, and human life far too short." The way was to turn from the masters of knowledge, the men of intellectual light and leading, and have recourse to "holy men whose lives appealed to the conscience as the embodiment of all that is highest and noblest," and who "were from that very fact safe guides to what is true in religion." In one word, the infallible Church, and her multitude of canonised saints, were to put an end to disputation and bring peace to the soul.

Here again there is plausibility. The scheme of an institute guaranteeing certitude and securing repose has a reasonable, pleasing look. But when we go to the fountain-head—when we turn to Christ, and the men filled with His image and influence—we find that it is not sanctioned by them. It is a very noticeable circumstance that Ward and Newman have marvellously little to say about Christ. It is the Church, the Church, the Church. No doubt they would say that, in speaking of the Church, they implied Christ's presence. But such a matter ought not to be left to implication. The question required absolutely to be put and answered, Did Christ bestow infallibility upon His Church and announce that the infallibility was to be perpetual? Had Ward looked closely enough, and impartially enough—not permitting himself to be biased by his own intense yearning for infallible guidance, but preserving rigid loyalty to truth alone—he would have learned that Scripture lends no countenance to his assumption. The Christian religion is not made for torpid minds. There is nothing in the Bible to make one expect that it will

furnish people with irresistible methods of getting rid of thought and the activities and difficulties of thought. "I come not to send peace but a sword," said Christ. "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good," said St Paul. There is, no doubt, the promise of light to the honest searcher, but there is no encouragement to the folding of the hands in intellectual sleep.

Newman draws a picture of the general state of the world which, in the darkness of its colouring, is more impressive than Ward's impatience under the fatigue of religious investigation, and which may better serve as a prelude to his bitter cry for an infallible Church. "The defeat of good, the success of evil, physical pain, mental anguish, the prevalence and intensity of sin, the prevailing idolatries, the corruptions, the dreary hopeless irreligion, that condition of the whole race, so fearfully yet exactly described in the Apostle's words, 'Having no hope and without God in the world,' all this," he says, "is a vision to dizzy and appal, and inflicts on the mind the sense of a profound mystery which is absolutely beyond human solution." And is it not equally true that the aggressive energy of the sceptical intellect dashes impetuously against all religious truths, all religious institutions, all that restrains the raging power of evil? Does not an infallible Church seem to be precisely the thing wanted? "Such a provision," says Newman, "would be a direct, immediate, certain, and prompt means of withstanding the difficulty; it would be an instrument suited to the need; and when I find that this is the very claim of the Catholic Church, not only do I feel no difficulty in admitting the idea, but there is a fitness in it which recommends it to my mind. And thus I am brought to speak of the Church's infallibility as a provision, adapted by the mercy of the Creator, to preserve religion in the world, and to restrain that freedom of thought, which of course in itself is one of the greatest of natural gifts, and to rescue it from its own suicidal excesses."

There is only one answer that could at a glance dispose of this. But that one answer is at hand, and is conclusive. Christ did *not* provide the machinery proposed. The Church was not infallible when He moved among men. The Apostle Peter did not possess infallibility, for in the immediate sequel of his ascription to Christ of Divine Sonship, he went so far wrong in giving expression to his views of Christian duty, that Christ rebuked him for Satanic sin. St Paul was certainly not infallible. Nay, we may reverently affirm that, in exercising His prerogative and powers as mediatorial sovereign of the Church—in carrying out the task committed to Him by the Father in the conversion of mankind and the erection of the kingdom of heaven upon earth—Jesus Christ Himself did not wield the instrumentality which Newman supposes Him to have

conferred on the Church. We have no reason to think that, in deference to or in fear of modern sceptics, He would have made larger appeal to the supernatural than He made in dealing with His own generation. Now, as then, His answer is, "There shall no sign be given it." There was no irresistible miracle of infallibility to force men to believe. Our Lord was not less desirous to "withstand" evil, and preserve and propagate "religion," than Dr Newman. Yet He wept over Jerusalem. He wept because Jerusalem "would not" accept His heavenly care and governance. His tears were sincere; as sincere as when, in Gethsemane, He prayed that, if it were compatible with the counsels of the Eternal, His own death-agony might be avoided. Why was not a stupendous miracle then wrought, and evil at once brought to an end? As well ask why evil ever existed. Christ, in founding His kingdom, in preaching the Gospel, was the Head among many brethren, and neither personally nor by His disciples did He, so to speak, beat down unbelief by the exercise of miraculous infallibility. Spurgeon said one of the very deepest things uttered by any theologian of the century when he said that, if Christ were to return, he, Spurgeon, would go on preaching just as before. Admirable! "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be converted though one rose from the dead." Spurgeon had no weak hankering after the supernatural, and would not expect Christ to paralyse the minds and consciences of His people when searching the Scriptures, by means of an official infallibility.

Christ stamped His Divine personality upon the minds, hearts, wills, and consciences of certain men, and these, again, breathed this Divine inspiration into certain writings. No human infallibility was set to guard the truth and the life thus committed to the Church; but the promise of the Spirit accompanied them; and all that is imperishable of the image of God in the soul of man,—conscience, reason, pure affection, the higher self, the spiritual sympathy,—bore witness to them. Guarded by no ecclesiastical infallibility, the Christian Scriptures guide the religious thought of the Protestant nations, and Romish bishops in France lament that more respect is shown to religion in Protestant England than in their own country.

If Ward and Newman left their doubts behind them, is it beyond question that they were advantaged? Lulled into enchantment by the visionary infallibility they had yearned for, they accepted after the hastiest show of examination the averments of the Church of Rome that she possessed the magical talisman, and veiled the eyes of their minds before the Papal infallibility. What was the result? Were they strengthened to bear forward the standard of Christianity in a scientific and

sceptical age? Mr Wilfrid Ward affords us a curiously pertinent answer to this question. When Newman and Ward had been a few years in the Church of Rome, the former wrote to the latter from the Oratory, Birmingham, in the following terms:—"St Philip has lately done us a *grazia*. A poor factory girl, a convert of Father Ambrose's, who did not seem to have much faith in him, or any, and had had a severe illness, has been raised from extreme weakness, almost from death, by the application of his relics." Dr Newman frankly avowed that his intellect had always held out against transubstantiation until he sacrificed his judgment to Roman infallibility, adding that, after submission, he had found belief in transubstantiation easy. Now it is not too much to say that, to return to the state of intellectual civilisation in which men of the mental calibre of Ward and Newman believed in the performance of miraculous cures by application of saintly relics, would imply a rolling back of mental progress by a thousand years. This would, in fact, be a fairly correct expression by way of formula to embody the general result of a *bona fide* acceptance of Papal infallibility in modern Europe and in America. Had the Head of the Church "put in commission in human hands"—to use Mr Hutton's graphic phrase—that infallibility by which Dr Newman believed himself to have unspeakably benefited, the Christian intelligence of Europe would at this hour have been compelled to undertake the defence of the faith against science on the strength of miracles wrought by St Philip's bones. The exquisite civility with which professed atheists always treat thorough-going Papists is explicable on the principle that they consider the latter to have relinquished the conflict and to be captives of their bow and of their spear.

But it was not ecclesiastical infallibility alone that Ward and Newman vainly sought among the Protestant communions. They missed the unity, the catholicity, the fellowship of the Church. They met with no response to their social instincts as members one of another in Christ's visible body. The Reformation, they affirmed, had been a sprouting out of innumerable sects. The Reformers they fiercely denounced as the schismatical advocates of particular dogmas. This misrepresentation is perpetually made, not only by Romanists but by Anglicans, as well as by many of those Erastians who trace the unity and constitution of the Church to the State. It derives colour from the diversities of Protestantism, but does great injustice to the Reformers, and ought to be repudiated and denied by every one who desires to set forth the true nature of the Reformed Catholic Church. The aim of the Reformers was to restore, not to destroy,—to apply the search-light of Scriptural truth, with a view to restoration, to each successive feature that had been

obscured in the building of which Christ was the corner stone. Can any one pretend to have looked into the writings of Luther without discovering that he would rather have died by any form of martyr pain than made the truth narrower than the Bible, or the Church narrower than the whole congregation of the faithful? The truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, as revealed from heaven to man, was what Luther aspired to teach and to preach.

If there is any one book that may be regarded, apart from the Bible, but professing to derive all its authority from the Bible, as a Manifesto of the Reformed Church, it is Calvin's *Institutio Christianæ Religionis*. It is not the Bible, and God forbid that it should ever be taken for the Bible. Intellectually, Calvin was colossal, and in the single-eyed intensity of his devotion to the cause of God and man sublime. He was the prose Dante of the Reformed Church, Milton being the Dantesque poet of Puritanism. But the Reformed Church never in her formularies swore allegiance to Calvin—only to Christ; and in these days she has most wisely become alive to her duty of making it plain that her submission to the Divine sovereignty does not impair her faith, her trust, her exultation in the Divine love. Beyond question, however, Calvin's mighty book gave theological law to Reformed Christendom for centuries, and one has only to glance into it to see how preposterous is the idea that the Reformation was a mere inventing of dogmas and founding of sects. It can no more be said of Calvin than it can be said of St Paul that he substituted any doctrine specially his own for the comprehensive teaching of Scripture. And of the four parts of which his great work consists, the most extensive, and certainly not the least elaborate, is that which treats *De Sancta Ecclesia Catholica*. Mr Wilfrid Ward does not give us a hint that his father ever looked into Calvin's reasons for deciding that the Popes had usurped the primacy they hold, and had thus erected a tyranny in the Church of Christ. If he had looked with candid, unbiased inspection, he must have seen that they were of that kind which are called overwhelming. It is only by torturing the brain for ingenuities of evasion or illusion that any pretence of a stand can be made against Calvin's phalanx of argument. You have to force yourself to believe that the Popes inherit from Peter an exclusive authority which Peter never imagined himself to possess. You have to mystify and bewitch yourself into the persuasion that, when the system of Judaism had been superseded by the spiritual glory of the Gospel, and the one sacrificing Priest of Christians had passed into the heavens, then the huge anachronism, superfluity, and contradiction of a supreme sacrificing Pontiff was set up in Rome to be head over the Church of Christ. He who would see the filmy iridescence of plausible

rhetoric penetrated and burnt up by the lightnings of irresistible logic may be advised to compare Newman's dissertation on Church development with Calvin's chapter *De Primatu Romanæ Sedis*. "Christ by His ascent removed from us His visible presence, but He ascended to fill all things: now, therefore, the Church has Himself present, and will have forever." That was enough for Calvin. That was enough, also, for Cyprian who, in a lovely passage quoted from Cyprian by Calvin, anticipated the modern diffusion of Church unity and Catholicity, under the Headship of Christ, by comparing it to the unity of rays from one sun, branches in one tree, and streams from one fountain. But is it not monstrous, seeing that, in the first and greatest book embodying the constructive theology of the Reformation, Calvin, working from Holy Writ and winging his thoughts with words from Cyprian and Augustine, not only impeached the Papacy of having set up a false and tyrannical claim to Catholicity, but lucidly, comprehensively, and unanswerably set forth the unity and Catholicity of the Church under Christ, the Reformers should have been accused by Newman, Ward, and a crowd of Anglicans of having broken up the Church into a miscellany of sects?

It is necessary only to add that, if Ward and Newman did not attain to an intelligent and conclusive answer to their sceptical doubts and difficulties in the Church of Rome, no more did they reach that abode of ecclesiastical peace and millennial harmony which they expected to replace the dissidence of Protestantism. They declared themselves indeed to be eminently pleased with their situation, but they certainly were still in a region of storm and debate. Ward and Newman could not agree as to what specifically it was in which the inestimable infallibility they sought consisted. Newman placed it in the Church. Ward, with De Maistre, inclined rather to say that Christianity was the Pope. Ward's high-flying Papistry was too much for Newman, and estrangement occurred between the two. But even Ward was not so advanced as some Continental Paptists. The celebrated Veuillot, the advocate of ultra-Papalism in the French press, "indulged," says Mr Wilfrid Ward, "in language about the Holy Father which seemed to many Catholics positively profane." The words in which the Apostle speaks of our Lord as "much higher than the heavens" were applied by this section to the Pope. The hymn beginning

"*Rerum Deus tenax vigor*"

was actually printed with "Pius" substituted for "Deus." And so Dupanloup thundered against Veuillot in France, and Newman controversially tackled Bishop Ullathorne in England, and the noises of bitterest conflict rang within the bosom of the infallible Papacy.



Intrepid as Ward was as a disputant, he had too much of disputation in his ideal Church. He preferred a downright grapple with Huxley or any other hopelessly heretical member of the Metaphysical Society to a debate with one who represented some particular shade of the countless varieties of Jesuitism, Ultramontanism, and Papalism. "While his Catholic controversies made him ill, his meetings and arguments with his metaphysical friends and enemies were among the most effective tonics when he was ill or depressed." He surrendered the freedom of his soul in order to gain an advantage over sceptical doubts and ecclesiastical difficulties, and he found that even discussion with Agnostics was a relief against the interminable babblement of sham infallibility.

PETER BAYNE.

### Evolution and Religion.

*By A. J. Dadson. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.*

*8vo, pp. x. 348. Price 10s. 6d.*

THE Theory of Evolution has now been expounded so fully, and has been applied so freely, that almost everyone has some idea of what it means. It has passed out of the hands of the specialist, and has become the property of the tyro. As a consequence, we may expect to have many books written on the applications of the theory, and many of these will, as a matter of course, be of a very peculiar type. We have a book from the pen of Mr Dadson, which may be taken as the kind of book which only men of imperfect training could have written. His attitude may be seen from the following statement taken from the preface. "Theology, with all its miserable, degrading dogmas, has separated the heart from the intellect; and by causing an incessant warfare between the two, has impoverished both. To reconcile them, theology must be eliminated, and this is the aim and tendency of the best intellectual work of the present century" (page ix.). We ask how Mr Dadson does his work? Does he show himself to be such an authority on science, history, philosophy, that we may take his statement for granted that theology must be eliminated?

We read his opening chapter, and we do not read far when we find out something which enables us to measure the ability and learning of Mr Dadson. We find that a good deal of his matter, and some of his method, is taken from Dr Draper. We find also that Mr Dadson sets down the mythology of the Greeks as theology, and writes thus: "The crude notions of the priests regarding the origin and constitution of the Universe, which satisfied the people, could not, of course, find any favour with men so intellec-

tually endowed as were the sages of Greece." Again, he calls these "crude notions of the priests" the theological explanation of the universe. Why? Might it not have occurred to Mr Dadson that these "crude notions" were as much scientific as theological. Mythology is the product of reflection, is the first attempt at a scientific explanation of the universe, and it is both unscientific and unhistorical to describe these crude notions as theological. They are the first beginnings of science. What a book might be written on the abortive scientific theories of the universe! If it were written, and if the writer were as one-sided as Mr Dadson, he might have put into his preface a statement to this effect, that "science must be eliminated." Happily, theologians are not so rash nor so ignorant.

We pass on to read the other chapters of this work. We are led on from point to point, and we are filled full of wonder. We have, of course, a reference to Kant and Laplace, and a statement to the effect that "Kant's Cosmological Gas theory has been fully established by Laplace and Herschell." He has apparently not observed that Mr Herbert Spencer gives only a qualified assent to the nebular theory, nor is he aware that Mr Proctor has shown that the phenomena of the solar system cannot be explained by the theory of Laplace and Kant.

But even more astonishing are the statements of Mr Dadson with regard to the beginnings of life. We quote a few of his statements. "If evolution is true, so also is the theory that the development of life from inorganic matter takes place to-day, and has taken place continually and uninterruptedly since the earth first arrived at a condition favourable for the production of life. Masses of structureless matter possessing life are found all over the world, and especially at great sea depths" (p. 18). "A small mass lying in a quiescent state may be observed all at once to shoot out very thin thread-like feelers in all directions, which, as soon as they come into contact with suitable material, close round and draw it into the main body, which then closes over it, extemporises, as it were, a stomach, and feeds on the matter thus secured" (p. 36). At present all that we need say is this, that it is the universal belief of men of science that living matter, whether it can be called structureless or not, comes only from pre-existing living matter. But Mr Dadson is of a contrary opinion, for he says: "Nature's laboratory is probably continually producing this subtle, naked, formless living matter; and exemplifying the saying of the ancient Greek philosopher, that everything is ready to burst into life. Not only is it elaborated from inorganic matter by vegetables, but there is, I think, reason to believe that it comes into existence without the intervention of other living organisms, direct from

mineral substance. Haeckel discovered it in the shape of small specks, to which he gave the name *Monera*, and Huxley found it in enormous quantities at the greatest depths of the sea, and gave to it the descriptive name of *Bathybius*" (p. 38). We do not know whether Professor Huxley will care to be reminded of the "descriptive name of *Bathybius*." But Huxley has long ago agreed with the view set forth by the *Challenger* scientists, that the material which he described as *Bathybius* is a form of sulphate of lime. It is not necessary that we should tell the story here. But we may inquire whether Mr Dadson has heard of it? If he has, how was it possible for him to write the sentences in the above quotation? If he has not, what dependence can we place on his historical or his scientific knowledge? He ought to have known that the views of Dr Bastian have been disproved, and that the progress of science has shown that all forms of life at present in existence have come from living matter. Dr Bastian's experiments have now only an antiquarian interest. As we turned over the pages of Mr Dadson's book, we expected that we should have come on the old vulgar belief, that eels could, under suitable circumstances and conditions, be developed from the hairs of a horse's tail. Certainly some of Mr Dadson's views are just as scientific as was that ancient and still-existing belief.

It is not necessary to trace further the account we have in this book of the evolution theory. He does not allow us to forget his assumptions. He states further on: "We found the *Moneron* to be a structureless little mass of living matter: and the ancestor of every living form in existence, animal and vegetable. Wherever we see a pool of rank water, there, probably, we see Nature's workshop, in which she is evolving and elaborating life from the raw material, some of which will die in its formless condition, some survive and develop into vegetable forms, others into animal" (p. 45). Well, Darwin and Spencer we know; Romanes and Huxley we have read; and the recent discussions on Weissmann's theory we have seen: but these are men who guard their statements. They know too well what takes place in a pool of rank water to write as Mr Dadson has done. Those who have advanced knowledge with regard to bacteria tell us that these germs are of various kinds, that they breed true, and have their special forms, structures, and functions. In truth, Mr Dadson's statements are of such a kind as to contradict and confuse all true science.

If the foundations are of such a kind, what will the superstructure be? What shall we say of his supposition that mechanism can explain the universe? Why, mechanism can never explain anything. And least of all can it explain anything in biology. Why, almost every explanation we obtain from evolutionists is

based not on mechanism but on purpose, and the mechanism is explained by the purpose. Natural selection is purpose. We place side by side two sentences, both for the light they cast on the fact that natural selection is purpose, and for the light they cast on the method of Mr Dadson. The first is a quotation from Dr Romanes : "Natural selection preserves the life of the individual only in so far as this is conducive to that of the species. Wherever the life-interests of the individual clash with those of the species, that individual is sacrificed in favour of others who happen better to subserve the interests of the species." Could there be a better illustration of the fact that life is not mechanical, not urged on by pressure from behind, but beckoned on towards the fulfilment of a purpose. Mr Dadson quotes with approval the foregoing sentence, and on the same page he states : "In every case the advantages developed by the struggle for life are subservient to the interests of the individual ; and in no single instance will any changes occur which are not useful in some way or other." We leave him to reconcile the two statements.

It is not necessary for us to examine the crude materialism of the chapter on the soul ; nor to criticise that on the "Evolution of religious ideas." Of the last we may say that it is based altogether on Herbert Spencer's ghost theory, which at the utmost can explain only certain aspects of religious belief. When Dr Dadson passes on to history, and writes on "Jesus," "Pre-Christian Civilisation," "Decadence of Rome," and then proceeds to deal with the history of Christianity from its origin to the present day, we read his chapters with ever increasing surprise. He makes no reference to the vast literature which has grown up in recent years with regard to the origin and early history of Christianity. He seems to have read Strauss and Renan, and that is all. He has not studied the works in which scientific writers have striven to set forth the historical, the political, the social, and religious conditions of the times in which Christianity has its origin. The inquiries also into the documents on which Christianity is based have had apparently no interest for him. Nor has he made himself acquainted with the literature of comparative religion. But enough. Books like the one before us are the cause of the quarrel between science and religion. The masters in science and in theology do not quarrel, and true science has never been adverse to religion. Theology has always been able to assimilate the results of science. Whenever science has been able to disclose order, then theology has been able to discern God. Mr Dadson seems to share the delusion, which, indeed, is somewhat common, that theology has no interest in law, and has an aversion to order. He seems to think that a personal will must mean caprice, and he speaks of the "scientific conception of modern times

as opposed to the anthropological ideas of the theologians, that a personal will directly superintends every event however small." If he gave himself time to think, he might come to see that there is no contrariety between the ideas of a personal will and of law and order. Will may no doubt be arbitrary, capricious, uncertain, but will may also be rational, steadfast, sure. A rational, intelligent will, as the source of law and order, is a proposition which even Mr Dadson might understand, and if he did he would have before him one of the essential assumptions of theology.

JAMES IVERACH.

### **The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170.**

*By W. M. Ramsay, M.A., Professor of Humanity in the University of Aberdeen. With Maps and Illustrations. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1893. 8vo, pp. xvi. 494. Price 12s.*

PROFESSOR RAMSAY delivered a course of lectures under the above title at the Summer School of Theology (1892), in the Mansfield College, Oxford, which, with some material additions, form the second and principal part of the handsome volume lying before us. His lectures constituted a brilliant feature in a very attractive and successful programme. Their delivery was in itself enough to give distinction to the theological reunion inaugurated by Dr Fairbairn. In its extended form, Mr Ramsay's work is the richest contribution made by any living English writer to our knowledge of the Christian origins. No small part of the mantle of Lightfoot and Hatch has fallen on the shoulders of the Aberdeen professor, and he adds to the historical science and critical skill acquired from such masters attainments peculiar to himself and of the rarest order.

Professor Ramsay has broken fresh ground for the student. He supplies us with new data, almost with a new apparatus. The historico-grammatical method to which we are accustomed becomes, in his hands, a geographico-historico-critical method. A finished classical scholar, he has proved himself besides a geographer and explorer of the first rank, equally at home with the spade and with the pen, in the lecture-room of the University and amongst the ruined cities of the East. Instead of commentaries built upon commentaries, and criticism threshing out tediously the results of criticism thrice threshed out already, here is a scholarship which has touched mother earth and drawn fresh life from the contact. Stay-at-home readers, confined by the chain of circumstance to what he calls elsewhere "the narrowness" which "limits the study of antiquity to a few great authors," hail the appearance of a book like this with delight. It opens our study windows, and pours a

stream of fresh air into our musty libraries. It brings literary criticism and historical speculation back to the solid ground of nature, and tests them by the enduring landmarks of man's existence on the earth.

Standing on the platform which he has won for himself, Mr Ramsay surveys the problems of New Testament criticism with authority and confidence. The protest of his preface (p. viii.) against the over-abstract and academical methods of prevailing Teutonic schools will be welcome to many who have felt the same thing, but scarcely had the right or the courage to say it: "In investigations into religion, Greek, Roman, and Christian alike, there appears to me, if I may venture to say so, to be in many German scholars (the greatest excepted) a lack of that instinctive sympathy with the life and nature of a people which is essential to the right use of critical processes. For years, with much interest and zeal, but little knowledge, I followed the critics and accepted their results. In recent years, as I came to understand Roman history better, I have realised that, in the case of nearly all the books of the New Testament, it is as great an outrage on criticism to hold them for second century forgeries, as it would be to class the works of Horace and Virgil as forgeries of the time of Nero."

Professor Ramsay's work of research lies scattered in the *Proceedings* and *Reports* of learned Societies—English, Continental, and American. One needs to examine his *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (Murray, 1890) in order to appreciate the mass of first-hand observation, and the laboured substructure of knowledge underlying these lucid and vivid historical essays. He has disentangled the network of Persian, Roman, and Byzantine roads, which were the arteries of the peninsula, and furnish the clues to its history; he traces out and follows through their changes the boundaries of the Roman provinces, and the dioceses carved from them by the Church; and he supplies innumerable identifications of ancient sites obtained by the comparison of Byzantine and ecclesiastical records with local examination of monuments and measurement of distances. He knows the country in its historical relations better than any man has done before him—the country which has been the bridge between East and West, the channel by which Christianity passed from Syria into Europe, the theatre of great part of the Acts of the Apostles and of the main developments of Christian life and thought during the first three centuries. It is this unrivalled knowledge of the scene of action which gives to Mr Ramsay his powerful grasp of the questions discussed in the present volume.

Chapters IX.-XVII. (reproducing the Mansfield Lectures) expound the relations of Church and Empire as they existed down to the reign of Marcus Aurelius. It was the Flavian dynasty (69-96 A.D.), he argues, which declared Christianity illegal and made its suppression a settled aim of imperial policy. Direct evidence of the fact is wanting; but as the author, following Neumann, convincingly shows, it is assumed in the correspondence of Pliny and Trajan on the subject (112 A.D.) that the mere name of Christian is criminal. The Christians "had before this been classed generically as outlaws (*hostes publici*), and enemies to the fundamental principles of society and government, of law and order; and the admission of the name Christian in itself entailed condemnation" (p. 223). On the other hand, the accounts of Nero's persecution go to show that it was at this earlier period not the Name of itself, but (in Tacitus' precise phrase) the *flagitia coherentia nomini* which were the ostensible ground of attack. At the same time, it appears to us likely enough that where legal evidence of crime was wanting, hostile magistrates would quickly discover, even in the earliest period, that Christians could be brought under the law of treason by their refusal to acknowledge the State divinities; and this summary method of dealing with the accused may have been adopted at local tribunals, before it was endorsed by imperial action. Cases of this kind would naturally precede and point the way to the later formal proscription of Christianity.

In the half century between Nero and Trajan a decisive change came about in the procedure of the Government toward Christians. Instead of introducing a new and severer principle, as it has been assumed, the rescript of Trajan mitigates in its application the policy of outlawry now familiar to the Roman administrators. As Mommsen puts it (quoted on p. 269), by the time of the younger Pliny, "the persecution of Christians was a standing thing, as was that of robbers; only such regulations were put into practice at times more gently, or even negligently, at times more strictly." A Vespasian, Professor Ramsay conjectures, was the author of this trenchant policy. This Emperor's knowledge of the East, one may suggest, enabled him better to measure the influence of the Christian societies; and the impetus given to the hated sect by the overthrow of Jerusalem aggravated, just at this epoch, the impression of its dangerous character. The persecutions of Nero's time had revealed, at least incidentally, the fact that the new faith was incompatible with the State religion, when on the resettlement of the empire it fell to Vespasian to determine the attitude of Rome towards its professors. The infamy attaching to Domitian as a persecutor and the strong traditions of martyrdom amongst the Roman aristocracy under his reign, in Ramsay's opinion, signalise not the commence-

ment of systematic persecution, but the culmination of the policy which he inherited from his father. Under the liberal rule of Trajan and Hadrian, the proscription of Christianity was not, indeed, abrogated, but enforced reluctantly, and practically suspended in many quarters; and it was then that the Apologists began to raise their voices. The conscientious strictness of Marcus Aurelius and the peculiar turn of his philosophy, coinciding with the recrudescence of popular hatred against Christianity, caused the revival of persecution that took place about the year 170. This was not the adoption of a new policy, but a renewed enforcement of the established policy of the State towards its Christian enemies, which had fallen into abeyance.

In this history of persecution Professor Ramsay finds a criterion for the date and order of early Christian writings. The First Epistle of Peter, *e.g.*, cannot have been written before 70 A.D., as the champions of its authenticity have contended, nor during the first half of the second century, as its impugners insist; for "it implies relations between Church and State which are later than the Neronian period, but which have only recently begun" (p. 282). The temper of the writer is that of "one whose experience has been gained in the first period of Christianity, in the time of Claudius and Nero, and who is now at the beginning of a new period,"—who writes, *i.e.*, in the year 80 or thereabouts. Other features of this Epistle—the diffusion of the Gospel through northern Asia Minor (i. 1), the conception of the scattered Church as "the dispersion" of the people of God, and of Rome as standing for the "Babylon" of the new Israel—point also to the Flavian epoch, to which the Apocalypse of John is referred for similar reasons. Mr Ramsay claims Dr Hort (p. 283) as having favoured the opinion that St Peter was living at Rome so late as 80 A.D. The same criterion verifies the earlier date of the Pastorals (pp. 246-250), along with the other Epistles of Paul, and of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in all of which we recognise persecution still in its earliest phase.

On pp. 365-374 the author outlines a new theory of the episcopate. His suggestions are extremely interesting, but they need to be more completely developed before we can appreciate their full bearing. In his view, the *episcopos* was primarily a member of the presbyterate told off for some special administrative duty. As churches multiplied and intercourse between them extended, a growing influence accrued to the officer charged with the external relations of the community; his work became increasingly specialised, and his position more commanding. In fact, the foreign secretary gradually overshadowed his colleagues and grew into the prime minister. This, if we understand him rightly, is the process by which Mr Ramsay thinks the monarchical bishop of the second century



blossomed out of the bishop-elder of the first. He does not, however, convince us, any more than did Dr Hatch, that administrative functions weighed with the first churches more heavily than those belonging to worship and edification. It is in the latter that the chief motives determining the development of Church organisation in its primary stages must be sought for. The *pastoral* signification of "episcopos" in the New Testament gives the starting-point for its subsequent history.

The most fascinating chapter in this delightful book is that devoted to the *Acta of Paul and Thekla* (chap. xvi.). It is believed that a genuine narrative of the first century underlies the confused traditional legends about Thekla. By a skilful and happy reconstruction, "The original tale of Thekla" is arrived at, and we read between the lines of Acts xiv. a thrilling episode of St Paul's mission in South Galatia. The substitution of Pisidian for Syrian Antioch rectifies the geography of the story. The "royal road" from Antioch to Lystra, on which "Onesiphorus" of Iconium is related to have met Paul coming from the former place, is discovered by Professor Ramsay to have had a real existence under that name in the first century, though it was soon afterwards disused and forgotten (pp. 27-36). Queen Tryphæna turns out to be an actual personage of the time. The charge made against Paul in the case of Thekla, and the conduct of the latter throughout the proceedings, when stripped of embellishments and accretions, are wonderfully true to the situation. "Finally, we consider that the easiest supposition is that Thekla was a real person, and her actual fortunes were related by the original author, with perhaps a certain amount of selection and idealisation" (p. 414). This story throws a startling light on the social life and religious ideas of the Pauline mission-field in Asia Minor; and the discussion is an instructive lesson on the growth of Christian legend.

The eight chapters of Part I., bearing the title *St Paul in Asia Minor*, form in reality a separate work, which leads up to the Mansfield Lectures, but is even more original and important. It is the commentary of a traveller and antiquarian on the Acts of the Apostles. We must confine our attention to that one of the author's conclusions which seems to us to be seriously questionable, expressing only by a word our admiration of the brilliant ability of his arguments and elucidations, and our gratitude for the flood of light that he throws on the field of Paul's missionary journeys and on the historical aspect and characteristics of Acts xiii.-xxi. His theory respecting the documentary sources of the Acts one would prefer to see worked out in detail, before discussing it. He convinces us that the historian has incorporated a substantial "Travel Document," but the boundary lines of this docu-

ment are not defined. And the conjecture that chap. xv. 1-33 has been transposed with chaps. xiii., xiv., is one that requires to be thought out and tested upon many sides.

On the question of the locality of St Paul's "Galatians," Mr Ramsay has shaken but not overthrown our prepossession in favour of Galatia proper. He warmly espouses the view of Renan and Perrot, previously adopted by Hausrath, Pfeiderer, and Weizsäcker in Germany, that Paul addressed in his epistle the churches founded by himself and Barnabas at Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, on the first missionary tour. This assumption simplifies the movements of the Apostle, and the relations of the Galatian epistle to the Acts. "The churches of Galatia," which filled so large a place in St Paul's thoughts and cares, are found to have a corresponding place in the apostolic history, and are situated on the main line of Paul's journeyings, near to the high road from Syria to the west. On the ordinary, North Galatian theory, the establishment of these churches is only hinted at in Acts xvi. 6 and xviii. 23; there is no intimation of the considerable period that Paul must have spent in this district, nor of his peculiar attachment to his converts there. North Galatia was separated by distance and physical barriers from the other Pauline mission-fields, and lies off the track of Christian progress and intercourse in the first generation. These presumptions in favour of South Galatia Professor Ramsay strengthens by his decisive proof that *all* the cities of Acts xiii. 14—xiv. 23 were included at this date within the province of Galatia<sup>1</sup>—a circumstance which fell into oblivion from the time when, in the second century, the Lycaonian district was severed from Galatia. In the first century "Galatians" was the proper term, and, indeed, the only term by which the inhabitants of Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe could be addressed in common. On the authority of Lightfoot, Professor Ramsay assumes that τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν (the correct reading of Acts xvi. 6) signifies the country at once Phrygian and Galatian; and this, he justly infers, could be none other than the district of which Antioch was capital,—the south-western corner of Roman Galatia, upon the Pisidian border, or *Phrygia Galatica*. Moreover, Acts xvi. 6-8 appears to describe a single and direct journey from South Galatia to Troas, which would take the missionaries far, to the west of North Galatia.

We feel the strength of this argument, to which our brief abstract does injustice; and we are still more impressed by the force of the

<sup>1</sup> It is unfortunate that in the map of Asia Minor given in Mommsen's *Provinces of the Roman Empire* (Eng. ed.), the boundaries of Galatia are so drawn as to exclude Antioch and the whole south-west of the province.

author's convictions on the matter, knowing the ground so perfectly as he does. But certain obstinate questions recur on the other side, which we will state here as adequately as space allows.

(1.) As to the *date* of the Epistle to the Galatians.—Professor Ramsay ranges it with 1 and 2 Thessalonians, in the first group of the Epistles, as having been written before the third missionary journey, at the commencement of which Paul traversed South Galatia (*ex hypothesi*) a third time; for when he wrote this letter, it appears that he had visited his readers only *twice*. But if internal evidence can prove anything, this Epistle is neighbour to the Epistle to the Romans and belongs to the second group. The train of ideas, the cast of expression, the mental attitude and environment, the development of doctrine, the whole complexion and construction of the two Epistles, go to prove that they originated at the same epoch and are, so to speak, the offspring of one birth. Lightfoot's conclusion that Galatians came in order of time between 2 Corinthians and Romans, will not be easily set aside. To mention the Epistle to the Philippians in this connexion is only to remind us how greatly St Paul's manner and turn of thought altered in a few years. Philippians looks back to Romans from a distance, while Galatians borders it all along the line.

(2.) In regard to *Barnabas*.—The difficulty that arises here Mr Ramsay does not notice; it may seem of small account. But remembering that Barnabas was the joint-founder, with Paul, of the South Galatian Churches, and in the character of principal rather than assistant, we naturally ask how the Apostle came to assume sole authority over these communities, and how he could write to them without any apparent consciousness of the fact that they had another master in Christ beside himself? This is the more surprising when we consider his delicacy of feeling on this point, and his scorn for those who "stretch themselves overmuch" and "build on another man's foundation;" above all, when we observe the position of Barnabas in the Judaistic controversy,—a circumstance that must have caused Paul extreme embarrassment in dealing with churches owing allegiance to both in common. Barnabas is thrice mentioned in the narrative part of the letter, but quite incidentally, without a syllable to betray his connexion with the readers. We cannot but think that the name of his fellow-missionary would have played a very different part in any such Epistle as this, addressed by St Paul to South Galatia.

(3.) We admit that the *Gallic features* discovered by the commentators in Paul's "foolish Galatians" afford a precarious ground of identification. On the other hand, one may ask what the Churches stretching from Pisidian Antioch to Derbe could have had in common, beyond the fact that they were situated in the same

Roman province and founded upon the same journey by Barnabas and Paul? Allowing that St Paul regularly uses the provincial names in their Roman signification, is there not, after all, something strained and artificial in addressing the Christians of these outlying frontier towns, with their Phrygian and Lycaonian peoples, as "the Churches of Galatia?"

(4.) The discussion of *Acts xvi. 6, 7, and xviii. 23*, awakens misgivings. Is it certain that *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*, in the first of these passages means, "the Phrygo-Galatic territory,"—i.e., the country both Phrygian and Galatian? On p. 78 Professor Ramsay says: "Lightfoot has correctly seen that this is the only possible sense of the Greek words as they are now read." Lightfoot sees, in point of fact, that these Greek words have *two* possible senses. He writes, on p. 20 of his Commentary on Galatians: "The expression used in the Acts . . . shows that the district intended was . . . some region which might be said to belong either to Phrygia or Galatia, *or the parts of each contiguous to the other*" (the italics are ours). And on p. 22, which Mr Ramsay cites, Lightfoot, while preferring the former explanation, still keeps the alternative possibility before his mind. The single definite article may just as well embrace two contiguous regions forming the area of a single journey or mission, as it might denote the same region defined by two different epithets. Thus, in 1 Thessalonians i. 8, *ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ Ἀχαΐᾳ* signifies the two provinces conjointly, not the same province under two names. The presumption surely is that the co-ordinate adjectives *Phrygian* and *Galatian* bear the like (ethnic) sense. At best "Phrygian and Galatian country" would be an awkward and ambiguous synonym for Galatian Phrygia. If any one said that he had "travelled through the Polish and Russian territory," we should be surprised to learn that he meant only "through Russian Poland!"

Mr Ramsay brushes away somewhat lightly the obstacle presented to him by the grammar of *Acts xvi. 6*. "It has been contended that the participle *καλυθέντες* gives the reason for the finite verb *διήλθον*, and is therefore preliminary to it in the sequence of time. We reply that the participial construction cannot, in this author, be pressed in that way. He is often loose in the framing of his sentences, and in the long sentence in verses 6 and 7 he varies the succession of verbs by making some of them participles" (p. 89). We know no reason for ascribing to the author this particular laxity, or anything resembling it. Winer says, on p. 443 of his *New Testament Grammar* (English Translation): "In the New Testament we have not a single certain example of this kind." Besides, verses 6 and 7 form a chain of sentences as brief and regular in structure as any one could wish. Between the aorist

participle and the foregoing verb there intervene but six words, containing a single phrase.

The principal verb of the above passage, *διέρχομαι*, has a greater latitude of meaning than is allowed for. It is not restricted to the sense of *travelling through*, or *going across* (in a straight line), as seems to be assumed; but means also *to traverse* or *travel over* a place, as, *e.g.*, in Acts xx. 2, where the comprehensive phrase *διελθὼν τὰ μέρη ἐκεῖνα* covers many months of travelling, and includes, as we gather from Rom. xv. 19, a long missionary excursion to Illyricum, from which Paul returned to pursue his way to Corinth. If the historian wished to say, as briefly as possible, that Paul and his companions, when they were brought to a stand on the borders of Asia, took the occasion to complete their tour of the Phrygian and Galatian land, part of which they had already evangelised, and issuing from this region in the direction of Mysia, were led forward to Troas, instead of entering Bithynia, as at that juncture they proposed to do,—if this were the picture of St Paul's movements that he had in his mind, he could not have expressed himself more correctly than he does in Acts xvi. 6-8. For the *diffusive* sense of *διέρχομαι* (to go abroad, traverse at large), compare Acts viii. 4; x. 38; xvii. 23; xx. 25; Rom. v. 12. The verb probably has the like emphasis, implying a complete visitation, in Acts xix. 1; xx. 2; and in 1 Cor. xvi. 5.

Acts xviii. 23 adds to the difficulties of the South Galatian hypothesis. If "the Phrygian and Galatian country" appears a doubtful equivalent for Phrygia Galatica, to call the same region shortly afterwards "the Galatian country and Phrygian (or Phrygia)" is stranger still. If the writer meant, as Professor Ramsay thinks, "the Galatian country, part of which was Phrygian," or "the Galatian country, with Phrygia beyond it," his meaning is anything but clear; and it is hard to see why he employs this obscure designation for the South Galatian cities, familiar to his readers under their proper names. In any case, the verse shows that the author was aware of the existence of a number of Pauline churches in the region now traversed. When a traveller speaks at one time of his having "journeyed through the Polish and Russian country," and then on a later occasion of "the Russian country and Poland (or Polish)," our presumption that in the first instance he referred to two related and adjoining regions is confirmed; and we should understand him to mean, beyond a doubt, that he had on the former journey entered by the Polish side, and on the latter by the Russian.

Amongst other considerations which make us hesitate to follow Professor Ramsay here, are the appearance of *Pontus* along with Galatia, Asia, and Bithynia in the greeting of 1 Peter (whose early

date he so powerfully defends), indicating that the gospel was planted in North Asia Minor almost as soon as in the South; and the great importance (great though secondary) which attached to the ancient trade route from the Syrian Gates to the Euxine (pp. 10, 11). Add to this, the unlikelihood of Paul's following three times the same beaten track across the peninsula, without making an effort to reach the vast and interesting regions north of the road to Ephesus; and the still greater unlikelihood of his claiming at the end of his third journey to "have fulfilled the gospel of Christ from Jerusalem round about even unto Illyricum" (Rom. xv. 19), while half Asia Minor remained untouched and untrodden by him; and finally, the apostle's habit of making for the capital of each province which he evangelised—a rule that would have led him on the second journey from Pisidian Antioch speedily to Ancyra, if he had not been at that time bent on entering Asia. When his westward march was arrested after leaving Antioch, and while still in Phrygia, he would naturally gravitate toward the chief Galatian cities, and would endeavour to complete his work in the country along whose southern frontier he had hitherto moved.

The volume is excellently printed and illustrated. To the list of errata there should be added for "*Iconium*" read "*Antioch*" on p. 397, l. 1. Also, we observe that in the very valuable map of Asia Minor attached to the book, Lystra appears on the south bank of its river, while the text expressly fixes it on the north. On p. 47, Karalis is said to be "the largest (lake) in Asia Minor." But Lake Tatta is much larger in Professor Ramsay's, as in other maps. Should we read: "the largest fresh-water lake"? And should not "jealous of," on p. 357, l. 14, be "jealous for"?

GEORGE G. FINDLAY.

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### **The King and the Kingdom : A Study of the Four Gospels.**

*Williams & Norgate. Three vols. 8vo, pp. 331, 354, 340.*

*Price 3s. 6d. each.*

THIS is an anonymous work, extending to more than a thousand closely printed pages. Each volume, or series as it is called, is stated to be "complete in itself"; that is, as we suppose, any purchaser who is content with an exposition of something like a third of the "continuous history" of the Gospels will find complete indexes for all three volumes at the end of each, and, at the beginning of each, an identical preface indicating the "spirit and scope of the investigation." According to this preface, the aim of the work is to restore to the Gospel of Christ some of the "freshness and

power" which has been crushed out of it by the "pressure of systematised theology," and to disburden traditional interpretation of that "definiteness which did not exist in the teaching of Jesus." But let the nervous reader be at once reassured: this bold declaration of policy need not in the least alarm him. Unless he be a sacerdotalist, or a firm-fisted capitalist, or a stern political economist, he will find nothing to shock him; unless he be a scholar, or a stylist, or an exacting exegete, he will find little to irritate him; unless he pine for concentration and form and general readableness, his patience will not be severely tried. The author is no sworn enemy of the supernatural, for he accepts the miraculous conception, the divinity of Christ, and the marvellous works. He is no belittler of the chroniclers; for he believes that they possessed "the inspiration of a truthful spirit and of a clear intellect," and that "they must have had infinitely better means of arriving at the facts than can be claimed by any investigator after the lapse of eighteen centuries." He is no random critic, for "everything is sought to be taken as it stands, without abatement and without addition," though the author does not set his face as a flint against admissions of misplacement or mistake, for he has no theory of mechanical inspiration. Accordingly, as the reader will perceive, he is no rude iconoclast, though he seeks to "brush away the accretions of centuries." But apart from his unconsciously and temporarily mystifying statement of aim, he is what he professes to be. "Not scholarship," he says, "as may easily be seen, but only earnestness of thought and sincerity of purpose, can be urged in favour of this work."

And hence the book, with all its drawbacks, has its own value. It is pre-eminently a book for purely English readers. They will be grateful for the transliteration of unavoidable Greek into English, and for the translation of every barbarous quotation into their own language. They alone can fully appreciate the information, "*ek* and *ex* are identical, the latter form being used before a vowel." They alone can be victimised when they are told that *ὅταν ἀναστῶσιν* in Mark xii. 25 "is not 'when they shall have risen.'" They will not be harassed by independent and venturesome discussions of the original; for the author almost invariably bows before the "literal and idiomatic translation" of the Bible by Dr Robert Young; while his subsidiary books of reference, as catalogued at the commencement of each volume, are—The Tauchnitz (English) edition of the New Testament, the translations of the New Testament by Alford and Dr Samuel Davidson, and of the Bible by Sharpe, along with the Englishman's Greek New Testament, and the Englishman's Concordance. The only philological discussion of any serious length is to be found in an appendix, where the author candidly and rather wearisomely presents and combats the objec-

tions strongly urged by the "able and scholarly critic" (likewise anonymous), who revised his proof sheets, against the acceptance of Dr Young's (and Luther's) translation of *μὴν σαββάτων* in Matt. xxviii. 1, by "the first of the Sabbaths." And the critic, like most other critics in this case, is obviously right.

The author's method is that of a combination and continuous exposition of the Gospels, intermingled with remarks and digressions. The form is not attractive and the treatment is not always lucid. The page is often overloaded with various renderings and explanations, many of which are scarcely diverse enough to be worth mentioning, and which might well give place, not unfrequently, to a clear and concentrated statement of the author's own view. For the most part he does not, in the end, leave the reader in doubt what his own view is, and then he often expounds it with considerable force. Clearly and forcibly, for instance, does he maintain that fasting must be natural or not at all: that some one day in seven is designed to be a time of rest; that seeking God's righteousness involves compliance with *all* His laws; that the "service" of God is justice and mercy and not hymns and prayers. But sometimes it is really difficult to fix him to a definite opinion. For example, in discussing the words of Jesus to the paralytic, "Thy sins are forgiven," he says, "The deliverance from his infirmity was *one and the same* with the forgiveness of his sins." But in the next sentence he says, "Forgiveness . . . must *include* the actual remission of the penal consequences of the sin." And again, elsewhere, we meet with the same variation. "What is forgiveness of sin? Is it not the deliverance of the sinner from the penal consequences of sin?" A few pages previously, however, we find: "The forgiveness we crave of God *means more* than a change in His attitude towards us: it must *include* the withholding or withdrawal of the punishment due to sin." By which definition does the author stand? His tendency certainly seems to be towards making forgiveness and remission of penalty absolutely convertible terms. It is to this tendency that we owe such questionable teaching as the following: "A sin may be [humanly] forgiven, in the full and proper sense of the remission of the penalty, by the voluntary intervention and power of a person not otherwise concerned in the sin and its effects"; and then Christ's forgiveness of the paralytic is made "precisely" parallel to that of a physician who "remits the penalty,—in other words, forgives the sin"—of a would-be suicide by stopping the flow of blood from his self-inflicted wound. But is not the author bound in consistency to go a step further and affirm that a libertine who checks the consequences of sensual indulgence by hunting three days a week, so far forgives *himself*? Further, when the same tendency leads the writer to say, "No sin is ever



forgiven unless *every remaining penalty* attaching to that sin is removed," he brings himself into collision with many earnest Christians who think that sins, like burns, though healed, leave scars; and that a man who commits a sin can never afterwards be quite the same man as he would have been if he had not committed it. The author's conception of forgiveness (if we understand it) appears to require recasting. It is alike too narrow and too sweeping; too narrow in omitting the personal relation; too sweeping in annihilating all conceivable consequences.

The teaching on the resurrection is similarly variable and at times questionable. He considers resurrection to be a natural transformation of the righteous into a higher state of being, taking place coincidently with death. That there is no such thing as a disembodied spirit or an intermediate state, he holds to be proved by Christ's argument based upon the patriarchs as *living*, that is, raised, resuscitated, and by the living presence of Moses and Elias on the mount of transfiguration. Consequently, he does not believe in a universal resurrection at a given time, that is, at the last day. And hence he is driven to explain, "I will raise him up in the last day" as referring to some second resurrection subsequent to what he calls, with Dr Young, "the life age-during." The bodily resurrection of Jesus he fully accepts; but it is no guarantee of ours. With Alford, he believes that Christ's resurrection body had flesh and bones but no blood. "As a matter of fact, the body was drained upon the cross by the final spear thrust." "The *pneuma* of Jesus took up and reanimated His earthly form, but the natural, corporeal life which is contingent upon the presence and circulation of the blood was wholly laid aside: the material frame was there, no longer vivified and energised by blood, but by water and spirit, and therefore no longer subject to the limitations attaching to a merely natural body." So, as it seems, we must conclude that *all* the water did not flow out with the blood; and also that though flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God, flesh and bones can, when duly affected by water and spirit. As to *our* bodies, we are to be "as the angels," and that immediately after death. Finally, what the author offers as an exposition of "the resurrection of judgment," it is really impossible to understand.

In the midst of much that is excellent and irreproachable in interpretation, there are many curiosities and eccentricities. To "fast twice in the week" is to "abstain from two meals on the Sabbath." "I go to prepare a place for you" is "I go to provide an appointed work for you in the world after your Master has left you." "Lead us not into temptation" is a prayer in accordance with the Father's will, which is *never* to lead us into temptation. The apparently imprudent commands in the Sermon on the Mount,

"impossible to put into general practice," are counsels of perfection for *disciples*, but not for *believers*: between these two classes the author draws a marked distinction: "the sheep and the shepherds cannot stand on the same level."

Many readers, however, will forgive the confusions and the eccentricities for the sake of the digressions dealing with the adaptation of Christ's teaching to modern life. Here the writer, though not always forsaken by his diffuseness and his eccentricity, is often at his best, and is rarely uninteresting. His instincts are sound, his sympathies are inspiring, his suggestions are for the most part sober and practical. No problem of modern civilisation comes amiss to him. He advocates profit-sharing and co-operation as remedies for the disputes between capital and labour, and as supplanters of dispensaries, asylums, orphanages, and charities of all kinds; certificates of attainment as an antidote to the evils of emulation as fostered by prize-giving, marks and competitive lists of honours; a study of the harmonies of nature as an object lesson against the fashionable abnormities in dress; one day of complete rest every week as the birthright of all and as a boon especially advantageous to the "neglected class of domestic servants." He lays special stress upon the urgent necessity of attempting to put in practice one of Christ's most universally ignored injunctions, pressing for the establishment of national and local Christian courts of arbitration, with no force behind them but that of Christian public opinion. The gossiping elaborateness of some of his proposals occasionally calls up a smile; as when he formulates a placard of "Household rules for the Sabbath," beginning, "Every servant in this house is entitled to—and is expected to take—one day's REST each week." But the smile will never be a smile of contempt.

Our readers will gather that the quality of the book is considerably mixed. But it contains much that is suggestive and profitable, and the reasonableness, broadmindedness, and sympathy of an enlightened Christian spirit are continually coming into view.

JOHN MASSIE.

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### **The Place of Christ in Modern Theology.**

*By A. M. Fairbairn, M.A., D.D., Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, &c. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1893. Third Edition. Pp. 548. Price 12s.*

It is a great task that Principal Fairbairn has undertaken in this work, requiring very large resources of Biblical scholarship, historical and theological knowledge, mature reflection on the profoundest subjects of thought, and calm judgment on varying opinions. Yet

it is not an ultraneous or superfluous undertaking, but one both timely and necessary, for it grapples with the great theological problem that is presented to the Christianity of to-day, and the solution of which is a matter of urgent and vital necessity. That problem is, what modifications, if any, the intellectual expressions of Christianity in the doctrinal systems of the Churches should receive, in view of the revived historical knowledge of Jesus, and sense of the central place which He should of right occupy in our thoughts of God. That there has been in recent years such a recovery of the knowledge of and sense for the historical Christ, that He is now really known better than in any age since His own, is briefly shown by Principal Fairbairn in his introduction, and that this raises the question whether the interpretations of Christianity, which were constructed when the actual life of Him who is its life was less known and studied, can now be considered satisfactory, cannot be doubted. To answer this question by a full consideration of how the theological systems of Christendom came to be, and how a due appreciation of the historical Christ requires their doctrines to be conceived, is the arduous undertaking of this work ; and it is very high, but thoroughly deserved, praise to say that it is worthy of its great theme.

The plan of the book is simple and comprehensive. It consists of a historical and a theological part, the former first tracing the growth of the theology of the Churches, and then the rise and progress of the criticism by which a return to Christ has been made necessary ; and the latter considering how the New Testament interprets Christ, and then how this historical interpretation determines the theology. No less comprehensive a plan would do justice to the problem dealt with in this work, for there can be no fair or true criticism of the old systems of theology without an understanding of how these systems came into existence. The first, or historical and critical, part of the work provides in a very lucid way this necessary preliminary to reconstruction, and it is of itself a valuable contribution to the history of doctrine, giving a clear idea of the nature of development in this department, and of the fact that it started, not from the apostolic teaching, which was not understood by the Fathers, but from what he calls the vulgar and mixed tradition of the commonalty of Christians. This was due, he shows, largely to the fact that Christianity, though born in a Jewish environment, had soon to change its home, so that "its cradle ceased to be its nursery." There is great fairness as well as lucidity in the outline of the successive stages and forms of Christian theology in the two great divisions of the Greek and the Western Church ; and these are illustrated by sketches of the character and views of the great teachers who at various points exercised determining

influence. Dr Fairbairn has a remarkable gift of happy characterisation, often hitting off, by a fitting epithet or epigrammatic saying the essential meaning of a man or a principle. This makes this part of his work read almost with the interest of a drama or romance, at least until its course leads us into the depths of German philosophy, which is to many a slough of despond.

The treatment of Augustine, however, seems to me hardly adequate, and lacking in the sympathetic appreciation that is so striking in regard to other great theologians ; and while it is very different from the caricatures of some modern writers, it is inferior in fairness to the masterly estimate of Harnack. It is no doubt true and important to signalise the incongruity between Augustine's theological doctrines of sin and grace and his ecclesiastical and ritual system ; but Dr Fairbairn does not indicate the immense advance of the former in spirituality over the Alexandrian theology, which is recognised by Dr Bigg in his Bampton Lectures on "The Christian Platonists of Alexandria" ; and I do not know what justification there is for saying that "the dualism that was native to his soul is inherent in his system" (p. 115), or that the forms under and within which his intellect worked were Manichean (*ib.*). It may indeed be held, as was argued by Isaac Taylor in his "Ancient Christianity," that the whole theology of the fourth and fifth centuries, Eastern as well as Western, was tainted with Manicheism ; but that was not a fault peculiar to Augustine, and in his views of sin after his conversion, we see the most anxious care to exclude the notion of moral evil having any positive existence that would imply a source independent of God, the one Creator of all that is. This notion is what is usually understood by Dualism ; but the term seems to be employed by some modern writers in some different sense, which I do not understand ; and if Dr Fairbairn uses it so, he may be right, though I do not know what he means.<sup>1</sup> He is also a somewhat severe critic of Anselm's theory of the atonement, but his account of the Reformers is most admirable, and the section on "Calvin and Geneva" (pp. 143-151) is about the best description and estimate I have ever read of that Reformer and his work—a just and life-like picture, pervaded with heartfelt sympathy for all that was noble and godly in that great subject. There follows an account of the genesis and characteristics of the post-Reformation theology, in the Roman, Lutheran, Calvinistic, and Anglican schools, of which space will not permit a detailed criticism here ; and then it is shown how it had resulted from this long historical development, that the

<sup>1</sup> In a later part of his work Dr Fairbairn uses the term "dualism" (p. 210) in another sense, to denote the antithesis to the Pantheistic doctrine of the absolute identity of all things ; but I cannot believe that he reckons dualism in this sense as an error in Augustine.

person of Christ had come to be viewed in an abstract and un-historical way, rather as an inference from certain doctrines than as the living reality that underlies all properly Christian doctrine. While the Church conceived of Christ thus, the great philosophical movement of thought, that began with Kant and ended with Hegel, endeavoured to explain Christ through speculative forms of thought, which at bottom were Pantheistic. This attempt ultimately foundered on the rock of the historical Jesus, who has come to be known, in the light of contemporary history and literature, more clearly and truly than at any time since His own age; and this has made what is called "the return to Christ" as necessary as it is welcome. If Christian theology is to be maintained, we cannot simply fall back on the methods of the old systems, but must unfold the substantial truth contained in them on a more historical basis, and so as to give the person and the teaching of Jesus a more central and commanding place.

Having thus shown the existence and the reason of the need of a reconstruction of Christian theology, Dr Fairbairn proceeds to the second, or constructive, part of his work; and the next step in his great undertaking is to set forth the apostolic conception of Christ, as that may be gathered from the various writings of the New Testament. Beginning with the epistles of Paul, which are the most certainly genuine and, as he thinks, the earliest of these, and taking next that to the Hebrews, those of James and Peter, with the Apocalypse, then the Synoptic Gospels, and lastly the Fourth, he gives a brief but lucid analysis of the Christology of each. From this he advances to Jesus' own teaching about Himself, as contained in His discourses, and shows that this is the source from which all the apostolic presentations, with their various aspects, have come. A certain difference is recognised, which is of some importance afterwards. "The constitutive ideas were His, but the constructive endeavour theirs; with Him all is spontaneous, the expression of an intuitive or immediate consciousness; with them all is reflective, the expression of a meditative consciousness, using the methods of a more or less explicit dialectic" (p. 373). Then follows a very valuable section (pp. 377-84), in which it is shown that this apostolic interpretation of Jesus, though absolutely opposed to all the philosophy and science of the time, has been proved by the whole history of Christianity, and by its present power and life as a religion, to be the true one. Thus there is sketched, in broad and bold outline, a form of Christian evidence that is well suited to the thought and need of the present day, and may afford a basis on which a reconstruction of Christian doctrine may be built.

It may be suitable to refer now to an assumption, that from this point influences the subsequent course of argument, though it is not

explicitly mentioned till a later stage (p. 450), "that our formal source is the consciousness of Christ." "In order to it, the Scriptures are necessary, but as a medium or channel which conducts to the source, not as the source itself. They testify of Christ, are His witnesses: but it is as witnesses that they are essential, and their value is in proportion to their veracity."<sup>1</sup> This is an important modification of the Protestant position that Scripture is the formal principle of theology; and if it is to be accepted, it would need to be not merely assumed, but proved. But while it is true that the consciousness of Christ, as known through His teaching, must be the chief and normative principle in our interpretation of Scripture, it seems to me that His own acknowledgment of the authority of the Old Testament, His promises to His apostles, and their claims to speak with His authority, require us to hold by the old Protestant principle, though we must abandon the mechanical and doctrinaire way in which it was often applied. More particularly, this limitation of the source of Christian theology seems to prevent Dr Fairbairn doing full justice to the Scriptures and religion of the Old Testament. It is surely an exaggeration to say that before Christ there was no real Monotheism, even in Israel, but only Henotheism (p. 379); for if the teaching of the prophets is not Monotheism, I know not what is. I thoroughly agree indeed that the Christian Trinity is the only conception of God that perfectly excludes both Deism and Pantheism, and I cannot follow those who have found Trinitarianism in the Old Testament. But we have there the germ of that doctrine, and a view of God as truly ethical as the Christian doctrine requires. How otherwise could the Psalms of Israel be used as an expression of Christian devotion? In a subsequent passage (p. 454), there is a similar exaggeration, to say the least, in the statement regarding Judaism, that "there was too little of the spirit and the truth in its Deity to enable it to comprehend the awful idea of sin." It is of great importance in this connection to recognise the difference, too often overlooked, between the genuine religion of the Law and the Prophets, and the Pharisaic Judaism of our Lord's time, which was as much a corruption of the former as Romanism is of genuine Christianity; and the especial study of the later Jewish religion, which is needful to elucidate the origins of Christianity, has tended to throw into the shade the organic connection of the New Testament with the Old, and the fact that Jesus and His apostles recognised its Divine authority, and appealed from the law as interpreted by Rabbinic tradition to the law as truly understood and really meant by God.

<sup>1</sup> Surely "veracity" is an ill-chosen word here, as if any writing worthy of being called Scripture could be defective in love of truth.

The positive reconstruction of theology, for which all that has preceded is the preparation, is a masterly piece of work, showing great dialectic and systematic power, and deserving the attention of all students of the subject. The starting point is Christ's own conception of God, whom He habitually calls His Father, or the Father, at the same time asserting Himself to be one with the Father in a unique relation of mutual knowledge and love. This, along with His teaching about the Holy Spirit, is the basis of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity; but to be true to the consciousness of Christ, this must be conceived, not in the merely metaphysical manner prevalent in the Greek Church, but as revealing God to be eternally and essentially love in actual exercise. This revealed aspect of the divine Being Dr Fairbairn designates "the Godhead," as distinguished from the simple name God, which he uses to denote Him in His external relations, and as known by nature. Such a construction of the doctrine of the Trinity is not of course original; but it is the one most true to New Testament teaching; and this exposition of it is eminently clear, sober, and convincing. The conception of God thus gained is peculiarly an ethical one, making the essence of Deity to consist, not in metaphysical attributes, such as self-existence, or absolute dominion, but in the perfection of moral qualities; and the task of Dr Fairbairn's reconstruction is, as he himself puts it, completely to "ethicise" the notion of God, and to carry out this to all its legitimate consequences. He first applies Christ's revelation of the Godhead to natural theology, and shows very well how the conception of God as love throws light on some of the mysteries of Creation and Providence; and then he proceeds to employ it to alter or explode some of the views of dogmatic theology, especially what he calls the forensic or juridical conception of God, which he finds in modern theology in two forms, the Catholic and the Calvinistic. By this in the latter of these forms he means the position to state and defend which the late Dr Candlish, he says, made the last serious attempt, viz., "that God's fundamental and primary relation to man was that of Creator and Governor," and "that His rule and government must be in the proper forensic sense legal and judicial" (p. 432). His attempt to refute this, however, I cannot but consider as a mere verbal criticism on the possible meanings of the phrase "legal sovereignty," while he might have seen that Dr Candlish did not mean either of the things he puts as alternatives, but government by moral law to which penalties are attached, the moral government which Butler proves in his Analogy. Dr Fairbairn's conclusion is that "there is no absolute antithesis between sovereignty and paternity; the only perfect form in which we can have either is where we have both" (p. 436). But Dr Candlish would never have contradicted that;

he has elaborately argued for both parts of the proposition in his "Fatherhood of God"; the sole question is, whether this perfect form of paternal sovereignty existed from the beginning in virtue of creation, as Dr Fairbairn holds, or is ultimately attained as the result of God's grace in Christ, as Dr Candlish thought. This question evidently cannot be decided by a simple appeal to Christ's idea of God as essentially love, and to the principle that what He is in the internal relations of the Godhead He must be also in His external relations as God to the creatures. Dr Candlish thoroughly accepted the view of the Trinity as flowing from God being eternally and actively love; and no man ever exhibited more earnestly and fully the love of God as seen in all His dealings with His creatures.

Dr Fairbairn seeks a notion of the Fatherhood of God by conceiving creation as determined by the divine nature, *i.e.*, "the unity which we speak of as the Godhead," in which "Fatherhood and Sonship were essential and immanent, and so the end may be described as the realisation of external relations corresponding to the internal; in other words, the creation of a universe which should be to God as a son, while He was to it as a Father" (pp. 446, 7). This I can quite accept as a true and profound statement; but when he goes on to say, "The universe He thus created is personal and spiritual, all its units are capable of loving as of being loved; and where such capability exists we can best express the causal relation by the term Paternity, and the created by Sonship" (p. 447); I can but reply, as Dr Candlish did to Dr Crawford's definition, "Such a universal Fatherhood I do not care to call in question." The thing meant is true and important in its own place; but it only amounts to Fatherliness, to use an expressive phrase of M'Leod Campbell, not to Fatherhood in what Dr Fairbairn himself presents as its highest and ideal form, that, namely, in which we are "made partakers of the Spirit of Christ and so qualified for adoption out of the sonship of nature into the sonship of grace" (p. 447). I would cordially accept all that Dr Fairbairn says of the former of these states, the sonship of nature; and the way in which he connects it with the Christian idea of God is a real and valuable contribution to theology, only I would not call such a state sonship; and the argument that in order to be a son by adoption man must previously be a son by nature (p. 390), I can only characterise as a play upon words. Still the difference is not entirely a verbal one, because on the doctrine that all men are sons of God by nature Dr Fairbairn grounds the assertion, that all the sanctions of God's paternal authority are chastisements, and their ultimate aim is to correct and reform (p. 437), a view which most profoundly affects our whole conception of God's dealing with man.

For the decision of the question on which I feel constrained to



differ from Dr Fairbairn, there are just two ways. The most complete would be a thorough examination of the entire teaching of our Lord and His apostles, which is manifestly impossible here. The other is a consideration of how far each view enables us rightly to construe the great doctrines that are acknowledged on all hands to be essentials of Christianity. This Dr Fairbairn's remaining discussions enable us to do in regard to his position, though I would review them not merely for this purpose, but to bring out what is true and excellent in them.

In his chapter on "the Fatherhood and Sin" there is much that is good and valuable. The permission of sin is resolved into the creation of personal and free agents, to whom the possibility of wrong choice must be open; and its universal diffusion in mankind into the unity and solidarity of the race and the principle of heredity, which, along with much benefit, has involved also this great evil on the human family. Then, by an application of Paul's distinction between transgression and sin, it is pointed out, more clearly, I think, than has been done before, that the inherited sin of the nature does not involve personal culpability, except in so far as it becomes transgression by the consent of the will; and thus a foundation is laid for believing that all who die in infancy are saved, without denying their sin and need of redemption. I am not sure, however, that there is an adequate recognition of the intensity of man's native depravity as needing a divine power to overcome it; and consequently I cannot but think that the mysterious and awful problem of the origin and prevalence of evil is too easily solved, although, doubtless, the points so clearly brought out by Dr Fairbairn are those that must be appealed to as going a certain length towards its solution.

The next subject dealt with is Soteriology, and here the exposition of the Incarnation is most excellent, and the conception of the essence of the Godhead consisting of moral, and not merely metaphysical, attributes, is applied with good effect to illustrate the humiliation or self-emptying of the Son of God; but the treatment of the atonement does not seem to me to do complete justice to the teaching of our Lord and His apostles. Holding, as before said, that the aim of divine punishment is the moral recovery and improvement of sinners, Dr Fairbairn is constrained to assign to the suffering of Christ a merely subjective purpose. He holds, indeed, that it was necessary, in order to the forgiveness of sins, because of the righteousness of God, who must judge sin while He saves the sinner; but this judgment is only the making the sinner himself feel the terrible evil of sin. That this is one end served by the sacrifice of Christ is undoubtedly true; but most Biblical theologians have thought that this alone cannot afford a fair explanation

of many of the statements of the New Testament, about Christ giving Himself a ransom for many, our being bought with a price, and the like. One of these passages, Gal. iii. 13, Dr Fairbairn interprets thus: "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law"; certainly, but this was the law which the Jew loved, and which was thus for ever abolished, not the universal law of God. He became "a curse for us," certainly, but under the same law, for by it He was "hanged upon a tree." "But the law that thus judged Him condemned itself; by cursing Him it became accursed. His death was not the vindication but the condemnation of the law" (pp. 480, 1; cf. p. 317). This is to me a most incredible exposition, suggested by nothing in the context, and contrary to Paul's ideas, for nowhere does he ever speak of the law being accursed, condemned, or abolished. It reminds one of some of the forms of the Patristic notion of a ransom to Satan, according to which the Adversary, by unjustly condemning the Sinless one, lost his power over sinners. It seems to me, therefore, that a doctrine of universal fatherhood which implies that all punishment is chastisement for the offender's good, is shown to be inadequate by its inability to rise above a subjective view of the sacrifice of Christ.

The work of the Spirit is illustrated chiefly in connection with the doctrine of Revelation and Inspiration on the one hand, and that of the Church on the other; and of both Dr Fairbairn has given a most admirable exposition. More especially in regard to the former, he has shown most clearly and convincingly how the principles of the Reformation both require us to give free scope to criticism, higher as well as lower, and also secure us against the dangers apprehended to arise from that, by making the authority of Scripture depend on the inward working of the Spirit in us who read and hear the Word, as well as in those who were inspired to write it. His discussion of the Church is also excellent and timely. I am struck, however, by the absence of any explicit reference to regeneration, which is so prominent an idea in the teaching of Christ and His apostles. It is not very easy to harmonise their sayings about our being begotten again, born of God, and the like, with a universal fatherhood by creation; and while I have no doubt that Dr Fairbairn recognises the need of the gracious and powerful work of the Holy Spirit, to enable us to receive Christ by faith, his view of the essential freedom of man requires the belief that the deciding act in conversion is our own will (p. 462). I prefer to apply to the will of man under the influence of the Spirit of God the distinction, which in a previous place (p. 413) he admirably puts in reference to God, between physical necessity and moral need, and so to believe, that when God is pleased to put forth His regenerating power, He effectually determines sinners freely to

choose Christ as their Saviour and God as their portion. This doctrine is no doubt mysterious, and it involves further mysteries, which those who reject it think they escape; but I am persuaded that it is the doctrine of Christ and of Paul; and I am the more confirmed in this when I find that Dr Fairbairn (p. 404-5) is led simply to reject Paul's teaching in Rom. ix. 19-24 as a remnant of Judaic ideas. The passage is indeed one of the hard things in the apostle's writings, and I have confessed elsewhere<sup>1</sup> that I do not understand some of its assertions, but I am not prepared to throw overboard Paul's authority, or to believe that I have attained a truer conception of God than he had. However great and painful are the mysteries of the Calvinistic doctrine of the divine sovereignty, the alternative view, which implies that the issue of the world's history is dependent on the wills of men, seems to me far more devoid of comfort, and in some aspects positively appalling. But I rejoice to find that at a later stage Dr Fairbairn recognises, in the ideal Church of the later Pauline epistles, "the symbol of the completed work of Christ, of all that God through it had meant to accomplish; by it was unfolded the mystery of His will" (p. 526). What is implied in this passage is in substance all that a moderate Calvinism requires; and if the author's previous statements of the freedom of man's will may be qualified so as to harmonise with this, I would not differ very much from him.

This leads me to observe that it is a recommendation of the modern historical method in theology that it tends to minimise the differences of various systems, by showing that these have often been more verbal than real, or have been due to one-sided and exaggerated statements of truth. On some of the points on which I am unable to agree with Dr Fairbairn, the difference is largely as to the form of expression; and if I have dwelt at some length on these, it is because truth and harmony may be best reached, not by ignoring even slight differences, but by frank explanation and friendly criticism, by which misunderstanding may be removed. Though I cannot go along with Dr Fairbairn in the whole course of his reconstructive work, I am quite of one mind with him in the greater and more important part of it, that which is fundamental, in which, I think, he has done a great and valuable service to evangelical Christians of all churches and schools. What is called "the return to Christ" will not, I believe, create a radically new theology; for it can hardly be that all Christian thinkers hitherto have been fundamentally mistaken, but it will produce a new and sounder method of theologising, and alter some important features of all the old systems. And the nearer we come to Christ Himself, in thought as well as in heart, the nearer shall we be brought to

<sup>1</sup> In "The Christian Doctrine of God," p. 70.

one another in both respects. This will be promoted, too, by the spirit, as well as by the contents of Dr Fairbairn's work; for it is marked by an absence of all controversial bitterness, and a genial candour and fairness in dealing with opinions and systems of all different kinds. That such a book has already in a few months reached the third edition, which we now have the pleasure of reviewing, is a very hopeful sign of the times. JAMES S. CANDLISH.

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### **Théologie du Nouveau Testament.**

*Tome Premier. La Vie et L'Enseignement de Jésus par Jules Bovon, Prof. de théologie de l'Eglise Evangelique libre du Canton de Vaud. Lausanne: Georges Bridel et Cie. Pp. 545. Price 10 francs.*

THIS volume forms the first part of an "Étude sur l'Œuvre de la Rédemption," which Professor Bovon proposes to give to the public. This first instalment augurs well for the success of the whole, and we shall eagerly await the issue of the second volume which is to contain the teaching of the Apostles.

The plan of this first part is roomy and comprehensive. Professor Bovon justifies his departure from the usual method of the Biblical Theologian; and whether he is scientifically right or wrong in including in his work investigations which are usually relegated to the department of Introduction, every reader will welcome his well-informed and sound discussions of the sources and of the life of Jesus. He considers that, as the Biblical Theologian cannot enter upon an exposition of the teaching of Jesus without first of all satisfying himself of the trustworthiness and character of the sources of our information regarding this teaching, and without also ascertaining the general features of the life and person of Jesus, he is justified in exhibiting his beliefs and conclusions on these points. Certainly, Professor Bovon's examination of the gospels, and his sketch of the life therein depicted, are not the least valuable portion of his work.

It would be difficult to name a more lucid and satisfactory account of the gospels. The immense literature which has accumulated around them has been thoroughly mastered. The critic of the Synoptic problem is nothing if not up to date, and Professor Bovon is familiar with the most recent contributions to its solution. The case for and against the several hypotheses is stated with remarkable fairness and insight, while Professor Bovon's criticisms are both new and weighty. In particular, while disposed to adopt some of

the main conclusions of the advocates of the two-sources solution, he is careful to point out that we have not data for the reconstruction of those sources, and that those who attempt such reconstruction are continually under temptation to reduce the Evangelists to mere compilers, picking a verse here and a verse there with mechanical servility and an entire lack of freedom. Weiss, Wendt, Resch, and Marshall are all criticised from this point of view. Professor Bovon's own conclusion from the phenomena presented by the gospels is that they employed common written sources, differing in their text from one another, but that, while using these written sources, they freely interwove the oral tradition, which was still current. The written sources which they used were, he thinks, a collection of the discourses of Jesus by Matthew, a redaction of the reminiscences of Peter, perhaps a Judæo-Christian narrative used especially by Luke, several fragmentary narratives containing anecdotes and sayings of Jesus, all sinking their roots into the soil of apostolic tradition.

Considering the knowledge and the freeness of Professor Bovon's criticism, some readers will be surprised to find that he unhesitatingly ascribes the fourth gospel to the Apostle John. This he does after a candid consideration of the difficulties which have been so abundantly urged, and which he admits to be grave. Indeed, his statement of the difficulty of reconciling the character displayed by the author of this gospel with the Boanerges who wished to call down fire from heaven, and a sample of whose work we have in the Apocalypse, is as forcible and telling as it could well be made. His solution is that in the human spirit there are commonly found divergent tendencies, of which now one and now another finds expression. The manner in which this idea is elaborated lends both interest and value to a chapter which is a distinct contribution to the literature of the fourth gospel.

Even in the brief outline of the life of Jesus which Professor Bovon furnishes there are many points of interest, and much which shows the independence of the author's conclusions. Allowing great weight to the fourth gospel as the work of a companion of Jesus, Professor Bovon accepts the opinion that the ministry lasted for little more than two years. He believes in two cleansings of the Temple, but in one feeding of the people. He thinks that Jesus had a distinct consciousness of his Messiahship from the beginning of His ministry; and he finds no difficulty in reconciling the strong language of Jesus on Peter's confession at Cæsarea Philippi with the account given by John of Peter's acknowledgment of Jesus at a much earlier date.

The teaching of Jesus is arranged in the usual manner and under the usual headings. First the teaching as given by the Synoptists

is expounded, and then the teaching which is found in the fourth gospel. A concluding chapter exhibits the reconciliation of these two sources. Although so much has lately been written on the Kingdom of God as represented by Jesus, the reader of Professor Bovon's exposition finds his interest freshly engaged. It is not a mere echo or re-assortment of the observations which previous critics have made that we find here, but an original and suggestive survey of the old ground. It is, however, in the presentation of the teaching of Jesus as recorded in the fourth gospel that Professor Bovon's work will provoke most criticism. He holds that Christ is Son of God in a unique sense, and is the true and sole intermediary between God and man, but this not because He is consubstantial with the Father or God's Son in the Nicene sense. His position, in short, is very much the same as Wendt's. And he does good service by bringing out the real meaning of some of the passages which are erroneously, though commonly, employed to prove the Nicene doctrine, as well as by very forcibly exhibiting the practical character of all that John says regarding the relations of Father and Son. On this point much is adduced which must be taken account of by critics who have found a philosopher in the Galilean fisherman. At the same time, Professor Bovon's exegesis of some of the critical texts is not satisfactory. Thus, while he rejects that interpretation of Christ's saying, "Before Abraham was, I am," which finds in the words nothing but a reference to a purely ideal existence, his own interpretation, which is based on the idea that Christ in thought identifies Himself with God, whom He represents, cannot be considered much happier. ["Au point culminant de son activité personnelle, Christ se sent comme emporté par un tel courant de vie, que pour lui, le représentant sur la terre du Dieu des cieux, le temps et l'espace cessent en quelque sorte d'exister et que, sans perdre son individualité, il s'identifie alors avec l'être souverain dont le trône domine le flot changeant des ombres et des vanités qui nous entraînent. En d'autres termes, ce que ces paroles mystérieuses nous apportent, c'est le témoignage du Sauveur sur sa divinité, dans ce sens que si les autres hommes ont derrière eux des ancêtres qui leur ont donné leurs aptitudes et leur tempéraments, lui, 'le Fils unique,' ne tire que de Dieu seul ses forces et sa vie."] It will be understood that this view of the person of Christ colours Professor Bovon's interpretation of His teaching; but it will be owned that his exegesis is always worthy of consideration, and in most instances is sound and lucid.

On the whole, this volume must be ranked among the most useful and stimulating of recent theological productions. It combines German thoroughness, French lucidity, and English sense. It is the result of wide and careful reading, and of profound and disci-

plined thought ; but all the scaffolding is removed, and the reader is not wearied with needless detail. Liberal in its theology, it is conservative in criticism, and profitably recalls attention to points which in recent years have been too freely taken for granted. The information it contains, the lucidity of its exposition, the spirit in which it is written, its criticisms and its suggestions, lend it value and importance, and make it worthy of serious study.

MARCUS DODS.

### **A Literary History of Early Christianity.**

*By Charles T. Cruttwell, M.A. London: Charles Griffin. 1893.  
2 vols. 8vo, pp. xxvi. 683. Price 21s.*

IN these two substantial volumes Mr Cruttwell undertakes, in the sphere of early Christian literature, a task which he has already accomplished with success for the literature of Rome. His "History of Roman Literature," published in 1877, accurately fitted a vacant space in the English classical student's library, and rapidly took the place it still holds as a serviceable handbook. This encouraging reception, says Mr Cruttwell in his Preface, "suggested the extension of the same plan to the more complicated field of the literature of the early Church." So far as he is aware, "there is no English work which exactly covers the same ground." This is a little disingenuous in our author, and fosters hopes which his work does not by any means fulfil. Unless he wishes us to lay an unusual emphasis either on "exactly" or on "English," he cannot escape entering into comparison with more than one established work which is at the disposal of English readers. Waiving the fact that every Church history on a large scale covers the same ground, there are surely Pressensé and Farrar, Donaldson and Schaff (to mention these alone) who have handled the same matter ; and we may say at once that the two former have set it out into more sympathy and brilliancy, the latter with more fulness and accuracy than Mr Cruttwell can claim.

Further, it may be doubted whether there is so much in common between the literature of Rome and that of the early Church as to justify the expectation that they can be advantageously treated on the same plan. The early Christian writings do not form a literature in the sense that the works of Latin writers from Lucilius to Suetonius do. They differ from all other literatures, as Mr Cruttwell himself points out, in being wholly theological and religious. But Mr Cruttwell does not observe that this changes entirely the standard of criticism, and the task of the historian. In fact, the difference between the qualities and methods necessary for

a satisfactory treatment of Vergil and of Origen, of Cicero and of Tertullian, is so great, that when we find it overlooked at the outset, we can hardly expect success. The very points which are of subordinate importance in the one field are supreme in the other. Authenticity, date, dependence or independence, hardly affect the value or charm of an epistle of Cicero, or an ode of Horace. Yet these are the points in regard to almost the whole of early Christian literature which are at once in dispute and crucial to its value. Mr Cruttwell seems to recognise the distinction in one half of its application, but not in the other. "Of all the writings included in the period of our survey," he says, "there are two, and only two, which can rightly be described as charming." It is, in fact, vain to expect, and impossible to kindle, in the "general reader," enthusiasm for the body of early Christian literature as a whole. It is simply not "classical." It can only offer fragments or specimens which have intrinsic value apart from their speculative or ecclesiastical bearing. The "students," on the other hand, for whom Mr Cruttwell also writes, who have already an interest, speculative or historical, cannot be satisfied with a loose method of criticism and an imperfect grasp of underlying principles. It is a matter of comparative indifference whether Livy had or had not authentic materials for the construction of the early books of his history, but that the "Gospel according to Peter" used the Fourth Gospel cannot, by a judicious historian, be either airily asserted or dogmatically denied.

A careful examination of Mr Cruttwell's work justifies the moderation of our expectations. The period with which he deals, runs from the close of the Canon to the threshold of the Arian controversy, the limits being practically those of Schaff's *Ante-Nicene Christianity*, and identical with those of Donaldson's *History of Christian Literature*. The literature of this period is divided into four sections, viz., The Apostolic Fathers, Heretical Sects, Apologists, Alexandrian School, and Latin Christianity. Considerable extracts illustrate the style of a number of the writers, and translations of the Didachè and the Gospel of Peter are given at full length.

The section on the Apostolic Fathers displays both the inconsistencies and the imperfections of the method. We find neither the systematic treatment of a handbook, nor the penetrating and unifying grasp of a history. We finish its perusal without obtaining any clear comprehension of the writers, their relations or their influence. Mr Cruttwell, for example, devotes ten pages to Clement of Rome. The facts, with most of the reflections, may be found in Bishop Lightfoot's edition of this Father, and more particularly in his "Appendix"; but they suffer both by selection and by compression. The Bishop has a paragraph expounding the statement that "There is no dogmatic system in Clement." This becomes, in Mr Crutt-



well, "The doctrinal system of Clement is vague and unformed." The Bishop remarks on the comprehensiveness of his view of truth. Mr Cruttwell adds, "His is emphatically an 'all-round mind.'" Dr Lightfoot, very naturally in his "Appendix," describes fully the new MS. of Constantinople, and the position it gives to the Epistle of Clement. Here the description is partly given verbatim, and partly compressed into a paragraph on "Authorities for the Text." Space is also found for a discussion of the obscure question of the early succession of Roman Bishops, and for remarks on "Characteristics of Clement's Mind and Genius"; but when we look for an account of his work, the contents of the Text, the very *raison d'être* of the chapter in a "literary history," we find two short quotations from the Epistle, and nothing more. We search in vain for any reference to the situation at Corinth which caused the Roman Church to send this Epistle, or even for the slightest indication of its purpose. No reader could learn from this work that the "First Epistle" of Clement was written on account of party differences that had broken out at Corinth, and the removal or deposition of Presbyters there. Mr Cruttwell discusses the identification of Clement with various persons known by the same name, but passes over in silence the fact that he quotes from Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians by name.

In striking contrast with this treatment of Clement's Epistle, but hardly less perplexing, is the fulness with which the Shepherd of Hermas is described and analysed. Mr Cruttwell, it is true, thinks that the book is "less appreciated than it deserves"; but we question whether, as an admirer of the work, he is wise in putting ten pages of bald analysis in the hands of the general reader. This medley of fantasy and homiletics does not gain by appearing in its bare allegorical framework. It is, as Bunsen called it, a good but dull novel, not deserving to be compared with the "Pilgrim's Progress," either for religious or for imaginative force. It is true that, as Dr Westcott points out, "theologically the Shepherd is of the highest value." But Mr Cruttwell gives the student no indication of its theological value. Indeed, he minimizes unduly the witness of Hermas to the New Testament. He is writing with unusual care when he says, "The only book with which affinities can be proved is the Epistle of St James." He acknowledges "some correspondence with the teaching of Peter. But, on the whole, Hermas cannot be said to show much familiarity with Scripture." Taken with absolute literalness, these statements may be correct; but they certainly obscure or overlook the fact that the Pastor is full of inarticulate echoes of the New Testament. We might go further, and ask whether there is not sufficient of indirect allusion to establish, for example, Hermas' acquaintance with the Gospel of

Matthew. The Vatican text of *Vis. ii.* 2-8 is all but a quotation from Matt. x. 33; and Mr Cruttwell takes no notice of the many phrases in Hermas, which, without being exact quotations, are surely reminiscences of the Fourth Gospel. In *Sim. ix.* 12, 6 (ἡ δὲ πύλη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν. αὕτη μία εἰσοδὸς ἐστὶ πρὸς τὸν κύριον. ἄλλως οὖν οὐδεὶς εἰσελεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ) we have only one of several passages which seem to reflect the Johannine tradition both in substance and in colouring. It is at anyrate misleading to assert broadly that Hermas shows little familiarity with Scripture.

But it is possible that we are not fair to Mr Cruttwell in applying too high a standard to his work. There are some indications that he would be content with a lower one. They appear when he leaves his authorities. He quotes the famous excerpt from Papias—Mark the interpreter of Peter, &c.—and not unjustly describes it as the battle-ground of many opposing arguments. We will give our author credit for originality in his own contribution to the arrayed forces. Many of us would be content if we could establish the certainty that Papias made the statement. Mr Cruttwell goes further back and discovers Papias' authority (p. 108): "We can hardly doubt that in his emphatic declaration of St Mark's perfect accuracy, Papias is drawing not on his own conviction, nor even on the general consensus of Church opinion, but is reporting the expressed judgment of an apostle, and if so, who could that apostle be but St John himself, *who alone would be competent, from his age and dignity, to criticise the work of a companion of St Peter.*" Alas! in what age was criticism limited by competence, or age and dignity guaranteed by the claim to criticise? Mr Cruttwell has read Bishop Lightfoot's reply to *Supernatural Religion*, but has he never read the original *Supernatural Religion*, that he ventures to risk such flimsy reasoning as this?

We fear, however, that our author is committed to this method. When he comes to the Epistle to Diognetus he is much concerned at the general inability to point out the author of the letter which he so justly admires. At last "Professor Birks" comes to his assistance. From this authority he culls an argument, which is so interesting an illustration of how a critical question ought not to be treated that it is worth outlining. The Letter to Diognetus is preceded in the MS. of "The Holy Justin" by an anonymous address "To Greeks." Cureton has published a version of what appears to be "another set of notes" to the latter document, which is there ascribed to Ambrosius. This Ambrosius "may have been" the founder of the Ambrosian family of the Gens Aurelia. Now, it was Marcus Aurelius who had for tutor the only Diognetus known to us. "It is tempting, therefore, to connect the two

names." Mr Cruttwell betrays an uncomfortable feeling that the reasons for this assignment of authorship are unsatisfactory, but is "nevertheless of opinion that it is desirable to give, whenever possible, a human interest to every writing of antiquity, by connecting it with some writer's name." By an all too easy descent, after referring in the sequel to this theory as "hanging by a more than slender thread," he, ere he quits the subject, lightly adduces "the tradition already mentioned," whereas, as a matter of fact, there is not a shred even of tradition on the subject.

It is unnecessary to enlarge on the worthlessness of such a method as this, or even on the danger to interests more important than literary ones, which follows on the application of such a method to documents of historical or theological importance. But its employment is the more to be regretted in a book which, by its tone and contents, makes pretensions to scholarship and authority. After this it is hardly surprising to find Mr Cruttwell upholding the integrity of the Epistle to Diognetus. He has the whole weight of authority against him, and the "peculiar loftiness of style" in chapters xi. and xii., which, in his opinion, points to one and the same author," will hardly balance the conclusive proofs of a later origin.

The sections on the heretical sects and the apologists are marked by a different kind of imperfection, as they demand a different treatment. We admit that it is no easy task to isolate the teaching, say, of Basilides or Valentinus, and to seize and present in the compass of a few pages the philosophic impulse which found expression in their endless chains of aeons and syzygies. As an attempt to articulate Christianity in some one or other of existent cosmic philosophies, Gnosticism demands for its proper treatment a philosophic knowledge and acumen, which not many who possess it are willing to devote to its elucidation. Mr Cruttwell makes a bold attempt to get below the surface, and lay hold on principles, but his account is confused and confusing, and he falls back on the endless genealogies of the various systems, leaving no very definite impression either of the teachers or of what they taught. It would have been wiser to abandon the attempt to explain the ideas of Basilides and Valentinus, the Ophites, and the Naassenes, referring the reader to Lightfoot or Mansel, Harnack or Baur. Space would thus have been gained for matters which are really more cognate to the subject. The complete absence of the bibliography of the subject is a serious drawback to the usefulness of the book; neither Canon nor Creed formation is touched upon, and by a strange omission the Acts of the martyrdom of St Perpetua, one of the earliest and most affecting documents of the Latin church, is passed over in silence.

In truth, the work bears throughout marks of haste and compila-

tion. "Ammonius Sacas" might be a misprint, if it were not repeated twice at least. It is safe and wise to refrain from saying "who Leucius Charinus was, or whether he existed at all;" but Mr Cruttwell forgets that a few pages back he has "dated him at 250," and deduced through him a date for the Protevangelium. And whether he existed or not, he cannot have been "a disciple of St John," and also flourishing in 250. Colarbasus is still for Mr Cruttwell "a heretic of magical proclivities," although he had only to consult Dr Hort's article in the *Dict. Chr. Biog.* to find the true explanation of the word as it was detected last century by Heumann. These points may be unimportant for "the general reader," but it is serious even for him when we come to the period of Caius and Hippolytus, and find that Mr Cruttwell ignores all the more recent literature.

It is quite true that, until within the last five years, it was difficult to get a clear view of "Caius the Presbyter," and tempting to follow Lightfoot in the suggestion that he is a mythical personage, a *Doppelgänger* of Hippolytus. Caius, the collocutor in the dialogue against Marcion, might be Hippolytus himself, appearing under his prænomen, as Cicero appears as Marcus in his philosophic dialogues. It was a somewhat formidable objection that among the works ascribed to Hippolytus, in the catalogues of Ebed Jesu, there appears one entitled, Chapters against Caius; and the objection was hardly removed by the question, What could be the subject which would throw these two closely-related presbyters into antagonism? For this was met by a reference to the passage in Eusebius (H.E. iii. 28), in which Caius is quoted as rejecting an Apocalypse put forward by Cerinthus in the name of "a great Apostle." The description there given is hard to identify with the Johannine Apocalypse. And yet it is now certain that Caius did attack the Apocalypse, and that Hippolytus replied. A twelfth-century writer, Dionysius Barsalibi, commenting on our Apocalypse, introduces objections raised by "Caius the heretic" against the book, together with the replies of Hippolytus. Through the publication of these extracts by Dr Gwynn, and the examination of them by Harnack (T.U. vi. 3), it becomes clear that Caius was an historical personage, with strong anti-Chiliastic views, such as would naturally bring him into collision with Hippolytus.

Mr Cruttwell seems very imperfectly informed on the present state of knowledge concerning Hippolytus. He makes the astounding statement that "the only one" of his writings "now preserved" is the *Philosophumena*. He thus ignores not only the many fragments that have been recovered, but the well-known work on Christ and anti-Christ, which is complete, and valuable both to define further Hippolytus' position and for the Chiliastic controversy.

The fourth book of his Commentary on Daniel, also, has recently been discovered complete, and published by Mr Kennedy. It would have been of interest, even to the general reader, to know that it was Hippolytus who fixed the date of our Lord's Conception and His Nativity as we now have them observed. It is part, no doubt, of a general defect in Mr Cruttwell's plan that he omits all notice of a further work which has lately, on very good ground, been ascribed to Hippolytus. He intentionally excludes from his account of this period the whole literature of formulas, creeds, and liturgies. They could only have been presented, as he says, in their rudimentary stages ; but it is precisely here, in the process of free development, under the local and practical necessities of the Church, that the literary interest of this subject predominates, and it is a serious defect in the work that the topics of *Regula Fidei*, *Apostolicum*, *Apostolic Constitutions* are passed over in silence. The subject of the genesis and growth of the *Ap. Constt.* is hardly yet ripe for thorough treatment, but it would not have been premature to draw attention to the place that will probably be occupied by Hippolytus in that department also.

A further light has recently been thrown on this subject by Dr Hans Achelis, who has thoroughly examined the "*Canones Hippolyti*." The Arabic work which now goes under this title has been known in Europe since 1677, when it was described by Wansleben, and was edited by Haneberg, with a Latin translation, in 1870. It was known to the Coptic Canonists of the Middle Ages as the *Canons of Abulides*, and its author traditionally described as "a Roman Patriarch." As early as 1691 Leutholf identifies the author with Hippolytus, but through a confusion with the eighth book of *Ap. Constt.*, with which it is nearly related, the C.H. came to be regarded merely as an extract from the latter. Achelis has issued a new translation of C.H., together with one of an Egyptian "*Book of Church Order*," written in Coptic (originally translated by Tattam, 1848), which he thinks intermediate between the C.H. and the *Ap. Constt.* The three documents thus published in parallel columns provide a most stimulating opportunity for the study of the growth of ecclesiastical practice and organization. The *Canones Hippolyti* belong to the transition period between the early period and the developed and crystallized system of Cyprian. The Eucharistic service is no longer confined to the Sunday, but is not yet of daily use. It is celebrated on Sunday, and also on week days, as often as the bishop directs. In the procedure necessary for the valid ordination of a bishop, the stress is laid upon the election "*ab omni populo*"; who signify their share in the appointment by the solemn public testimony "*nos eligimus eum*"; and the consecration is performed

not by three bishops, as in Cyprian, but by "*unus ex episcopis et presbyteris*." The type of practice and organisation is seen to be a development of Justin's, and indigenous not in the Eastern but in the Western Church. Achelis comes to the conclusion that this Arabic translation of a Book of Order, somewhat anterior to the time of Cyprian, is really the work of Hippolytus, and he shows reason for identifying it with the *ἀποστολική παράδοσις*, whose title appears in the catalogue of the Bishop's writings, inscribed upon the statue which was found in 1551.

Attention should also be given to the short Prologue and Epilogue between which the C.H. are enclosed. They bear witness to a doctrinal conflict issuing in a separation, the ground of which is clearly divergent views on the relation between the Logos and Christ. Achelis believes that we have here distinct traces of the conflict between Hippolytus and Callistus, that the latter having withdrawn with a minority of the Roman Church, and founded a congregation, "*arcta unione conjuncti*," who claimed to be "*discipuli scripturarum*," excommunicated the Pope and his followers, "*qui non consentiunt ecclesiæ Dei*."

There is still much to be done in determining the dates and details of the biography of Hippolytus. Many statements concerning him have been too hastily swept into the spoil-heap of legend and misconception. These have been recently re-collected and examined by Dr Erbes (J.P.T. xiv.), and his results must be reckoned with. The year 235, which is generally accepted for the date of Hippolytus' death, rests only upon the evidence of the Chronicle, according to which (1) Pontianus Episcopus and Hippolytus Presbyter were banished together to Sardinia in that year; (2) Pontianus was deposed (or died) later in the same year, and in the same place; and (3) Hippolytus and Pontianus, buried in different catacombs, were commemorated as martyrs on the same day. The inference is natural, but not necessary, that they died at the same time, and were buried at the same time, though in different places, at Rome. Suspending this unnecessary inference, Erbes finds room in the life of Hippolytus, prolonged beyond 235, for the statements of Prudentius which Döllinger pronounced "*in allen seinen Zügen nicht historisch haltbar*," and for the scattered references of Eusebius and others. He inclines, therefore, to date the death of the saint in 251, while De Rossi would extend his life as far as 257. It would be in this period, after his return from exile, and reconciliation with the church at Rome, that an explanation would be found for the mysterious collocation in Eusebius of Hippolytus with Beryllus, Bishop of Bostra.

C. A. SCOTT.

**Klostermann on the Pentateuch : Der Pentateuch. Beiträge zu seinen Verständniss und seiner Entstehungsgeschichte.**

*Von Dr August Klostermann. Leipzig : A. Deichert. 1893.  
Pp. viii. 447. Price, M. 8.*

THIS volume consists of reprints of articles from *Studien und Kritiken*, the *Zeitschr. für luth. Theologie*, &c., with additions and modifications. The theories they propound have already been noticed by English critics, and are familiar to most students of Pentateuch criticism. The publication of this volume is a suitable occasion for a brief recapitulation of some of the main positions.

To begin at the end : the last essay has no immediate connection with the preceding essays, its subject is the significance to the Calendar of the Year of Jubilee. The author seeks to revive an old theory, that the Year of Jubilee was a device for harmonising the lunar and solar years.

The first seven essays form a fairly complete statement of Klostermann's position on the criticism of the Pentateuch. He begins by dealing with "the fundamental error of all present-day Pentateuch criticism." This fundamental error has, apparently, various branches. Critics make a mistake in starting with J, E, and P, instead of ascertaining the original book and its author. They ignore the probability that between the composition of the Pentateuch or its sources, and the formation of the Masoretic text, Hebrew passed through many stages, and the language of the Pentateuch was frequently brought up to date. But the head and front of their offending is that they follow blindly the Masoretic text. The data upon which the current Pentateuch criticism rests, especially as regards the distinction and analysis of J and E, have simply arisen from the corruption of the text. Three considerations suggest themselves on this head. *First*, The textual criticism of the Old Testament is not a subject wholly ignored by such critics as Wellhausen and Driver, and in arriving at their results they have had before them both the principles and the data upon which Klostermann relies. *Second*, If Klostermann's principle were consistently applied to the Old Testament, it would follow that the books were very largely the work of the Masoretes, and their predecessors the scribes. *Third*, If the text is so doubtful, surely Klostermann should first have published a revised text of his own, and then have constructed his theories. He censures other critics for relying upon the Masoretic text for details ; but when he is fairly embarked on his own positive arguments he seems to forget how unsafe is the foundation afforded by the Hebrew text, and uses details freely.

Having thus demolished present-day criticism, he lays down, in the second essay, "the safe point of departure" for future Pentateuch criticism. "Deut. iv. 45—xxviii. 69 is the *ancient* law-book discovered by Hilkiah." It was an ancient law-book which had been lost, but all along Josiah and his predecessors had possessed another law-book, which had not been lost. The third essay explains how this recovered law-book was furnished with an introduction, conclusion, and explanatory notes, and was then inserted in its proper place in the Book of Numbers. The fourth essay shows that Numbers was a part of a larger whole, beginning with Genesis and ending with Joshua; in fact, a "Pre-Josianic" Pentateuch. Then in the fifth essay it is shown that this "Pre-Josianic" Pentateuch was itself an enlargement of an earlier Pentateuch, and that this earlier edition was in existence before the time of Hezekiah, and was compiled from existing documents and current traditions. The sixth essay deals at considerable length with the Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii.) and Deuteronomy, and contains a careful and minute analysis of Deut. xxxi. 14—xxxii. 52. Our author concludes that the Song was known as Mosaic, certainly in the time of Hezekiah, possibly very much earlier, and evidently inclines to accept it as Mosaic. The seventh essay contains a very full investigation of the relation of the Law of Holiness to Ezekiel. Ezekiel, it is maintained, was not the author of the Law of Holiness, but was familiar with it as an ancient and authoritative exposition of the law.

We cannot wonder that both English and German critics have declined to surrender positions assumed as the result of generations of progressive study, even at the peremptory mandate of the "Don Quixote of criticism," as Klostermann has been called. There is much minute work in these essays, and many interesting suggestions on minor points and secondary issues, but their value to the student is seriously diminished by the combination of useful material with the constant assertion that *all* modern criticism is radically mistaken.

W. H. BENNETT.

### Introduction au Nouveau Testament.

*Par F. Godet, Docteur en Theol., Prof. à la Faculté de l'Église Indépendante de Neuchâtel. Introduction Particulière. I. Les Épîtres de Saint Paul. Neuchâtel: Attinger Frères. 8vo, pp. xii. 737. Price F. 12.*

IN a preface that wins us by its personal confidences, Dr Godet tells how this work is the realisation of a dream of his youth; for he recollects that when as a young student he was walking on the terrace of the old cathedral, at the foot of which he lived, he thought



it would be desirable to have a book that should set the Epistles of St Paul each in its historical place, "like an egg in its nest." He adds, "Cet ouvrage rêvé, le voici." Anything that comes from Dr Godet is sure to receive a cordial welcome in Great Britain, and our familiarity with his eloquent and luminous commentaries prepares us to appreciate very highly a work in which the venerable Swiss theologian thus gathers up the harvest of a lifetime. Of course we shall also be prepared to find that Dr Godet maintains his attitude of enlightened conservatism in face of the hailstorm of adverse criticism that has fallen between the first conception of his design and this partial accomplishment of it. But if sometimes he does not seem to feel the full force of the liberal movement, at all events he is quite frank in stating its arguments, and absolutely fair in meeting them. One of the most valuable characteristics of the book now before us is the large amount of space it gives to the history of criticism in regard to all the more serious questions that demand investigation—a history which is itself critical, and not a mere *résumé* of *obiter dicta*. The work is up to date in nearly all respects, fully overhauling quite recent theories, Steck's for instance. Here we cannot suspect any alliance between conservatism and obscurantism.

Dr Godet holds that the General Introduction to the New Testament should precede the particular Introduction to the separate books; but a pathetic reference to his own age is his explanation for departing from his theory and issuing at once the study of the Pauline Epistles in their relation to the life and history of the apostle to which this volume is devoted. In a preliminary discussion on the sphere of criticism, he carries the war to the enemy's camp by urging that the criticism which boasts of being scientific is often quite wanting in the scientific temper, and swayed by other passions than a pure love for truth. He divides the critics into two parties, according as they start with a fixed determination to exclude the supernatural, or are free from that warping prejudice. He will not admit that the early Church was so extremely credulous as the anti-supernatural criticism assumes. He claims for his own method a fair and calm spirit. It would be possible, no doubt, to reply from the other side that he is the advocate for the defence, rather than the impartial judge.

After disposing of these and similar preliminary considerations, Dr Godet examines "The life of Paul down to his first epistles," in a section that is full of well-digested matter. On the vexed question of St Paul's knowledge of Greek culture, he points out that although the young Jew must have left Tarsus too early in life to have attended the great schools which were then flourishing in the Cilician city, a tradition of the Talmud that of the 1000 students of

Gamaliel at Jerusalem, 500 studied the law, and 500 Greek wisdom, suggests the possibility of his having made some acquaintance of Hellenic thought even at Jerusalem. At Tarsus, too, on his return thither in later life, he must have come into contact with the vigorous intellectual life of the city. That St Paul was a classical scholar is not to be supposed. Yet his reference to "certain even of your own poets," and these, it appears, quite minor poets, evidences some knowledge of Greek literature. Neither from this source, however, nor from his Pharisaism could St Paul have derived the ideas which became the constituent elements of his gospel. Dr Godet will not allow any weight to the teaching of St Stephen, nor to those other moral and spiritual influences which preceded the conversion of St Paul, in leading up to that event. The goads against which it was hard for him to prick were not the thoughts and impulses that were rising in his own mind and conscience, but simply the external facts of the progress of Christianity. It was hard for Saul to resist the onward movement of Divine Providence in the world. Now, in considering this uncompromising attitude of Dr Godet we may well admit that he has made out a strong case for the superhuman, the truly divine origin of the conversion of the fanatical persecutor into a disciple and an apostle. But to exclude almost all preparatory thinking is not only to make this out to be divine, but also to represent it as harshly destructive of that innate liberty of intellect and will which God respects in all His children.

In discussing "the thorn in the flesh" mentioned in 2 Corinthians, and the humiliating personal trouble to which the apostle refers when writing to the Galatians, Dr Godet rejects the hypotheses of an eye complaint and of epilepsy, and considers that two different afflictions are referred to in the two cases, the first being cramp in the organs of speech, and the second a cutaneous eruption. It is unfortunate that Dr Godet has not been able to see Professor Ramsay's masterly work on "The Church in the Roman Empire," in time to refer to it, because if he had done so he might have acknowledged some value in the suggestion that St Paul, having been stricken down with fever when landing on the low, malarious maritime plain south of the Taurus mountains, was forced to climb to the uplands behind to recover his health, a necessity which he would have regarded as a sign of weakness since it interfered with his plans, yet one which led to his opening up a new mission among the Galatians. A perusal of Professor Ramsay's book might also have induced Dr Godet to mitigate the severity with which he condemns the identification of the churches of Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra with the Galatian Christians addressed in St Paul's epistle, and the decisiveness with which he pronounces for the smaller

ethnological Galatia in the north. The new light which Professor Ramsay has thrown on the use of the name "Galatia" disposes of much of what Dr Godet here says; and the utter impracticability of a journey across country to the far-off northern Galatia on the part of travellers who, as we know, usually kept to high roads and visited great centres, which Professor Ramsay, with his intimate knowledge of the country, has demonstrated, makes it apparent that the reference to the journey as a very simple affair must be a mistake.

Dr Godet vindicates the authenticity of all the thirteen epistles commonly attributed to St Paul. Contesting the ideas of progressive thought so brilliantly expounded by Sabatier, he maintains that the absence of dogmatic statements concerning the questions which are dealt with in the four great epistles is no proof that the apostle had not fully thought out his doctrines when he wrote to the Thessalonians. This was subsequent to the conferences at Jerusalem, and very near to the time of the conflict with St Peter at Antioch. The preaching in Galatia, in which he had fully set forth his gospel, had preceded the preaching in Thessalonica. He must therefore have held what he assumed that the Galatians knew from his preaching to them.

Dr Godet shows the impossibility of placing 2 Thessalonians before 1 Thessalonians. The Apocalyptic elements of the later epistle he ascribes in part to the influence of the book of Daniel. He does not think that the Man of Sin is to be identified with the Antichrist of the Apocalypse. His whole discussion of this obscure subject is very thorough, and it will constitute a decided contribution towards the elucidation of the problem. The time is shown to be too late for Caligula, and too early for Nero, who cannot be regarded as the chief of a religious apostacy. Dr Godet inclines to the most ancient interpretation, that of Tertullian, in identifying the Man of Sin with the false Jewish Messiah, *i.e.*, with the false Jewish *idea* of a Messiah. This was the great hindrance to Christianity.

The elaborate discussion of the four great epistles leaves little or nothing to be desired. Dr Godet shows against all arguments to the contrary that the Roman Church was mainly Gentile, and he conjectures that it probably first received the gospel from Antioch, not from Jerusalem. The aim of the epistle to this Church was entirely different from that of the epistle to the Galatians. It was not polemical. It was not directed against a Jewish Church, or against a Judaising faction, nor was it an elaborate *Apologia pro vitâ suâ*,—why should the Apostle address such a defence to a distant, strange church? The epistle was a calm exposition of the Apostle's ideas of what was essential to *his* gospel, written for the benefit of

a church which had not yet been thoroughly grounded in them. The epistle to the Galatians set justification by faith in opposition to Judaistic Christianity; the epistle to the Romans set it in opposition to the two great religions of the world—Paganism and Judaism. Thus it opposed salvation by law, pure and simple, as a Jewish doctrine; it took no account of the Judaistic Christianity that was rampant in Galatia.

Dr Godet endeavours to vindicate the complete integrity of the epistle to the Romans, even including the last chapter, the many personal remarks of which seem to some of us so much more suitable in a letter addressed to Ephesus. He argues that all St Paul's Asiatic friends there referred to, several of whom we know were recently in Ephesus, *may* have gone to Rome. True, this is possible; but is it probable?

The four epistles of the Captivity are all assigned to Rome, where St Paul enjoyed the liberty he could not have had at Cæsarea. Those to the Colossians, Philemon, and the Ephesians come early in the Captivity, that to the Philippians near the end of it. In defending the first of these, Dr Godet takes the line which Dr Lightfoot has made familiar to us, showing that the Judaistic, ascetic, and speculative elements of the heresy therein denounced agree with what we might expect from an invasion of the Church by something like Essene influences, and not with the later Gnosticism of the second century. He defends the Epistle to the Ephesians from the charge of being but a weak imitation of that to the Colossians. Written at the same time, and for a less specific object, it naturally contained echoes of the ideas which had been roused in the apostle's mind by the special needs of the Colossian Church. Its aim was not polemical. Dr Godet accepts the theory that it was a circular letter, and he holds that it should not be assigned to Ephesus any more than to any other locality.

Dr Godet argues for the great probability that St Paul would have been liberated at the trial, which was the result of his appeal to Cæsar. He bases his conclusion on three grounds, in addition to the familiar arguments from references to historical details. *First*, from the narrative in the "Acts" we should expect that Festus would have sent up a favourable report with his prisoner to Rome. *Second*, St Paul himself anticipated an acquittal. *Third*, it is most improbable that the "Acts" would have ended abruptly without any mention of the martyrdom of the apostle if this had taken place—and the late date necessary for the third gospel compels us to assign a still later time for the composition of St Luke's second work. If Dr Godet had seen Professor Ramsay's book he might have added that the condition of the Christians under the Roman government at this time, before Christianity had been declared to

be a crime, should have made St Paul sure of winning his case. It was only just and legal that he should be acquitted, and as yet the government had no motive for dealing otherwise than justly with Christians. The importance of this conclusion is its bearing on the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles. Dr Godet applies a searching criticism to the current objections against these epistles. He shows that the heresies therein mentioned are not to be identified with any of the great Gnostic systems. No writer of the second century would treat those systems with the mild contempt implied in the term "old wives' fables." But such a phrase is quite applicable to the silly Jewish traditions of an earlier age. Then he makes it clear that the episcopacy of these epistles is much more primitive than that of the Ignatian letters. Timothy and Titus are to appoint elders; but their commission is itinerant and temporary. On the other hand, Dr Godet does not seem to quite appreciate the amazing difference between the style of the Pastoral Epistles and that of the unquestionably authentic Epistles. He justly remarks that the lists of *hapax legomena* in the latter are not less striking, and he rightly reminds us that Latin phrases, &c., would be very naturally acquired during the apostle's residence in Rome. But the structural variations cannot be easily set aside. We have scarcely heard the last word on the subject.

It will be a satisfaction for English readers to learn that a translation of this important work—to be published by Messrs T. & T. Clark—is in preparation.

W. F. ADENEY.

### **Man and the Glacial Period.**

*By G. Frederick Wright, D.D., LL.D. (International Scientific Series, Vol. LXXII.) London: Kegan Paul & Co., 1892. Crown 8vo, pp. 385. Price 5s.*

THE story of the Glacial Period has never been more popularly or more forcibly told than in the present volume by Dr Wright. Few geologists are better qualified than he to tell the story of the Great Ice-Age, and those interested in the question will welcome this book. About two years ago he published a work entitled, *The Ice-Age of North America, and its bearing on the Antiquity of Man*, which is already in its third edition. The book to which this review refers is in part a summary of this larger work, but it has much new matter. In order to qualify himself for writing it, Dr Wright spent a season among the lava beds of the Pacific coast, and a summer amidst the drift deposits of Western Europe.

He commences by describing existing glaciers in the Eastern

and Western Hemispheres, and here he necessarily takes his readers over much old ground in Switzerland, Scandinavia, and Greenland; but his account of the glaciers in Alaska is most picturesque. He describes the great sea of ice which lies at the foot of Mount St Elias in Alaska, and known as the Malaspina glacier—a vast *Mer-de-glace* formed by the confluence of many streams of ice, more than 50 miles in length, and from 10 to 20 in breadth, with an area of not less than 1000 square miles. The Muir glacier, also in Alaska, which flows into the sea at the head of Glacier Bay, is not less wonderful. It is formed by the confluence of twenty-six tributary glaciers, and the grand united ice-stream flows into the sea with a front a mile in width, and 200-400 feet in height above the water; while icebergs break off from its front, and float away into the distant ocean.

Dr Wright's researches into the Ice-Age of North America, which, like that of Europe, came between the Pliocene period and the recent era, and formed part of the Pleistocene epoch, may be summed up as follows:—

In the Glacial Period most of North America north of the thirty-eighth parallel of north latitude was covered with a great sheet of moving ice, thousands of miles in extent and thousands of feet deep. There were two great centres from which the ice at this time flowed outwards in all directions. The first and most important centre was in the Laurentian Highlands, which lie between the St Lawrence and Hudson's Bay, and contain those famous Laurentian rocks which formed the most ancient land in North America. From this centre, which has been called the Laurentide Glacier, ice-sheets flowed north, south, east, and west, for many hundreds of miles. Another centre from which ice-sheets radiated was in the mountains of British Columbia, between the fifty-fifth and fifty-ninth parallels of north latitude. The Pacific coast of North America south of the Columbia river escaped this glaciation by ice-sheets, although its mountains were full of glaciers; and it is a singular fact that in the Glacial Period, Alaska does not seem to have been overwhelmed by the great moving ice-sheets, although its mountains were covered with local glaciers. In North America at this time nearly 6,000,000 square miles were covered in many places by thousands of feet of moving ice. How far north this great ice-sheet reached is uncertain, for the Pole does not seem to have been permanently glaciated, and all idea of a great Polar ice-cap descending into the temperate regions is contradictory to the geological evidence presented by the extreme northern regions. The extreme southern front of the great ice-sheet of North America ran along a line varying from the thirty-eighth to the fortieth parallel of north latitude: it ran down towards the south-west from the New England

States to the junction of the Ohio with the Mississippi, and from this point it turned north-west nearly along the line of the Missouri to the Rocky Mountains.

Having described the Ice-Age in North America, Dr Wright next takes his readers to Europe, and gives an account of the glacial Period there, which was contemporaneous with that in North America. The great European *Mer-de-glace* was smaller than the American ice-sheet; nevertheless, it is affirmed that at this time at least 2,000,000 square miles in Northern Europe were buried beneath a great sheet of moving ice, which completely overflowed Great Britain, Northern Germany, Scandinavia, and Northern Russia, and filled up the Irish Channel, the Baltic, and the German Ocean. The southern limit of this European ice-sheet ran along the valley of the Thames, and then across Northern Germany to the Bohemian mountains. Thence it followed the northern slopes of the Carpathians, and turning to the north-east, reached the Arctic Ocean a little to the east of the White Sea. This European ice-sheet had a southern front of more than 3000 miles and an extreme breadth of 1000 miles. It did not, however, reach the North Pole, for Iceland was not glaciated at the time. One of the strangest things connected with the Ice-Age in the Eastern Hemisphere is the fact that Siberia seems to have escaped it, and to have been quite free from the vast moving sheets of ice which flowed like a deluge over the northern parts of Europe and America. The mountain region of Scandinavia was the great centre of ice-dispersion in Europe, and from this nucleus ice-streams flowed outwards in all directions, completely filling the Baltic and the German Ocean, and bearing boulders to Scotland, Northern Germany, and Russia. In addition to this, the Alps, Pyrenees, and Scotch mountains were local centres of glaciation.

What caused this wonderful Ice-Age? We do not know. Dr Wright discusses its origin, but does not fully solve the mystery. The idea of a great Polar ice-cap, sending down vast masses of ice into the temperate regions, must be abandoned. Over a large portion of North America, between the great Canadian lakes and the Arctic Ocean, it has been ascertained that the ice in the Glacial Period moved from *south to north*, and this fact alone negatives the theory of a Polar ice-cap. Besides this, Siberia and Alaska were not glaciated by the great moving ice-sheets, and any Polar ice-sheets descending on all sides from the Pole would not allow these countries to escape from its advance. Some time ago, Dr Croll proposed a theory of the Glacial Period, in which he endeavoured to show that astronomical changes connected with the earth's movements caused the Ice-Age. This theory, however, must be abandoned; for, if it were true, we should meet with traces

of many Glacial Periods in the history of the earth, which is not the case. It is true that geologists have pointed out certain conglomerates and breccias in the older formations, which they fancy are the result of former glacial periods, but all the evidence of palæontology is against this view. There is proof of but *one* great Ice-Age in the earth's history, and this makes its origin a question of the greatest difficulty. Dr Wright well describes the signs of the former working of glaciers and ice-sheets, and shows how their indications, such as boulder clay, scratched stones, and moraines can be observed and identified. The old moraines of these ancient glaciers are developed on a grand scale in North America, and can also be well observed in many parts of Great Britain.

Owing to the advance of the vast sheets of ice, it has been supposed that the drainage systems in Europe and North America were much altered, and lakes are thought to have been formed by the damming back of the streams by glaciers. Not to speak of the famous "parallel roads" of Glen Roy in Scotland, it is in North America that these ancient lake beds may best be observed. For many of these lakes, which were drained at the close of the Glacial Period, rivalled the great lakes of Canada in size. Dr Wright describes most picturesquely Lake Ohio and Lake Agassiz, both of which were of vast size, and were formed by ancient glaciers blocking up river channels. When the Glacial Period was passing away, the blocking glaciers melted, and so the waters of these lakes were drained away.

One of the most interesting portions of Dr Wright's book is that in which he discusses the Antiquity of Man with reference to the Glacial Period. Our author not only endeavours to give the proof of man's age with reference to the Glacial Period, but also tries to estimate that antiquity by years. There does not seem to be any proof that man existed either in Europe or America *before* the Glacial Period (*i.e.*, before the deposition of the boulder clay), and of course he could not live in lands overwhelmed by the great ice-sheets. But when these ice-sheets had attained to their greatest dimensions, man might have lived in lands to the south of the edge of great *Mers-de-glace*. As yet, however, there does not seem to be satisfactory evidence of man's existence at this time. No skulls or bones of this age can be said with certainty to have been discovered, and only a few rough flints have been found in the gravels of the period. These may or may not have been made by human hands, and they form too precarious a foundation on which to build the theory that man lived when the great ice-sheets were covering millions of square miles in Europe and in North America. But when the Glacial Period was fast passing away, and when the continental ice-sheets had shrunk up into local mountain glaciers, Man was certainly present both in Europe and in North America, and his



remains are found in many bone-caves in England, France, and Germany, and also in those of North America. Man lived then in these countries alongside of animals, many of which have become extinct, such as the *Mammoth*, the *Mastodon*, the *Machairodus*, and the *Urus*. In addition to these, the rhinoceros, musk-ox, hippopotamus, and reindeer were hunted by man; and in South America he was contemporaneous with gigantic sloths and monstrous carnivora. Man in this Post-Glacial time has been named "Palæolithic Man" because he used only *rude* stone weapons, whereas his successors in the next age are termed "Neolithic Men," because their weapons were of *ground* and *polished* stone. There is no satisfactory evidence that Man existed before the Glacial Period, and as he appeared on earth only when the Glacial Period proper had passed away, it is necessary, if we would estimate the Antiquity of Man, to ascertain how long ago the Glacial Period came to an end. In England, such geologists as Professor Prestwich and Mr Mackintosh have concluded from the small amount of erosion done by streams in glacial beds, and from the rate of ice-movement, that the Glacial Period closed at a comparatively recent date. In North America, however, Dr Wright informs us that it is possible to be more precise, and he gives some most ingenious calculations founded upon the rate at which waterfalls are cutting back their channels, the excavation of which began when the retreat of the ice-sheets permitted the rivers to commence their work of erosion. The Falls of Niagara, the raised beaches on Lake Michigan, and the Falls of St Anthony may all be called "glacial chronometers," and from an examination of them, Dr Wright concludes that the Glacial Period in North America came to an end not more than 8000 years ago. The same result may—roughly speaking—be accepted for Europe, as the Ice-Age in the two continents was contemporaneous. Hence the conclusion is reached that Man has not, so far as geology shows, existed on the earth for more than 8000 years. This is certainly a startling conclusion in face of the very different theories of man's antiquity which are often put forward.

The Glacial Period is a great mystery, and has given rise to an extraordinary amount of controversy. It is difficult to account for the origin of these great ice-sheets, and equally difficult to imagine that they could excavate valleys and carve out lake basins, and much patient investigation will be needed before the mystery can be fully explained. Meanwhile, we thank Dr Wright for a very readable book on this difficult subject. Its style is clear, its illustrations admirable, and its moderate price puts it within reach of all readers. The Biblical student will also find it full of interest, especially as regards the extreme views current on the Antiquity of Man.

D. GATH WHITLEY.

## Der Verkehr des Christen mit Gott im Anschluss an Luther dargestellt.

Von Dr W. Herrmann, Professor im Marburg. Zweite gänzlich umgearbeitete Auflage. Stuttgart: Cotta. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 282. Price, M. 4.50.

PROFESSOR HERRMANN of Marburg is one of the most influential representatives of the reigning Ritschlian tendency in Germany, and the book before us is perhaps the most characteristic product of that tendency which has yet appeared. On this account, apart from its other merits, it deserves attentive consideration. Professor Herrmann is probably the disciple of Ritschl who keeps nearest to the lines of the master, but none the less he has a distinctive standpoint, and develops his thoughts with marked independence and originality. His chief early work, published in 1879, was that entitled *Die Religion im Verhältniss zum Welterkennen und zur Sittlichkeit* ("The Relation of Religion to the Knowledge of the World and to Morality"), which may be said to lay the scientific foundations of his system. In this work, on the basis of a theory of knowledge and a practical philosophy essentially Kantian, he contends that the deepest thing in man is his feeling of self (*Selbstgefühl*), to which religion and morality are alike related as means. It is the practical impulse—the claim for this satisfaction of self—which yields the idea of a world-whole. Religion is needed to unite the two spheres—the natural and the moral—through the idea of God. God, on this theory, does not hold an original, but only an accessory and secondary relation to the soul. It follows that perfect certitude of His existence, and above all, actual communion with Him, can only be grounded on external revelation. These thoughts are not prominent in Herrmann's later works, but are far from being retracted by him, and need to be kept in view for the proper understanding of his standpoint. His recent writings have all one keynote—the origin of faith, the ground of Christian certainty, the source of communion with God, the experience of redemption, in the fact of Christ's historical appearance, and the revelation of God made to us in Him. It is this also which forms the subject of the present work.

The first edition of the "*Verkehr*" was published in 1886, and was speedily exhausted. The present edition is much more than a reprint of the former. It is enlarged by nearly eighty pages. Its divisions are recast, and a great part of the text has been re-written. The principal changes are in the first part, treating of Mysticism, which now forms a division by itself, and in the second and third divisions of the old edition, now combined as chap. iii. of the new.

Internally, the new edition is marked by some abatement of the keen polemical tone which gave offence to opponents in the old, and by the attempt to remove objections by ampler explanations. Some passages which struck us as significant in the older edition have disappeared, and in their place a good deal of new matter is incorporated, parts of which are also highly suggestive.

It may be said at once that the "*Verkehr*" is not an easy book to read. This does not arise from any special difficulty in the language, which is clear and nervous throughout, but is due partly to the novel and paradoxical character of the thoughts—it must be added, to their frequent indefiniteness and lack of internal cohesion—and partly to a most tantalising absence of method in the treatment. Within the limits of his main divisions, and often in disregard of them, Professor Herrmann roams about with a supreme freedom in the discussion of his subjects, doubles again and again on his own thoughts, is unceasing in the iteration of his leading ideas, and generally has as many turnings and windings in his course as the river Mississippi. It is much to say for the book that, notwithstanding these faults of method, it seldom loses its hold upon the reader, but rather impresses him cumulatively with a sense of its pervading forcefulness and vitality.

It will be the simplest plan in this notice, without attempting to follow it in all its windings, to give a general account of the book, then to state what seems necessary to be said upon it in the way of criticism.

In the Introduction (pp. 1-12), after a well-deserved tribute to the revivifying influence of Ritschl on theology, Herrmann goes on to show that the great question of the hour is how to bring back those to Christianity who, to their own great spiritual impoverishment, and that of their age, have become estranged from it. The cause of their estrangement is that they have lost faith in the presuppositions on which the old theology rested. Two ways are open in dealing with this evil: either, first, to seek a new grounding for these presuppositions (the authority of the Word of God, &c.), which have hitherto been regarded as indispensable for becoming a Christian; or, second, to discover some new way of access to the Gospel which can dispense with these presuppositions. The latter is Ritschl's method. If we ask what personal Christianity is, all Christians will agree in the answer: it is "a '*Verkehr*' (intercourse, converse, communion) of the soul with the living God mediated through Christ" (p. 5). This is the point on which Christians are fundamentally at one; they can never be got to agree about a sum of doctrines. The first and most important task of theology, therefore, is to investigate the nature of this "*Verkehr*," or manner of the intercourse of the Christian with God (p. 9), for it is on differ-

ences of view on this subject that all other differences will be found to depend. This defines the problem of the book.

The body of the book is divided into three chapters, the first, entitled "The Opposition of the Christian Religion to Mysticism," dealing with what this "Verkehr" of the Christian with God is *not*; the remaining two, headed respectively, "The Converse (intercourse) of God with Us," and "Our Converse (intercourse) with God," dealing with the positive aspects of the "Verkehr." It will be seen that this term "Verkehr" is a difficult one to translate precisely. It is a strong term, and withal an unusual one in this connection. It means more than communion (*Gemeinschaft*), and gives the idea of familiar, intimate, actual intercourse between God and man. We shall see as we proceed how far Professor Herrmann's theology actually provides for such intercourse.

The first chapter is on "The Opposition of the Christian Religion to Mysticism" (pp. 13-43), and here we come on one of the most characteristic positions of the book, and of Ritschl's theology. It has hitherto been the belief of nearly all that religion has in it a mystical element—that a direct experimental contact between God and the soul—direct communion with his Spirit—is of the very nerve and essence of religion. This, however, according to Ritschl and Professor Herrmann (and quite in the line of their philosophical presuppositions), is an entire mistake, and even a pernicious error. Direct inward communion with God is an illusion. There is but one way of intercourse with God, and that is through the historical manifestation of God in Jesus Christ eighteen hundred years ago. Herrmann rightly puts his treatment of this point at the beginning of his book, for it is here at the outset we must come to an understanding with his theory of religion and of Christianity. He does not deny that in the life of the soul in religion there is something mysterious and incommunicable, or that its intercourse with God through Christ is attended by excitations of feeling. But he does deny that in any way God is immediately present to it in these experiences—otherwise than in the objective historical manifestation. The opposite view—that which admits the possibility of a direct access of God to the soul, and our immediate communion with Him here and now—he repudiates as Mysticism, and brands as the Catholic type of piety. Its vice is, that it does not bind up intercourse with God indissolubly with the Person of the historical Christ, but regards Christ and positive Christianity as only means to the attainment of a higher stage of communion with God; therefore, as something which may be dispensed with when this higher stage is reached. It is "a particular form of religion, namely, a piety which feels the historical in the positive religions to be a burden, and casts it off" (p. 18). With much that

Herrmann says in criticism of this Catholic type of piety which belittles the historical it is possible to agree; but it is surely practicable to correct this over-driving of mysticism in the Catholic Church without going to the opposite extreme, and denying *all* immediate intercourse of the soul with God. Herrmann, however, will hear of no *via media*. He will cut out mysticism from religion root and branch. He acknowledges, indeed, that mysticism sets before it the true aim when it seeks God Himself, not merely the gifts of God (p. 20). This is its attraction. But the question is, "Whether it seeks God as a Christian ought to seek Him, and whether the God it thinks to find is the living God of our faith" (p. 21). The question thus returns to the real nature of the "Verkehr."

The second chapter of the book, accordingly, deals with the manner of "God's Converse (intercourse) with Us" (pp. 44-162). The answer to this question, repeated in every variety of expression throughout the chapter, is that the intercourse of God with us is only through the historical personality of Jesus Christ. God can only be known to us on the ground of a revelation of Himself. But a doctrine about God would not serve this purpose. A doctrine could only tell us how we ought to represent God to ourselves. The certainty that God is actually present with us can only be given through a *fact*. "Now we Christians think that we know only one fact in the whole world which could do that, viz., the historical appearance of Jesus handed down to us in the New Testament. Our certainty of God roots itself in the fact that, in the historical domain to which we ourselves belong, we meet with the man Jesus as something undoubtedly real. Since Jesus raises us to fellowship with God, He becomes to us the Christ. The confession that Jesus is the Christ is the genuine Christian confession. But it means, rightly understood, nothing else than this, that through the man Jesus we are for the first time taken up into a true fellowship with God" (p. 47). The certainty of this fact, according to Herrmann, rests on its own immediate evidence. He will not allow it—and this is the next important point to be noticed—to rest in any degree on historical evidence. "It is impossible that religious conviction should depend on a historical judgment" (p. 57), which at best could only give probability. Therefore it is not to be allowed to rest on historical grounds at all. It has "nothing to do with a historical judgment" (p. 57). We cannot believe on the testimony of others—even of apostles (p. 64). This is a point laboured at great length, and returned to again and again in the course of the volume. Connected with it is the idea that faith is not a product of our own decision, but springs from the overmastering impression (Eindruck) we receive from Christ, which compels submission (pp.

29, 46, 57, 174, 177, 183, &c.). Instead of "believe all," "the man who will be saved must rather say, believe nothing but that which the fact you see forces you to believe" (p. 66). More precisely, it is "the inner life" of Jesus, conveyed to us by the historical tradition, which exercises upon us this irresistible power. What, then, is the content of this "impression" we receive from Christ? The connection of thoughts here is the following:—First, as respects Jesus himself, we are compelled to recognise in Him, not only the highest of those who have joyfully suffered for the sake of the good, but one who in no wise fell short of the ideal for which He offered Himself up—a perfectly sinless being. "He is Himself not less than His knowledge and His words" (p. 72). The proof of Christ's sinlessness Herrmann rather originally connects with the words at the Last Supper (p. 70). Next, we see in Christ one who is confident of His power to put men in possession of their highest good, which is another name for the Kingdom of God. But by the Kingdom of God Christ means that God rules in the hearts of men and in their intercourse one with another. And this can only be brought about if, through the impression produced upon them by His personality, there is awakened in them unreserved trust in God, and, in consequence of this, pure love to one another (pp. 73-75). Again, we have to inquire, what is it in the impression which produces this result? And we are told (1) it is the irresistible conviction wrought in us of "a Power over all things" working in and with Jesus for the victory of the good (pp. 75-6, 89, &c.). "Jesus has grounded in us, through the fact of His personal life, a certainty of God superior to every doubt" (p. 75). (2) Since Jesus, through whom this power, i.e., God, is made certain and apprehensible to us, shows Himself friendly to those who feel themselves estranged from God, we gain the conviction that His God is our God, and are lifted into the domain of the love of God (p. 77). "God so enters into this intercourse with us, that He at the same time thereby forgives our sins" (p. 77). (3) Finally, if through this fact of the working of Christ's Person upon us we have come to know that God reveals Himself to us, and turns His love upon us, then the world also is thereby changed to us (p. 97). These things cannot be proved. "We can only show how a man is inwardly transformed if he, in the influence of the Person of Jesus upon him, finds and understands the intercourse ('Verkehr') of God" (p. 98). The chapter goes on to warn of the danger of substituting for this immediate impression of God in Christ ready-made doctrines of the Godhead of Christ and of the atonement, and endeavours to show what place remains for these doctrines in the new theology.

The third chapter, on "Our Converse with God" (pp. 163-282),

must be touched on very briefly. As God draws near to us in Christ, so do we open up our hearts to Him in prayer. But prayer, if it is not to be a mere cry of anguish, must attach itself to the fact that God turns Himself towards us in Christ. It has thus its source in faith in the historical revelation (pp. 163-64). As respects the nature of prayer, we are told later that it is not an asking for earthly blessings. Its peculiar effect is in relieving us of our burden through the trust in God which it calls forth (pp. 267-68). The ground-traits of Christian piety generally are deducible from the way in which God appears to us and works upon us in Christ. We are thus brought back again to the "Eindruck" and to faith, and long discussions ensue as to whether faith is a human work (pp. 174-83), as to the historicity of the Gospel narratives (pp. 183-87), the question of miracles (pp. 187-92), the relation of faith to doctrines, &c. Our space will not permit us to follow in detail the exposition of the various aspects of Christian piety. Very interesting, and likewise very instructive, from the Ritschlian point of view, is the discussion in pp. 236-41 of the relation of Christian piety to faith in the exalted Christ, and the hope of a future vision of Christ, "otherwise than in the glass of history, and with eyes looking out from the midst of the earthly struggle" (p. 240). Yet that Christ "lives and rules" is held by Herrmann to be only a "thought of faith," springing from the peculiar relation of Christ to God, and not to be based on any such fact as the Resurrection (pp. 236-39). It is expressly laid down that "of any intercourse with the exalted Christ there can be no mention" (p. 238). In this chapter, also, are found Herrmann's views on the new birth, the Church, and similar topics.

It will be readily acknowledged, even by those who most disagree with Professor Herrmann, that in the work thus imperfectly sketched there is much that is true, valuable, fresh, and strikingly put. As a protest against an excessive intellectualism in religion, a hard and dry orthodoxy, and a sentimental pietism, which loses the historical in its concentration on inward feelings and experiences, it has its real uses. But Herrmann is not content with this. His book is a most unsparing polemic against the old theology. No system satisfies him. He holds all alike to be on wrong foundations. The work of theology has to be done *de novo* from the standpoint of faith in Christ, as he describes it. In this work of reconstruction he will call no man master, not even Luther—whose name he puts on his title-page—not even the apostles. There is no gain in turning from the Pope to the apostles (p. 30). If the present work is "im Anschluss an Luther," he is careful to explain that it is not Luther the scholastic, but Luther the reformer to whom he attaches himself (p. 131, cf. p. 37). With his sturdy individualism, it would

have been better and more consistent if he had dropped the reference to Luther altogether. The boldness of these claims—to use no stronger term—compels one to apply a somewhat strict measure to Herrmann's new religious position and theology. We will not delay on his polemic against the old mode of conceiving Christianity ; nor will we wait to ask whether he always fairly represents the old theology which he assails, or whether many of his complaints against it would not apply as well to the theology of the New Testament. But a few criticisms may be offered by way of testing how far his own reading of Christianity can make good its claim to exclusive worth.

1. Our first point of criticism relates to that which is the basis of the whole system—the fact of the historic personality of Jesus. It is easy to see, from the way in which he labours the point, how embarrassed Herrmann is with his extraordinary paradox of a faith in a historical revelation which is yet to rest on no historical grounds. It is possible, of course, to point out many reasons for belief in the general historicity of the Gospel narratives (pp. 53-60, &c.). But these are mentioned only to be discarded as the ground of faith, or any part of it. It is the immediate experience of the power of Christ's inner life which alone is to convince us. But applying this subjective test, we have soon occasion to ask : Are our feet really on rock, or on quicksand ? For, first, we learn that the faith born from this source is to be compatible with the freest treatment of the evangelical narratives by the historical critic (p. 60). Next, it is to be compatible with the rejection of everything in the narrative of the nature of "miracle,"—the supernatural birth, the miracles of the ministry, the resurrection, &c. (pp. 64, 83, 190-99),—and one merit of it, apparently, in Herrmann's view, is that it is so. Finally, it is to be unaffected even if historical inquiry should resolve the bulk of the Gospel history into legend (pp. 66, 191). "For such an one the chief fact would remain as for us" (p. 66). It is evident, when all this is conceded, how little remains to us in the way of sure historical fact—how exceedingly vague the impression of a Personality must be which comes to us from behind all these clouds ! Yet on this, according to Herrmann, our certainty of God, of salvation, of the future, of everything of value in religion, is to depend ! We fancy the doubter will rub his eyes in wonder at this view of the irrefragable basis of *fact* laid for his faith !

2. Our second point of criticism relates to Herrmann's attitude on the subject of doctrine. Doctrines of any kind he will have none of till a man has first been laid hold of and redeemed by the immediate overmastering power of the impression which Christ makes upon him. Doctrines originate *within* the intercourse with God to



✓ which Jesus raises us (p. 36). Then they develop in an inexhaustible fulness of "thoughts of faith" (pp. 6, 36). We will not discuss at present the soundness of this contention, though its one-sidedness, we should imagine, is very apparent. We only desire to ask: How, on his own showing, can Herrmann escape the charge of boundless subjectivity in theology? It is not clear, indeed, how on his basis, we can get a theology at all. Everything swims in such vagueness, in such generality; we are not allowed to attach ourselves to words or thoughts of others, even of apostles; everyone, apparently, must be left to himself to develop his "thoughts of faith" in his own way,—always, however, with the proviso that they are to be on the Ritschlian pattern; none is at liberty to sit in judgment on his neighbour. Herrmann's only answer is: "If still an opponent appears with the reproach that we dissolve Christianity into the subjective, it can only be supposed that for him Jesus is nothing objective" (p. 37). But this answer is valueless so soon as it is conceded that Jesus for each individual is the subjective impression which Jesus makes on that individual. Herrmann, indeed, has analysed the "*Verkehr*," but who will guarantee that his analysis will be accepted by others as correct, or that the development of their "thoughts of faith" will be on the same lines as his own? Herrmann's theology, in short, lands us in a new case of "*Homo Mensura*," and with so subjective a basis, and the entire absence of a controlling standard, it could not be otherwise.

3. Our third point of criticism relates to Herrmann's repudiation of the mystical in religion, and his doctrine of the "*Verkehr*." This is perhaps the strangest of the strange paradoxes of Herrmann's system, and has some startling consequences. (1) It leaves unexplained revelation in Christ Himself. For if God has no direct access to the souls of men—can only approach them, as it were, from without—how was revelation possible in the case of Christ? (2) It isolates Christ from past revelation. Especially it leaves unexplained Old Testament revelation. Herrmann in this second edition makes an attempt to deal with this difficulty. He will not deny that Israel had a revelation of some sort, but only says: "The facts which wrought on them as revelations of God have no more this power for us" (p. 49). But have they not? Is there no revelation of God for us still in the voices of psalmists and prophets, or in the wondrous history of the chosen people? (3) It not less isolates Christ from His people, alike in His relation of fellowship with God and in the manifestation of the presence and power of God through Him. We had been wont to conceive of Christ's Sonship—of the new relation to God exemplified in His Person—as the type of ours. But it cannot be so on Herrmann's principles. Moreover, if it is the impression we receive of the

presence and love of God in Christ which alone makes Him a revelation of God to us, is Herrmann right in saying that this revelation is altogether confined to Christ? Have we not all known lives, to be near which was to feel that God was present? This, however, only leads up to the crucial point at which issue must ultimately be joined with Herrmann's theory—the point, namely, of the real nature of this "Verkehr" of the Christian with God. And here it must be contended, in opposition to his view, that, say what he will, a converse with God which is only the realisation of a revelation given to the world in Christ eighteen hundred years ago is no real converse with God *now*, such as the soul aspires after, and such as we believe the religion of Christ gives. Herrmann's own words here may judge his theory. "We can only speak of an intercourse with God, if we are certain that God perceptibly speaks to us, but also that He perceives our speech, and has regard to it in His working upon us" (p. 44). How, we ask, is this condition fulfilled if God's only means of communication with us is through the historic appearance of Jesus long centuries ago? What, besides, does Herrmann understand by God's action upon us in response to our speech to him? Is this action wholly external? Is there no direct touch of spirit by spirit? Or if there is, is it not perceptible—does it never rise into the region of consciousness? Again, he says: "Only in the prayer kindled through this experience can the Christian be certain that God perceives him, and answers him in the movement of his heart" (p. 164)? Does not this touch the borders of the mystical? But in truth Herrmann's pages abound with expressions which have no appropriateness, unless on that very theory of a direct contact between God and the soul which he rejects. Yet, when we come to press them, they are found to mean no more than the action upon us of the historical Christ (p. 264).

4. We should have liked, had space permitted, to have glanced at Herrmann's attitude to one or two special doctrines in theology—particularly the doctrine of the Deity of Christ, and the satisfaction doctrine. The doctrine of Christ's "Godhead" Herrmann retains in name, but apparently only in the sense that His Person is to us a revelation of God (pp. 98-102, 112, &c.), though it is to be admitted that higher elements are implied in his confession of Christ as exalted. But it is left in great ambiguity how one, who apparently is recognised as only man, should yet be honoured and worshipped as God. On the atonement doctrine, it need scarcely be said that Herrmann rejects the orthodox view of satisfaction, yet there are one or two most significant passages, of which we would gladly have had fuller explanation, in which the necessity for some sort of satisfaction appears to be recognised. Herrmann is at least emphatic in his rejection of the view—which, he thinks, is

improperly attributed to Ritschl—that the divine forgiveness of sins is a self-evident deduction from the Fatherly love of God (pp. 103-10), and that the Gospel consists simply in the proclamation of this Fatherly love of God (p. 104). Forgiveness is rather, to him who experiences it, “a surprising revelation of love” (p. 205). This is the truth which the old atonement doctrine guards against Rationalism and Socinianism (p. 103). Christ’s relation to it is that of one who, while He dispenses forgiveness, at the same time does all that is necessary to establish the irrefragable right of the moral order of God (p. 108). It is this which gives the understanding of the substitutionary sufferings of Christ. “The believer involuntarily says to himself, in looking back on the work of Jesus, what we should have had to suffer, he suffers” (p. 107). One would like to see more clearly how, without the help of Herrmann’s peculiar ethical theory, these thoughts are immediately deducible from the primary experience, and how their development can be depended on as “thoughts of faith” in others. Above all, one would like to know exactly what they mean.

5. This leads to the final remark, that in the development of his theology, and of his views generally, Herrmann’s philosophical pre-suppositions are a greater co-operating factor than he cares always to allow. There is, indeed, a naïve admission of the fact in various passages of the book, to which, without further quotation, the reader’s attention may be directed (pp. 69, 77, 80, 81). But the same might be shown from an examination of the theology itself.

We believe that a translation of this work is contemplated, and when it appears, it will no doubt give rise to a more thorough discussion of Herrmann’s views on this side of the Channel.

JAMES ORR.

### **Untersuchungen über die äussere Entwicklung der afrikanischen Kirche, mit besonderer Verwertung der archäologischen Funde.**

*Von Dr Alexis Schwartze. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 194. Price, M. 7.*

Few chapters in early ecclesiastical history present more interesting features than those which are concerned with the organisation, progress, and fate of the Christian Church in that northern region of Africa, of which Carthage was the political centre. The strip of land now known as Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco, hemmed in by the Atlas range on the south, and the Mediterranean on the north and

east, was inhabited by a mixture of heterogeneous races. The fierce and undisciplined Numidians and Mauretanians, the chief elements of the population, were themselves of mixed parentage; deriving their blood partly from the prehistoric dolmen-builders, and partly from a Hamitic ancestry related to the people of ancient Egypt. The Phœnician colonists, eminently aristocratic and exclusive in their instincts, and expert in military organisation, were long the dominant race in the eastern regions. Mixed with these, though in smaller numbers, were Jews, Syrians, Greeks, Romans, and Negroes. It was only to be expected that this mass of incoherent elements, which it had taxed the resources of the Roman power to bring into subjection, would exercise a remarkable influence on any movement in which they unitedly took part.

The African Church has scarcely attracted so large a share of the attention of modern ecclesiastical historians as its importance warrants. It was the Church of Tertullian, of Cyprian, and of Augustine. To it we owe the earliest as well as the most definite post-apostolic formulation of the doctrines of grace, of predestination, of free-will, and justification by faith. It was to this Church also that we owe the first clear statement of the fundamental doctrine of High Churchism, the co-extensiveness of the invisible Church with the visible. To Africa we probably are indebted for the first Latin version of the Scriptures. The very heresies of this Church were characterised by a sternness of exclusivism, and they contrast strongly with the compromise heresies of earlier and contemporary Christianity elsewhere. The history is one of suffering and sorrow, written for many years in the blood of saints, whose memorials form a precious chapter in Christian martyrology. Such a Church is well worthy of a careful and critical study.

Dr Schwartz has therefore chosen an interesting theme for his essay, and he has produced a monograph in most respects worthy of such a suggestive subject. He has evidently made himself master of the materials of the history, documentary and epigraphic; and has presented the results of this literary labour in a form which is concise and clear, though largely dealing with matters of detail.

A history which specially deals with the knowledge gained from inscriptions must, of necessity, be little better than a skeleton. As such, it is of incalculable value, for it gives us names, dates, and contemporary records of facts. When the available material is, as in the case before us, chiefly derived from fragmentary necropolitan relics, it is hard to prevent its being dry and disconnected. But although there is in this work something of the inflexibility and discursiveness, inseparable from the nature of the material, yet Dr Schwartz has infused much of the spirit which animated the living Church into the bones on which his history is based.

The scope of his study is limited to the history of the development of the external organisation of the Church through its five centuries of existence, illustrated by notes on the persons whose commemorative inscriptions are quoted. So far as this limitation of range goes, the author has done his work well, and he has shown an intimate acquaintance with the great three-volume monograph of the Jesuit Morcelli, *Africa Christiana*, and he has studied to good purpose the other and more modern sources of knowledge on African epigraphy. The doctrinal developments which arose in the African Church do not come within the scope of his work, so they are passed by unnoticed; but there is room for an additional section dealing with the examination of the environing forces, internal and external, which influenced the Church in the course of its growth; and an estimate of the relative effects of these several forces in moulding its character.

We have no monumental, and but little documentary evidence as to the route along which the doctrines of Christianity made their way to the northern part of Africa. Accordingly, Dr Schwartz passes over this subject with a scanty notice, only raising the question of a possibly Pauline origin for the African Church, but he shows a disposition to discredit the tradition of any apostolic beginning. The Apostle is supposed to have evangelised Spain, as he proposed to do in his Epistle to the Romans (xv. 28). He may have crossed into Tingitana, but as that district was, ecclesiastically, the most backward in North Africa, it is scarcely probable that it was the cradle of the Church.

The earlier African fathers knew nothing of any apostolic origin for the Church in their land; and it is not until a comparatively late date that we find any such claim made. Nicephorus Callistus states in his history (ii. 40) that the Apostle, Simon the zealot, preached in Libya, but it is not at all improbable that the notion originated from a confusion in the mind of that inaccurate historian between Simon the zealot and Simon the Cyrenian. In the sixth century, the Numidian bishops, writing to Pope Pelagius II., claimed that they derived their authority from St Peter; and a similar view seems also to have been held by Salvianus Massiliensis, from his statement, *quam quondam doctrinis suis apostoli instituerant*. The want of foundation for such an opinion was pointed out long ago by Stephanus Baluzius. Tertullian explicitly states that the North African Church had received both its gospel and its church organisation from Rome, *unde evangelium ad ipsam Africam venit*, and, *unde nobis quoque auctoritas praesto est*.

There are two passages in the writings of St Augustine which seem to point to an eastern source for Numidian Christianity, but it is not impossible that both these opinions may be historically

correct. There were natives of the parts of Libya about Cyrene at the Pentecostal sermon of St Peter, and these may have brought the tidings of the Gospel to their homes. It may thence have spread through Tripolitana; but this is unlikely; for we find in later days that this region was sparsely supplied with churches, as if it were the fringe of evangelisation rather than its thoroughfare.

On the other hand, when we remember the close maritime connection of Rome with Carthage, we cannot doubt that, of the Jews expelled by Claudius, and later, by Nero, from Rome, some would find their way to Africa and bring with them the doctrines of the new sect. At any rate it is more than probable that the first systematic union of African believers into an organised church took place under Italian influence. Certainly both Diognetus and Irenæus were acquainted with the existence of a Church in Africa, as they make specific reference to the preaching of the Gospel there.

If we may believe South European testimony, the moral state of this region was one of extreme degradation when the Gospel reached Africa. Salvianus testifies that while every other nation has some redeeming virtue, he knows nothing in Africa which is not evil. There is, however, some tincture of polemic bitterness in his judgment, for, speaking of the state of Africa after it had received the gospel, he says, *exceptis enim paucissimis Dei servis, quid fuit totum Africæ territorium quàm domus una vitiorum, cæneo illi similis de quo dicit propheta?*

In the first section of his work, Dr Schwartzé gives a brief sketch of the successive changes in the political divisions of Africa from the close of the second Punic war to the ultimate overthrow of the Roman power. The provinces varied at different times in number, as well as in boundaries, and the subordinate dioceses also varied; diocese being one of the many terms which the Church has taken over from ancient political nomenclature. These alterations have some importance after the second century, as the ecclesiastical districts bore certain, though not always definite, relations to the political divisions. In this part Schwartzé follows Marquardt and Pallu de Lessert, but quotes some inscriptions which have escaped the notice of other authors.

In the second section, and as briefly, he traces the growth of the subdivisions of the territory of the early Christian Church. The first record of the Church in its corporate capacity is the assembling of seventy bishops in Carthage under the presidency of Agrippinus in A.D. 197 to discuss the validity of baptism administered by heretics. In referring to this, Morcelli considers that, as these bishops are said to have come from Proconsular Africa and Numidia, it was therefore a synod of two provinces, Mauretania, the third province,

being excluded (ii. 47); but Schwartz favours the view that the language of Cyprian in speaking of this convocation (*ad Quint. epist. 71*) refers really to the political rather than to the Church divisions. It is also significant that in A.D. 240 the synod which assembled at Lambasis to condemn Privatus, the heretical bishop of that place, had its judgment reversed by Donatus, Bishop of Carthage (Cyprian, *ad Cornelium*, 55). There seems, therefore, at that time to have been no strict delimitation of ecclesiastical provinces, and the synods were at first presbyterial gatherings, under permanent moderators, with interim executive powers.

By the middle of the third century the three political divisions, Proconsular Africa, Numidia, and Mauretania, were recognised as independent ecclesiastical provinces. A hundred years later there were seven Church provinces recognised in North Africa, including Sardinia and the Balearic Islands, but excluding Tingitana, which was reckoned as belonging to Spain. In summing up these various changes, Schwartz for the most part follows Morcelli, but in some details he differs on monumental evidence.

The third section is devoted to tracing the epigraphic remains of the African Church in its territorial distribution. The richness of North Africa in inscriptions has been shown in the works of Beulé, De Rossi, and many others. Our own Bruce, the Abyssinian traveller, had noted this abundance of historic remains, as we learn from the interesting work of Col. Playfair, "Travels in the Foot-steps of Bruce."

The monumental history of the African Church begins in the early years of the third century, and Dr Schwartz discusses successively the Christian inscriptions as they occur in each province. As might have been expected the memorials of early Christianity are most interesting, although not most numerous, in Proconsular Africa. In Zeugitana, its northern division, Carthage was situated, with at least twenty churches. Its cathedral was the *Restituta Church*, and Schwartz favours the opinion of Delattre in identifying it with the *Basilica major*, in which were the tombs of the martyrs Felicitas and Perpetua. Of the many hundred monuments published by Delattre and others, the important ones are selected and their inscriptions reproduced. Most of the early Christians bore Latinised names, but there are some truly African like Jugurtha and Medden. The bodies are found in graves, or in sarcophagi of stone, or of earthenware. In one cemetery in Lepti minus broken bones were found in great urns of terra cotta.

Christian inscriptions are most numerous in the Province of Numidia, which included many important seats of early Christian Churches such as Cedia, Cirta, Aquæ Cæsaris, Theveste, Hippo Regius, many of which localities occupied a prominent place in the

history of the Donatist heresy. It was in Numidia that the first martyr in Africa suffered for Christ, but of him, Namphamo of Madaura, no monument has been found. There are, however, inscriptions from Hamâscha near Aquæ Caesaris commemorating some of those who are mentioned by Maximus as his fellow-martyrs. Of these Miggin, Stiddin, and Mettun likewise bore Punic names. These suffered about A.D. 180; not unlikely about the same time as Speratus and his companions the martyrs of Scili. Of these and others, too numerous to note, the author has collected the existing memorials. Dr Schwartz has made a careful study of the data with regard to the chronology of these martyrs, but has elicited nothing to alter the conclusion arrived at by Görres (*Jahrbücher f. protest. Theol.*, x. 261). The materials of the history have also been considered by Neumann (*Der römische staat. u. d. allgemeine Kirche*, i. p. 77. See also *Zeitsch. f. wiss. Theologie*, xxiv., 1881, p. 382). Monumental evidences of the Christian Church also exist, but more sparingly, in Mauretania, becoming fewer as we travel westward.

The last and longest section of the monograph deals with the history of the period of the persecutions as illustrated by the monuments, and incidentally the successive changes in the attitude of the State towards the Church are also considered. The numerous relics of these troublous times are passed in review. The author follows in detail the several periods of persecution, examining their respective dates and durations as shown by the monuments. The section on the great Valerian persecution contains a reference to the martyrdom of Cyprian, and of the numerous martyrs of Numidia who suffered at that time. The breathing-space of peace in the days of Gallienus, and the attitude of that emperor towards Christianity, are next considered. The great Diocletian persecution, which raged furiously in Africa, is the subject of a careful and judicious study. The author examines the evidence as to the causation of that outburst, and although he is reviewing a well-trodden field, yet he surveys it in a fresh and interesting manner, and gives a clear and concise statement as to the circumstances which led to the successive edicts. The records of this persecution are considered in detail, and the epigraphic references to it are traced over the several provinces at length. The edict of Galerius, which is preserved by Eusebius (viii. 17), introduces us to another period, one of rest from imperial persecution, but, as the local historical records show us, the troubles of the Christians did not yet end with this cessation. The zeal of the Christians in destroying monuments of idolatry frequently brought them into collision with their heathen neighbours. St Augustine gives us instances of this kind, such as the episode at Sufes, where sixty Christians, while



they were engaged in destroying an image of Hercules, lost their lives in a conflict with their fellow-countrymen.

The period of Vandal domination, which succeeded to that of Rome, is next passed in review, and the monumental evidences of the sufferings of the Catholic Church at the hands of the Arian invaders are dealt with. This portion of the history is very carefully revised, although the inscriptions of this time are neither as numerous nor as suggestive as those of the period of Roman domination. Such as they are, they are of a certain amount of value, but Dr Schwartze is not able to add much to the sum of our knowledge as already set forth in the writings of Papencordt, Dahn, Pötsch, and Stadler v. Wolffensgrün. The attitudes of the several Vandal kings to the Catholic Church are set forth, and the monumental and historical records of most of the persecutions, especially those under Hunerich, are taken notice of. Some few details, such as the Manichæan persecution in that reign, are unnoticed, but otherwise the successive incidents are followed with painful accuracy and minuteness, and the history is carried down to the final destruction of the Christian Church by the Saracen invasion of A.D. 646.

Dr Schwartze has illustrated his work with figures from various sources of some of the more interesting Christian tombs and altars, and has appended a useful map. Those interested in Church history are indebted to him for a valuable and carefully written contribution to our knowledge of early Christian archæology, and for throwing new light on the progress and sufferings of the African Church.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

### **Das Prophetische Schrifttum. Exegetisch-kritische Studien vorzüglich auf historischer Grundlage.**

*Von Wilhelm Reich. I Band, Jesaias. Wien: Oskar Frank's Nachfolger. 8vo. Pp. 280. Price, M. 5.*

THERE is a good deal of promise in that title. Now, this is how it is fulfilled. In the preface Herr Reich explains his "historische Grundlage" to be three books. "In order to speak of Isaiah, I have placed Herodotus, the father of history, the Book of the Maccabees, and Josephus, the elequent contemporary of the most extraordinary events, as observatories from which a survey of the meaning, the connection and the division of the chapters may be gained—whether in a retrospect upon the historic facts that ran their course in the time of Isaiah, or in a prospect of such as he had foreseen with prophetic eye." The simplicity of this is delightful; but more delightful still is the survey of which the "Introduction" is com-

posed. Here we have a "history" of the contest of Monotheism with the powers of this world. This "history" starts from the wrestle on the banks of the Jabbok, in which Jacob represents faith in the one God, and his Adversary, who sent him limping away, is at last discovered to be none other than "das Heidentum;" for was it not das Heidentum that kept Israel, the bearer of Monotheism, lame and limping throughout the centuries? And "the history" ends with the dispersion of the Jews by the Romans, "the real victory of Monotheism"—and no word is said about Christ or the rise of Christianity. After this, we are prepared for anything in the body of the book, which consists of 277 pages of a running translation, paraphrase, and commentary of all the chapters of Isaiah in succession. The author has read Hitzig and Wellhausen at least, and mixes the little he has learned from them with interesting and sometimes really helpful notes from Jewish commentators, but far oftener with assertions and fancies of his own of no ordinary kind. Some of these are as follows:—In chapter v., King Jotham is the well-beloved that hath a vineyard. In chapter vii., the sign which Jehovah gives Ahaz, and authenticates Isaiah's mission by, is that the young wife of Ahaz—"this young person here who is *enceinte*—shall bear a son and not a daughter!" In chapter xli., 2, *Who raised up tsedeg from the east*, is rendered, "Who caused Jupiter to shine forth in the east?" and paraphrased, "Who has brought from the far east the Zeus-faith?" Chapter lv., "*behandelt die Vorgeschichte der Hellenismus!*" Chapter lxvi., is without doubt by Ezra. No wonder that the author is moved so often to say that the light never shone upon Isaiah till he arose to interpret him. If this be light, how awful was the darkness of the past! Throughout, the author either ignores the Christian interpretation of the prophecies; or he bursts forth with some such curious comparison as this: "In the first chapter of Isaiah all is contained that is of any consequence in the New Testament. What six hundred years previously Isaiah proclaimed in so high and noble a style, taught and fought for, is now hawked about (colportirt) by an upstart Confession as the product of its own genius. For polemical purposes, nothing could turn out better than if one were to place the noble, sublime eloquence of an Isaiah over against the Galilaean idioms of the herald of the new Judaism." This speaks for itself—and for the whole book.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

**Faith and Criticism. Essays by Congregationalists—W. H. Bennett, W. F. Adeney, P. T. Forsyth, E. A. Laurence, R. F. Horton, H. Arnold Thomas, F. H. Stead, E. Armitage, and T. Raleigh.**

*London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 430. Price 6s.*

A CONSIDERABLE importance attaches to this volume. It is the work of representative nonconformists who are associated with the recent onward movement of that body. Their desire by its publication is "to help those very numerous seekers after truth whose minds have been disturbed by the work of criticism in Biblical and Theological questions." The Christian position is considered from various points of view. And while frankly accepting the changes on the form of religion and theological thought that have resulted from the progress of Biblical science, the writers point out how little affected by these the substance of the Christian verity is, and how much is really gained that tends to strengthen belief and impart additional clearness to the contents of revelation. There are traces throughout of the influence of Ritschl's thought on the minds of the writers, and the volume is a sign of the progress in this country of the spirit and theological method of that master. These essays are not, however, professedly theological; they have a practical end in view. And from the intelligent and generous sympathy the writers manifest with all that is progressive in modern thought, and the impassioned conviction that glows in every page of the truth of the Christian religion, it cannot fail to be helpful to those for whom it is intended. A brief outline of each of these papers will give a general idea of the way in which the writers accomplish their object.

The first Essay, on the Old Testament, is by Professor Bennett, and deals with the changes on traditional opinion necessitated by the results of Old Testament criticism. Admitting the loss in certain directions, he holds that the gains far outweigh it. The names of the authors of many of the books must now be admitted to be unknown; but that only shows "that inspiration has been more widely diffused and more continuously bestowed than had been supposed" (p. 13). The old dates of many of the books must be given up, but we are now able to place them in their true environment, and their value for the purpose of instruction has been enhanced. A more serious question is that which relates to the historical worth of certain parts of the Old Testament narrative. The primary interest of the writers of the Bible, it must be remembered, is religion; history is to them just one of many vehicles of conveying religious truth; it need not, therefore, be "other than the kind of history natural to the men, the

times, and the circumstances of the writing" (p. 26). It may be that the narrative of the patriarchs is not real history ("although that is a question that individuals will continue to decide according to their sense of the historical and religious necessities of the case"), but the religious value of their narratives will remain unchanged; "for the importance of such lives as those of Abraham and Daniel does not lie in their being unique historical personages, but in their representing Hebrew ideals, the highest life in Israel" (p. 29). In connection with the restatement of the course of Old Testament history consequent on the modern view of the relation of the Pentateuch to the Prophets, the author remarks that it gives us a "conception of the relation of the law and prophets that will not be unwelcome to the reverent faith of earnest Christians" (p. 35). In summing up the results generally of what has been achieved in Old Testament criticism, he says, "our knowledge does not go back so far in time, nor include so long a list of historical persons and incidents, but our understanding of the method and purpose of revelation has been deepened and extended" (p. 46). The Essay covers a large extent of ground. The points mentioned may suffice to indicate the drift of the reasoning. The whole is eminently thoughtful and suggestive.

Professor Adeney, in the second Essay, pursues the same enquiry in relation to the New Testament. The latest critical researches tend to establish the historicity of the New Testament narratives both in respect to the life of Christ and the age of the apostles. But on this field the problem emerges, how far the existence of diverse types of doctrines in the New Testament, which criticism has placed beyond dispute, affects its binding authority on the faith and conduct. The second and the more interesting half of the Essay is devoted to this topic. The New Testament is authoritative chiefly because it enshrines the Image of Christ. He is the foundation of the authority which it possesses, and the authority of the apostles means much to us in proportion as we believe they were in touch with Christ, and were in possession of His Spirit. Plainly the right of private judgment remains to us in dealing with the writings of the apostles, but the exercise of this right is limited by many considerations, above all by this, that these writings are religious, and "religious excellence can be judged only by people who are experts in religion." We cannot allege on behalf of the teachings of the New Testament an illimitable authority; it is limited by the subject-matter, which is religion. Now that verbal infallibility is given up, there is no rigorous external authority, such as some crave, that shall for ever silence all questioning. There is no unmistakeable and unanswerable court of appeal. The inquiry after an absolute authority is purely academic. The New

Testament aims at practical guidance. "We turn to the truths of this book that we may find in them weapons for this great war with sin and misery, instruments for winning the world to Christ, tools for shaping the ideas and conduct of Christian men and women. If this authority is sufficient to guide our actions in these great concerns, that is all we need; it is all we have in the daily affairs of life" (pp. 90, 91). The author does not apply these main principles to questions of detail, where the importance of them would appear; but he is to be thanked for his honest attempt to vindicate an authority for the New Testament that shall be valid in the religious sphere and for religious ends.

The third Essay, by Mr Forsyth, Leicester, on "Revelation and the Person of Christ," is of special interest for its freshness and originality of treatment. It aims at a full statement of the modern conception of the nature of revelation, as consisting not in a communication of truths, but in a personal manifestation, in a historic fact, the revelation in Christ "of the love, will, presence, and purpose of God for redemption." False ideas of revelation are due, on the one hand, to the false emphasis laid on book religion. "The Bible is not the true *object* of faith, but the *product* of the Church's faith in Christ. It is the echo of the revelation repeated, and in a sense even enhanced, among the hills and valleys of the redeemed inspired soul" (p. 106). If infallibility be carried beyond Christ, if it be not confined to Him, and to Him in His direct equipment for redemption, there is no logical halting-place till we arrive at the Vatican Decrees" (p. 106). The other false idea of revelation is idealism or mysticism, where the affections of the individual or the ideas of a school supersede the historic Christ as the Voice of the Living God, and where the echo of Christ's influence is turned into the criterion of His revelation. This is the virtual denial of revelation. The key to the knowledge of God's revelation is given to us in the conscious experience of the work of Christ. There is no real knowledge of Christ except that which consists of the experience of what He does. The essayist pleads for a Deity of Christ that stands upon, and is interpreted to us by our personal experience of Him and of His forgiving work on man. The technical theology of the "two natures in one person" is useless. Christ's Person can be understood by us only religiously, by His effect in experience, through the sense of the Godhead we have when we experience the redeeming will of God operative upon us when we believe in Him. It will be seen that, in identifying the Person with the work of Christ, and limiting our knowledge of Him to what we learn from the effects upon us of His work, the author agrees with a fundamental position of the school of Ritschl. But I must add that this essay contains abundant refutation of the

charge of Socinianism that is sometimes brought against the followers of that school. We could not have stronger statements than we have here of the Godhead of our Lord, of the uniqueness of His experience, of His entire unlikeness to others in the possession of qualities that constitute Him the object of worship. Indeed, we are at a loss to see how the author can, consistently with expressions he uses on the subject, maintain at the same time the integrity of Christ's humanity, and the reality of His human obedience. For example, he regards the union of Christ with God not as metaphysical, but as moral and religious, bringing it thus within the sphere of our understanding ; while at the same time he denies that it was in any sense achieved by His obedience, or that it deepened or became more intimate with His progress in holiness, thereby relegating it to the region of mystery. The essay furnishes abundant food for thought, and is written in a spirit of religious earnestness that makes it an edifying piece of reading.

In the fourth Essay, on "Christ and the Christian," Mr Eric A. Laurence undertakes to trace the beginning and progress of Christian experience—that is, of conscious life in Christ. The fundamental element in Christian experience is the recognition of the authority of Christ and submission to His will. Out of that germ of life there unfold themselves all other features,—the sense of sin and of the need of reconciliation, filial confidence, the growing conviction of a gracious power at work within us, and a deepening sense of union with God. One is at a loss to know whether in his analysis the author is setting forth the logical order of things or an actual process of life. The latter seems to be intended. But then, may we not ask, Does the Christian life begin with an abstract apprehension of the authority of Christ? Is it not in the apprehension of the Truth and Goodness and Redeeming Power of Christ that His authority is in point of fact recognised? And if so, then must not the sense of sin in one form or another be present in the earliest experiences of the soul's contact with Christ, as well as other elements that are viewed by Mr Laurence as entering at a later stage?

Mr Horton's Essay on the "Atonement" follows, and will be felt by some to be disappointing. It is clear in expression and devout in tone, as everything is that comes from his pen. His contention is, that while beyond all doubt it is the teaching of Scripture that the Death of Christ is the objective ground of pardon and reconciliation with God, the fact admits of no explanation. No theory of the connection between the two things is adequate. The authors of the New Testament writings have no theory. The mistake of theologians has been that they have gone on the idea that the New Testament has a decided and consistent opinion on the subject.

The various theories that have been devised have each of them points of contact with New Testament expressions; but every one of them also, at one point or another, does violence to the testimony of Scripture, and presents the fact under an aspect that misrepresents it. The idea that is at the root of the substitutionary theory, that the vindictive Justice of the Father demands satisfaction, lays itself open to fatal objections, and is as foreign to the real thought of the New Testament writers as the earlier notion of Anselm, that the Divine Honour had been injured by sin, and had to be repaired by the Death of Christ. He sets forth the three great landmarks of truth that stand out in the New Testament, and concludes that while we must believe that the Suffering and Death of our Lord have an essential relation to our redemption, we must be content to recognise the fact, and renounce all attempts to account for it. Mr Horton has done good service in enforcing this distinction between the Fact of the Atonement and theories about it. It is a real distinction and of great practical value. Still, it is difficult to apprehend the fact firmly without the help of some sort of theory. It is certain that explanations, more or less partial and inadequate, have mingled with men's faith in the fact in all those periods of the Church's history, when the experience of the benefits of Christ's death has been vivid and influential, and men will look to theology to give a coherent account of what the religious life, where it is strong, seems to include in its faith. Mr Horton has not embraced in his review later attempts at explanation; indeed, the newer treatment of the whole subject that has followed the deeper study of New Testament theology, and the fresh examination of New Testament ideas, has been overlooked by him.

The sixth Essay, on "Prayer in Theory and Practice," by H. A. Thomas, will be viewed by many as the gem of the volume. It is not possible in a sentence or two to convey any idea of the suggestiveness and spiritual insight that mark the paper. It is pre-eminently fitted to be helpful. The difficulties it deals with are real difficulties, arising out of the tendencies of the age, to which all are more or less sensitive. And nothing can be finer than the way in which he applies the great central truths of Revelation to relieve the pressure of them, and to overcome the indisposition to the exercise of prayer which they foster.

The seventh Essay, on the "Kingdom and the Church," by Mr F. H. Stead, is a very fresh and stimulating one, touching on many matters of burning interest that bear on the practical work of the Church at the present day. The purpose of the paper is to set forth the significance of the idea of the Kingdom of God, in which the social character of the religion of Jesus has been brought home to the conscience of modern Christendom. The Kingdom and the

Church are distinguished as genus and species. The latter is a phase of the former, and bears witness to the truth by which the former is to be realised. That the world may be won for the Kingdom, the members must be associated together, so as to make this their conscious aim. Such an association is the Church; its functions are evangelism, and the edification of its own members. It must have its officers, but what those should be, and their powers, as well as the general form of its government, are matters on which the Church of each age and country, looking at its providential circumstances, is free to determine for itself. Besides its own special work, the Church may assume *supplemental* functions, and has always done so, where the larger interests of the Kingdom call for it, and are not otherwise provided for. It may supplement what is lacking in home life by making provision for the homeless, &c.; it may, and should, organise itself to watch and guide political conduct, to intervene where it can do so with advantage in trade disputes, and in other emergencies of the economic system, and in many other ways to promote the interests of the Kingdom. Then there are the many other organisations within the strictly ecclesiastical sphere that are called forth to meet special needs. "In short, the Church has to supply every lack which cannot otherwise be better supplied, and which hinders the complete development of man." This view of the compass of the Church's function will provoke a difference of opinion. We can see, indeed, that it is not at all the view of the succeeding essayist. But Mr Stead admits, that as the Kingdom advances, and its social structures become more self-dependent, the Church will be relieved of these supplemental duties, and will confine itself to its great central duties of evangelism and mutual edification. Mr Stead has also much that is of interest to say about the union of the churches in the latter part of his essay. The whole paper is valuable as a fresh contribution to many practical problems that are exercising men's minds.

The eighth paper, by Professor Armitage, is a noble plea for Christian Missions. The motive in which the work must be done, he urges, remains unchanged. Loyalty to Christ, and obedience to His own Word, is still the one-inspiring power. The work itself is the same as ever. The difficulties that exist are not greater, he shows, than those that confronted Paul. Racial differences are not such as to place any barrier to the universal adaptation of the Gospel. Nor is the missionary motive at all weakened by the fruits of the modern science of Comparative Religion. He points out the gain to Christian theology likely to result from the success of the Gospel among the non-Christian nations. "Who can say but that the Hindoo and the Chinaman are to be God's instruments to deliver us from the evil accretions of a merely European orthodoxy,



and to reveal Christ in simpler, truer, and diviner proportions ? ” (p. 398).

The last Essay on Church and State is by Mr T. Raleigh, and while the shortest, it is certainly not the least important one of the series. As a contribution to the Disestablishment controversy, specially in its application to the English Church, it clears the air of many false issues. With admirable good feeling and with a striking command of historical knowledge, he demonstrates the unreasonableness of many of the statements made on either side. Tracing the growth of the union of State and Church, he shows the gradual separation between the two forces that has in modern times been taking place, till now the Church Established is in every respect on the same footing as the Church Disestablished, except in the two respects—first, that it is supported by national funds ; and, second, that it has less freedom than the other has. Its endowment is simply a relic of the time when only one Church claiming to represent the Church was tolerated. Mr Raleigh looks beyond disestablishment to the ultimate union of Church and State, which is an “ideal set before us in the Bible, and cherished by every Christian politician ” (p. 430).

In a sense, then, this volume may be regarded as registering the high-water mark of religious thought among the Nonconformists of the present day. It suggests comparison with “*Lux Mundi*,” whose writers have the same object in view. The scope of the latter work, however, is wider, for it seeks to relate the intellectual movement of the present day generally to the Catholic faith, while this treats almost exclusively of the questions that are raised by the progress of Biblical Science. The discussion of the themes by the Anglican writers is also more elaborate, and there is no paper here that can be said to rival that of Aubrey Moore in point of learning and insight. While in many things there is a striking and most gratifying agreement as to results between the writers of the two works, “*Lux Mundi*,” as was to be expected, is more conservative in its theology. Such papers as those of Mr Forsyth and Mr Stead must appear very revolutionary to Anglicans like Mr Gore or Mr Illingworth. I am not sure, however, but that on the whole this volume may prove the more useful of the two, as more practical in its treatment, and more modern in its thought. Both volumes proceed on the truth of the Incarnation, and are agreed as to the central position of that truth in the Christian creed. It is all the more remarkable that in neither have we a discussion of the Incarnation itself in the light of modern theology.

D. SOMERVILLE.

## Inspiration and other Lectures.

By T. G. Rooke, B.A., late President of Rawdon College, Leeds.  
Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. xii. and 261. Price 7s. 6d.

THESE lectures are published as a memorial of their late author, who was head of a Baptist College near Leeds. They are on such varied subjects as Psychology, the Authority of Scripture, and Pastoral Theology. Necessarily the treatment is not exhaustive, the philosophical section especially containing hints and suggestions rather than full discussions. In spite of this, however, the lectures reveal their author as a man of great shrewdness, common-sense, and liberal culture, as well as of real and unobtrusive piety. The book possesses a value much greater than that which attaches to most "memorial" volumes. The section on Inspiration, in particular, is fresh and suggestive. Mr Rooke claims for the Bible only an infallibility in spiritual matters,—that "this book alone . . . gives safe guidance to souls that seek after God." For the most part the Bible "difficulties" are dealt with in a sensible fashion. Mr Rooke perceives and clearly explains that the true key to most of such "difficulties" is to be found in the historical character of Revelation and its necessary development with the growing capacities of the race. As Professor Robertson Smith somewhere says, Revelation needed to be incorporated with the needs and thoughts of men in order that it might become a *religion*. Two points may be noted in the author's own constructive discussion. One is the clear distinction he seeks to make between Revelation and Inspiration. Inspiration is the divine preparation of human consciousness for the reception of divine truth; Revelation is the presentation of such truth; and, as a resultant of these, we have "spiritual knowledge or the possession by the human consciousness of certain thoughts of God." Holy Scripture is just "the organised aggregate of all the knowledge which God's Providence has ordained should thus be perpetuated as the authoritative guide of man in spiritual matters." The other point is the method which the author adopts to distinguish the Biblical from the extra-Biblical Inspiration. He finds a solution of this problem in the fact (derived from his psychology) that we consciously exist in "an ascending range of spheres"—the Natural, the Rational, and the Spiritual. There are different kinds of inspiration, "according to the sphere in which consciousness is active." Aholiab, *e.g.*, and the ploughman of Isa. 28 were inspired in the lowest sphere of consciousness, Newton and Beethoven in the higher. In the highest sphere—the spiritual—Inspiration is of a distinct kind; it has to do with the reception of "divine truth." Even here, indeed, there are distinctions. The

"Inspiration of the Divine Life" (in Macleod Campbell's phrase), *i.e.*, of ordinary believers in their religious life, is not the "Inspiration of Revelation" to which we owe the Bible. In the latter case the minds and hearts of the writers were "prepared for knowledge and emotions which were quite new in the history of the world," and this fact marks a real difference between the inspiration of Biblical writers and that influence which is experienced by all Christians. One may decline some of Mr Rooke's arguments, while being at the same time sensible of the helpful and reverent way in which the whole subject is handled.

Naturally we see more of the man himself in the pastoral advices of the concluding section of the book—a strong, clear-headed, tender-hearted man he seems to have been. A high ideal of the pastor's work and life pervades these chapters, and even a young minister might learn much from the hints and counsels so lovingly and liberally bestowed.

FREDERICK J. RAE.

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### **The Story of Religion in England.**

*By Brooke Herford, D.D. Fifth Edition. London: Sunday School Association. Pp. 391. Price 2s. 6d.*

THE fact that a fifth edition of this fascinating book has been called for renders the duty of praising it almost superfluous. Its merits amply account for its success. Dr Herford's task—to tell the "story" of the growth of religious life and thought in England from the earliest times—was a peculiarly difficult one. There was the danger of over-crowding on the one hand, and that of oversimplicity on the other. The author has avoided both. He shows admirable self-denial in the treatment of his materials, and his narrative is written in a style as clear and direct as it is simple and graceful. Beginning in the far-off past with the Druids, the story streams on through the successive conquests, over the Normans and their church-building, the monks and their preaching, and so onwards across old Catholic England. Then we watch "the beginnings of new and nobler thoughts about religious things . . . the struggles of great reformers, the seething and strife and confusion of the Reformation." Finally we follow "the different currents of religious tendency, into which that Reformation set the mind and heart of our English people flowing . . . no one of them the mighty River of Life, but all of them parts of it." The narrative often pauses to give us glimpses into the life of the people, or graphic sketches of the leading figures in the history, or valuable information as to the origin of place-names, national customs, feasts, and so forth. These

are not the least interesting features of a book which is as engrossing as a romance, and which is notable not only for its breadth of view, but equally for the sympathy with which each movement of religious life is delineated. One cannot read a "story" like this without being deeply impressed with the part which religion has had in the making of England, and the destiny which she is called to fulfil. The author (whose account of the rise and progress of freedom of thought is one of the best things in his work) holds that we have still one stage to reach in our religious evolution. First we gained religious toleration; then religious liberty; we have still to win religious equality. However that may be, we may learn from the story of the past how baseless are the complaints which we so often hear made of the divisions of the Christian Church. It has been through division and opposition that we have won our heritage. The divine method everywhere is progress by conflict. Each separate sect or church has originated in a genuine conviction and has its truth to work out. We shall never see on the earth a universal church of uniform creed and government. We *may* become "of one heart and one soul" here, but we shall not "see eye to eye" until "the Lord bringeth again Zion." Thomas Binney's remark (quoted by Dr Herford) is worth repeating here: "He did not look to see all the walls between the churches done away, but he did want them to be lowered so that all good men might shake hands over them."

FREDERICK J. RAE.

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### Notices.

IN his *Book of Enoch*<sup>1</sup> Mr Charles gives us a work which is true to the best traditions of English scholarship—careful, learned, critical in the best sense, and not over burdened with matter of a merely curious interest. The attention now directed to the class of literature to which this writing belongs, the new discoveries made in connection with the text of *Enoch*, and the recognised importance of its contents in relation to the interpretation of the New Testament, also make this new edition a most opportune publication. Dillmann's contributions to our knowledge of this ancient pseudepigraph are invaluable, and they are fully recognised by Mr Charles. But the latter has new and important material to work upon. His translation is based mainly on the text of an unpublished British Museum MS., which is greatly

<sup>1</sup> The Book of Enoch. Translated from Professor Dillmann's Ethiopic Text. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, Appendices, and Indices, by R. H. Charles, M.A., Oxford. Clarendon Press. 8vo, pp. xiii. 383. Price 16s.

superior to Dillmann's Ethiopic text. Use is also made of M. Bouriant's Greek Gizeh MS., and of the Latin fragment found by Mr James in the British Museum. Mr Charles accepts the chief results of former criticism,—that the original was written in Hebrew, that it was translated into Greek, and that the Ethiopic version was made from the Greek; that the book is in all probability of Palestinian origin; that it is a composite writing, consisting (apart from the closing chapter) of (a) the ground-work, i.-xxxvi.; lxxii.-civ.; (b) the Similitudes, xxxvii.-lxx.; (c) a series of interpolations, most of which are taken from a lost Apocalypse of Noah. The question of the authorships and dates of the different sections of the book is examined with great care. The results reached are these—that the section consisting of chs. i.-xxxvi. belongs at latest to 170 B.C.; that chs. lxxxiii.-xc. are by another hand, writing between 166 and 161 B.C., not from the prophetic standpoint of the last chapters of Isaiah, but mainly from that of Daniel; that chs. xci.-civ. come from a writer living towards the close of the second century B.C.; that the Similitudes belong to between 94-79 B.C., or 70-64 B.C.; that the date of the Book of Celestial Physics (lxxiii.-lxxviii.; lxxxii.; lxxix.) is indeterminate; and that the Noachian and other interpolations are for the most part additions made by the editor, but at what time we know not. The most doubtful thing in these discussions is the importance attached to the presence or absence of Zoroastrian ideas. The writer of the third section, *e.g.*, is supposed to be a Pharisee, but one affected by Zoroastrian thought. An important chapter deals with the influence of the Book of Enoch on Jewish and Patristic literature and on the New Testament. This is an excellent piece of work. The only remark which we make upon it is that the list of passages, especially from the New Testament, seems somewhat extended. Mr Charles has reason for claiming that "the influence of Enoch on the New Testament has been greater than that of all the other apocryphal and pseudepigraphal books taken together." But it is questionable whether such New Testament phrases as "walk in the light," "we shall be like Him," "holy angels," "justified in the name of the Lord Jesus," "this present evil world," "children of light," and some others, have the direct relation to Enoch which is assigned them in this argument. The essay on the origin and meaning of the title "Son of Man" is of much interest. The various explanations which have been current are examined briefly, but acutely, and set aside as inadequate. Mr Charles's own conclusion is that our Lord adopted the title "Son of Man" from the Book of Enoch with all the supernatural attributes given it there, but transformed it at the same time by introducing into it Isaiah's conception of the Servant of Jehovah. The synthesis of these two conceptions, he thinks, alone

will explain the contrasted ideas which are suggested by the title in its New Testament occurrences. The explanation is an ingenious one, and has at least on one side some sound historical basis. We are not sure, however, whether after all it is much superior to that which satisfied Neander, Schleiermacher, and many more, and which interprets the title as expressing the two ideas of Christ's conscious oneness with mankind and His distinction from mankind. Mr Charles objects to this that the conception of an ideal Man is a philosophical conception, which was foreign to the thought of Palestinian Judaism then. But Mr Charles's own explanation comes back to this "ideal" view in another form. For he understands the title to include "two ideals of the past in an ideal, nay, in a personality, transcending them both." The notes on difficult passages of the text, especially those on doctrinal terms and on words like *Sheol*, are of great value. The book as a whole is a weighty and welcome addition to our theological literature.

The volume on *Dogmengeschichte*,<sup>1</sup> contributed by Professor Harnack of Berlin to the *Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften*, is already in its second edition. It is in the main an abstract of the *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*. It is welcome, not only because it presents in brief form the investigations which are worked out at length in the larger book, but also because it succeeds so well in showing us the inner side of the process of the development of the Church's doctrine. The subject is dealt with (after certain *Prolegomena*) in two great divisions, one treating of the Rise of Dogma; the other, of the Development of Dogma. The first of these divisions embraces two books, entitled respectively the *Vorbereitung* and the *Grundlegung*. The second embraces three books, of which one handles specially the dogmatic movement in the Eastern Church, and another that in the Western Church, while the third states the threefold issue in Roman Catholicism, Antitrinitarianism and Socinianism, and Protestantism. The plan, therefore, is simple and intelligible, and the discussions are equally lucid and easy to follow. Almost at a glance we can thus understand Professor Harnack's interpretations of the course which has been run by the Church's doctrine, and see in their due relations his most characteristic positions. He adheres to his contention that dogma is the product of the Greek spirit working on the Evangelical foundation; that its history ends, properly speaking, with the Reformation of the sixteenth century; that the Catholic Church rose on the three foundations of the idea of a "rule of faith," the separation of a certain number of books as canonical, and the elevation of the bishops into successors

<sup>1</sup> Freiburg i. B. : J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. xii. 388. Price, M. 6.

of the Apostles; and that the result of this ecclesiastical change, taken in connection with the Hellenizing of Christian thought, was the displacement of the early Christian faith by a great speculative theology in the Eastern Church of the third century. He abides also by his view of Marcion, which makes that yet but half understood heretic the first to measure Christianity by the testimony of a few canonical books. His estimates of the great figures in the history of theology,—Augustine, Luther, and others,—have all the force and breadth and generosity which are so conspicuous in the larger book. The entire presentation of the dogmatic process, as given anew in this comparatively small and eminently readable volume, demands the careful attention of the student, and, however questionable in some of its details, is certain materially to affect opinion on the subject.

The late Canon Liddon's *Explanatory Analysis of St Paul's Epistle to the Romans*<sup>1</sup> is a remarkable witness to the immense pains taken by the great preacher in preparing himself for the discharge of any duty. The book originated in a course of lectures delivered in 1875-76, its first form being a series of papers drawn up for the guidance of students attending these lectures. It reveals the late Canon in the character of a well-equipped exegete, grappling with the difficulties of the greatest of Paul's epistles, and following out its course of thought in the spirit, and with the sympathy, of the genuine scholar. The strength of the book lies in the application to its problems of that forceful, reasoning, argumentative faculty which also marked his sermons. But there are few points of any difficulty, grammatical or other, which are not handled in a way to indicate that the author was scarcely less at home in the expositor's work than in the preacher's. His remarks on questions of doctrine, which are suggested by this Epistle, are usually as informing as they are terse and pointed. A good instance is found in what he says on the moral objections which are supposed to lie against the doctrine of the transmission of original sin (p. 104).

The *Expositor*<sup>2</sup> completes the seventh volume of its Fourth Series. This is testimony sufficient to its sustained usefulness. The present volume contains important studies by Dr A. B. Bruce on *Paul's Conception of Christianity*, Dr V. H. Stanton on *Some Points in the Synoptic Problem*, and Mr W. C. Allen on Professor Marshall's theory of the *Aramaic Gospel*. Among many other papers of interest are those by Professor G. A. Smith on Galilee

<sup>1</sup> London: Longmans. 8vo, pp. vi. 309. Price 14s.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price 7s. 6d.

and its Lake, Dr Stalker on some Difficult Words of Christ, Dr A. B. Davidson on the *Earlier Ideas of Isaiah*, Dean Chadwick on certain of the Gospel Miracles, and Professor Ramsay on the phrase "About the Sixth Hour." And these are only a few out of many.

The fourth volume of the *Expository Times*<sup>1</sup> shows no diminution in the vigour with which this useful magazine has been conducted from the first. The editor's paragraphs are always pointed and seasonable, and many of the larger papers are of permanent value. The articles in this volume are written by a large variety of men, and cover a wide extent of subject, from simple notes on passages of Scripture to elaborate and learned discussions by bishops, canons, and professors. The result is a great wealth and diversity of good and profitable matter.

The literature on the *Gospel of Peter* increases at a great pace. The most recent addition to it which has reached us is a translation of one of Dr Schubert's publications.<sup>2</sup> The book gives the *Opinions of the Ancient Church, Synoptical Tables, Critical Apparatus, and a Translation*. The original is meant as a supplement to Dr Schubert's larger work, *Die Composition des Pseudopetrinischen Evangelien-Fragments*. The English translation is carefully done. The materials provided in this small volume will be of distinct use to the student who wishes to master the question and come to a judgment of his own.

The Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge makes an important contribution to the same subject.<sup>3</sup> The text of the Petrine fragment is accompanied by admirable Notes which give light on many passages. A Translation is also furnished, and an Introduction of forty-seven pages deals in an interesting and instructive way with a variety of matters connected with the find. The relation of the fragment to the Canonical Gospels, its doctrinal tendencies, its literary character, the place and date of its composition, are discussed in a very satisfactory way. A summary of the literature of the subject is given; a comparison is made with other writings of the same class; statements are furnished on various questions of interest; and the whole is enriched by a couple of facsimile pages.

<sup>1</sup> Edited by the Rev. James Hastings, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 568. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> The Gospel of St Peter. With Synoptical Tables and Critical Apparatus. Edited by H. von Schubert, D.D. Authorised English Translation, by Rev. John Macpherson, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 31. Price 1s. 6d. net.

<sup>3</sup> The Akhmim Fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of St Peter. Edited, with an Introduction, Notes, and Indices, by H. B. Swete, D.D. London: Macmillan. 8vo, pp. vi. 34. Price 5s. net.



Dr Swete finds no verbal quotation from the Old Testament, but tabulates some dozen more or less distinct allusions to it. As regards the place of origin, he agrees with others in thinking that all the evidence points to Western Syria; and as to the date, he holds that what exists of this Gospel indicates that it was not written before the middle of the second century. The book is most scholarly, most useful, and worthy of the scholarship of Cambridge.

Mrs Russell Gurney's *Dante's Pilgrim's Progress*<sup>1</sup> will have a place of its own among the numerous additions made in recent years to the Dante literature. Its external form is pleasing in the highest degree, and its contents are of great interest. Its plan is to give on one page select passages from the Italian, and on the opposite page the interpretation and remarks. It is not a detailed study of the great epic as a whole. It is a study of Dante himself, the poet being taken as the *pilgrim* of his poem, and his visions of the three great habitations of souls in the hereafter being treated as witnesses to a "deeper and more universal vision" which led him into the "arena of the human heart." It is all gracefully and attractively written, and has the ring of sympathy and spirituality.

Mr Arthur Lillie,<sup>2</sup> with a courage worthy of a better cause, attempts the impossible task of proving that much of the New Testament is parable rather than history, and parable derived from another religion, that, namely, of Buddha. His contention is that in the New Testament writings there are really two distinct Christs, an Essene Christ and an anti-Essene Christ; that the real Christ was an Essene monk; that Christianity was Essenism; and that, Essenism being due to Buddhist missionaries who visited Egypt, Christianity is a system of religion essentially influenced by Buddhism. What manner of historical sense or critical faculty Mr Lillie possesses, as indicated by this large programme, is left for the reader to judge.

In his *Canonical and Uncanonical Gospels*<sup>3</sup> Mr W. E. Barnes, Theological Lecturer at Clare College, Cambridge, gives a brief but forcible re-statement of the main lines of proof in the Apologetics of the Gospels. He makes good use of the evidence gathered from sources recently opened, especially from Tatian and Hermas. He furnishes a very careful summary of the facts which dispose of the contention that "the four Gospels (with the exception of St Luke) are not to be traced during the hundred and fifty years which immediately followed our Lord's death." He adds to the interest of his very useful book by furnishing a list of the *Uncanonical Sayings of our*

<sup>1</sup> By Emilia Russell Gurney. London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. 421. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> The Influence of Buddhism on Primitive Christianity. By Arthur Lillie. London: Swan Sonnenschien. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 184. Price 2s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxi. 112. Price 3s. 6d.

*Lord*, and a translation of the fragment of the *Gospel according to Peter*.

The qualities which distinguished Dr Blaikie's former contributions to the *Expositor's Bible*<sup>1</sup> appear in the *Book of Joshua*, his most recent addition to that series. He makes his stand against all interpretations of the history of Israel which would eliminate the supernatural from it, or deny in it the presence of a real revelation of God. On this he writes with vigour and with just warmth. With regard to the critical treatment of the book, his attitude remains decidedly conservative, only that he sees no difficulty in admitting the operation of the hand of a reviser or revisers. He gives his strength to the presentation of the narrative itself, and the lessons suggested by it. These are clearly and forcibly given, and the volume, as a whole, shows the author's style at its best. The chapters on *Achan's Sin*, the *Battle of Beth-horon*, the *Battle of Merom*, *Joshua's Old Age*, *Joshua's Last Appeal*, are of special interest.

For the purposes of the *Expositor's Bible*, the *Psalms*<sup>2</sup> could have been committed to no better hand than that of Dr Maclaren of Manchester. Larger examination of his work must be postponed till it is complete, as we trust it soon may be. For this first volume takes us over only the first thirty-eight Psalms. But it satisfies the high expectations which one justly forms of Dr Maclaren's efforts. It does not concern itself with debated questions of scholarship, but it takes us into the spirit of these breathings, aspirations, and forecasts of ancient saints, interprets for us their converse with God, and in their experience shows us the mirror of our own. Even on the most familiar Psalms, the twenty-third among the rest, Dr Maclaren has something fresh, as well as profitable, to say, some new depths of experience to open, some new beauties to discover to us. It is a refreshment to read the book.

Considering the impression produced by them, and their remarkable opportuneness when delivered in 1799, it has been matter of surprise that Schleiermacher's *Reden über die Religion*<sup>3</sup> have remained so long untranslated. Various things, however, have conspired of late to direct attention to them anew, and at last they have found a competent translator. Much that is in them must seem strange to English readers of this year of grace 1893. Things have so altered within the century. But the book has

<sup>1</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 416. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> The Psalms. By A. Maclaren, D.D. Vol. I.: Psalms i.-xxxviii. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 385. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> On Religion. Speeches to its Cultured Despisers. By Friedrich Schleiermacher. Translated, with an Introduction, by John Oman, B.D. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co. 8vo, pp. lviii. 287. Price 7s. 6d.

taken rank as a classic in the religious literature of Germany, and it deserves to be better known among ourselves.

The fact that this year is the hundredth anniversary of John Keble's birth makes the preparation of a new memoir of him opportune and welcome. Mr Lock's biography<sup>1</sup> has already won extensive regard, having in a short space of time run into edition after edition, and deservedly so. For, while it is far from claiming anything like completeness (there being still much to be gathered from correspondence and documents to which access has not yet been had), it makes excellent use of the various publications of recent date which have dealt with the Oxford Movement, and it is written in admirable taste and style. It would be difficult to produce anything better than the bright sketches here given of Keble's early life at home and in the University, and of his peaceful career in the quiet parish of Hursley. The pictures of the poet, the preacher, and the spiritual adviser are equally well drawn. Nor are the critical sections of the book, those dealing with Keble's theory of poetry, with the *Christian Year*, and with the *Lyra Innocentium*, less satisfactory. Nothing is strained, but justice is done at once to his poetical faculty and to his theology. One can gather, too, from the whole presentation of the man, and from the closing words on his characteristics, what his influence must have been, and how far from exaggerated is the place usually assigned him in the great movement which was named not after him, but after Pusey. Those who know Keble and admire him will have their veneration for his spiritual character and their admiration of his devout poetry deepened by this sympathetic volume.

Dr James Macgregor of Oamaru, New Zealand, issues another section of his projected Apologetic Series. In *The Apology of the Christian Religion* he undertook a commentary on the external evidences. In the present work, *The Revelation and the Record*,<sup>2</sup> he deals with the logical foundation. In a third volume, which is to appear under the title of *Studies in the History of Christian Apologetics*, he is to furnish corroborative illustration. It would be premature to venture at present on any judgment of his apologetical system as a whole. That will be in place only when the work is completed. Something may be said, however, of the present instalment. It is defined in the sub-title as a series of *Essays on Matters of Previous Question in the Proof of Christianity*. It is occupied with two main subjects—Supernaturalism and the New Testament Canon. With respect to the former, the argument is directed to show that

<sup>1</sup> John Keble. A Biography. By Walter Lock, M.A. Fourth Edition. London: Methuen & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 245. Price 5s.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. xii. 265. Price 7s. 6d.

the supernatural is involved in the system of things, implied in the external evidence of Christianity and the Bible, and operative in the inspiration of Scripture. Under the latter topic, the proof of the New Testament Canon is exhibited, in the case of the New Testament Scriptures generally, in that of the Gospels in especial, and most particularly in that of Mark. The strongest sections of the work are those in which the author's logical faculty finds scope. Many pages remind us of the vigorous dialectics of the seventeenth century divines. The book, indeed, is written in the main from the standpoint of the great dogmatic theologians of that period. We have the author at his best when he grapples with the various evasions of the supernatural, with recent samples of materialism, with the logical inconsistencies of the sceptical schools, with the imbecilities of the theory of forgery as applied to the New Testament writings. On all such matters there is abundance of trenchant writing. The book is most open to criticism in its argument on the inspiration of Scripture, and at certain points of its elaborate discussion of the Canon. The inspiration of Scripture is dealt with less from the side of the actual phenomena presented by the books, than from that of the results logically deducible from a particular view of what inspiration presumably involves. The statement on the Canon, again, is constructed without any reference to the positions of Harnack and other recent writers. On both these subjects, therefore, the book commits itself to doubtful positions, and there is an inclination to dismiss opposing opinions too easily. In face of the vast influence which Baur has exercised over the methods of more schools than his own, notwithstanding the general rejection or modification of many of his critical verdicts, it is not enough to say of the Tübingen School simply that it "went up like a rocket and came down like a stick." For all that, the book gives us the thoughts of a strong theologian, who has studied many questions deeply, and is able to hold his own with most opponents. His statement on the "light of nature" and the foundations of natural theology, and the Appendix on *The Previous Question of Science regarding Evolution*, will be generally valued.

Under the apt title of *Apocrypha Anecdota*<sup>1</sup> Mr Montague Rhodes James brings together no less than thirteen new apocryphal writings, the result of researches in the libraries of Oxford, London, Cheltenham, Paris, and Trèves. These documents, though all of interest in the strange and various history of religious beliefs, are of very different degrees of value. They include the *Visio Pauli* in

<sup>1</sup> Texts and Studies. Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature. Edited by J. Armitage Robinson, M.A. Cambridge University Press. 8vo, pp. xi. 202. Price 6s. net.

Latin, the *Acta Xanthippae et Polyxenae*, the *Narratio Zosimi*, the *Apocalypis Mariae Virginis*, the *Apocalypis Sedrach*, and eight Fragments. The interest of the *Apocalypse of Paul* lies specially in the fact that in it, "after an interval of a century, the apocalyptic branch of literature re-appeared, to be continued without any considerable break down to the time of Dante." In the *Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxena* Mr James sees an illustration of the "Sunday Story" of the early Christians; and in the *Story of Zosimus* an "important contribution to the mythology of the Lost Tribes and the Earthly Paradise." The Fragments include the portion of the *Book of Enoch* in Latin already referred to; a *Description of Anti-Christ* which Mr James imagines may be a bit of the *Apocalypse of Peter* or else may come from a "hitherto unimagined Latin version of the *Testament of the Lord*"; parts of the *Apocalypse of Adam* and the *Translation of Philip*; and four Latin pieces found in a Cheltenham MS., one of which, in the opinion of Mr James, forms part of the *Assumption of Moses*—a most interesting conclusion. The book is one for the specialist in Apocryphal, and especially Apocalyptic, literature. The critical discussions are excellent examples of what such discussions ought to be. The whole makes a worthy addition to the scholarly series to which it belongs.

The Norrisian Professor of Divinity has supplied a long felt want by his edition of the *Philocalia* of Origen.<sup>1</sup> This collection of extracts from Origen, made by Gregory and Basil, and usually inserted among his works, has always been valued for what it has preserved for us in the original text, especially as regards a large part of the *Contra Celsum*. But Professor Robinson rightly claims for it the additional merit of presenting in a somewhat systematic form much of the great Alexandrian's best thought—and so serving as "an excellent introduction to the study of Origen." The edition is admirably printed and most carefully prepared. Upwards of fifty manuscripts have been used for the text, the three best having been fully collated. The sources of the *Philocalia* are tabulated, and important chapters are devoted to the Translations by Rufinus, and the Eusebian and Clementine Extracts. Professor Robinson, in short, has given us an edition which furnishes all that the scholar requires, and which is likely to remain long at once the handiest and the most authoritative edition.

In his *Hebrew Idolatry and Superstition*, Mr Elford Higgins<sup>2</sup> collects a number of facts illustrative of the place of folklore

<sup>1</sup> The *Philocalia* of Origen. The Text revised with a Critical Introduction and Indices, by J. Armitage Robinson. Cambridge University Press. Cr. 8vo, pp. lii. 278. Price 7s. 6d. net.

<sup>2</sup> London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 80.

among the ancient Hebrews. He regards the Hebrew religion as one of great morality, from the principle of which the people fell away when they adopted the standard of belief and custom which prevailed among the former inhabitants of the land. He deals specially with the various practices of divination, with magical formulæ, and with witchcraft. Divination by cup, arrows, and rod he takes to be probably of Turanian origin. Magical formulæ are held to be of Chaldean or Accadian derivation. Witchcraft, as found in the Holy Land, is explained to be due to the mythic influence of the former inhabitants, Hittites, Amorites, Canaanites, &c. His general conclusion is that more consideration should be given to the influence of the aboriginal races upon the Hebrews.

Principal Moule contributes another devout and scholarly volume, that on *Colossians and Philemon*, to the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*.<sup>1</sup> The exegesis has all the good qualities of the author's former commentaries in the same series, those on *Romans* and *Ephesians*. The Introduction contains interesting chapters on *Colossae and its neighbouring Churches*, on *Alien teaching at Colossae*, and similar matters, as well as the usual questions of date, authenticity, etc. As to the Epistle from St Paul which the Colossians were to get from Laodicea, Mr Moule's opinion is, on the whole, in favour of its being the Ephesian Epistle, although he sees the difficulties of the case. The notes on doctrinal passages are always satisfactory, Mr Moule being in perfect sympathy with Paul's teaching, and able to enter thoroughly into it. The volume, while admirably concise in its comments, leaves nothing of any real difficulty unexplained.

Students have often felt the need of a handy dictionary to New Testament Greek. Mr Hickie<sup>2</sup> now gives us one, certainly as small as well can be, but up to date, such as many will be glad to have near them, and useful for class work.

The Vicar of Sandgate publishes a small volume of Addresses on *Life and Religion*,<sup>3</sup> plain and unaffected in style and practical in their object.

A new and cheaper edition is issued of the Rev. David Wright's *Thoughts upon Some Words of Christ*<sup>4</sup>—suggestive discourses on a number of passages of less obvious interpretation.

Mr Thos. F. Lockyer's *The Gospel of John*<sup>5</sup> (*Books for Bible*

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge University Press. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 195. Price 2s.

<sup>2</sup> Greek-English Lexicon to the New Testament, after the latest and best authorities. New York and London: Macmillan & Co. Pp. 213. Price 3s.

<sup>3</sup> By Rev. H. Russell Wakefield. London: Elliot Stock. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 96.

<sup>4</sup> London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 156.

<sup>5</sup> London: Charles H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 326. Price 2s. 6d.

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*Students*) is an exposition in the form of a series of chapters, giving a broad and popular summary of the contents of the Fourth Gospel. Some critical notes are appended. It is easy to read, and goes over the narrative and discourses in an edifying, homiletical way.

A larger volume, under the title of *Bible Studies*,<sup>1</sup> reproduces from stenographic notes a series of *Sunday Evening Sermons on the Early Books of the Old Testament*, delivered by the late Henry Ward Beecher in 1878-79. It gives some excellent specimens of the ordinary pulpit work of the great American preacher. The discourses on the *Mosaic Institutes*, and those on *Gideon*, *Jephthah*, *Samson*, *Naomi*, and *Ruth* contain many good things.

The Queen's Printers, whose *Variorum Bible* has won such wide and well-deserved acceptance, have issued an enlarged and improved edition of their *Aids to the Student of the Holy Bible*.<sup>2</sup> This is intended to complete the "Large Type Variorum Teachers' Bible." These *Aids*, being carefully revised, considerably extended, and brought thoroughly up to date, are most useful and reliable. The new matter includes articles by Dr C. H. H. Wright on the *Apocrypha*, Canon Girdlestone on *Hebrew Poetry*, the Editor on *Bible History* (an Epitome, giving also the main links with General History), Mr St Chad Boscawen on *The Testimony of the Monuments to the Old Testament History*, and Professor Swete on *The Bible: its History*. The last two papers are particularly valuable.

The last numbers of the *Revue de Théologie et des Questions Religieuses* which have reached us (1<sup>er</sup> Juillet, 1<sup>er</sup> Septembre 1893) contain a very careful study by H. Cordey of a subject now engaging the public mind with more than ordinary interest—*La foi à la préexistence de Jesus-Christ et son importance pour la piété Chrétienne*. Other papers of importance are those by A. Wabnitz on the *Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter*, C. Bruston on certain obscure passages in the *Gospel of Peter*, and E. Bernard on *Pessimism and Christianity*. Some notes on John v. 20, 30, and a variety of notices of books, make up two excellent numbers. The third *Heft* of the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* for the current year is occupied mainly with an elaborate paper by Pfarrer Heinrich Grunsky on *Die Autorität der heiligen Schrift*, which will repay being studied alongside Professor Wendt's pamphlet, noticed in our July number. The third and fourth parts of the same Journal contain, among other valuable papers, one of some interest on Schleiermacher's doctrinal position by P. Kölbing (*Schleiermacher's Zeugniß vom Sohne Gottes nach seinen Festpredigten*), and another

<sup>1</sup> London: R. D. Dickinson. 8vo, pp. 438. Price 6s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. Pp. xi. 202 (with Appendix of Index, Concordance, and Maps). Price 5s.

by Otto Ritschl on the *Historical Christ, the Christian Faith, and Theological Science*—an elaborate and weighty discussion. The *English Historical Review* for July gives an important article by Mr Henry Charles Lea on the *Taxes of the Papal Penitentiary*, which makes admirable use of the results of recent researches in the history of the Roman chancery and penitentiary, and the practice of money payments in expiation of sin. The *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* maintains the eminent position it has held from the beginning in its ample and painstaking survey of current literature. More than fifty pages are given to book notices in the July number. These include an examination by Professor Warfield of recent German publications (by Rohnert, Bolliger, Koelling, Dieckhoff, Kawerau, and Gess) on the burning question of *Inspiration*. In addition we have a variety of articles, among which may be specially noticed the paper by Professor Shields on *The Trial of Servetus*, and the extremely interesting account given by Professor Gretillat of *Theological Thought among French Protestants in 1892*.

## Record of Select Literature.

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